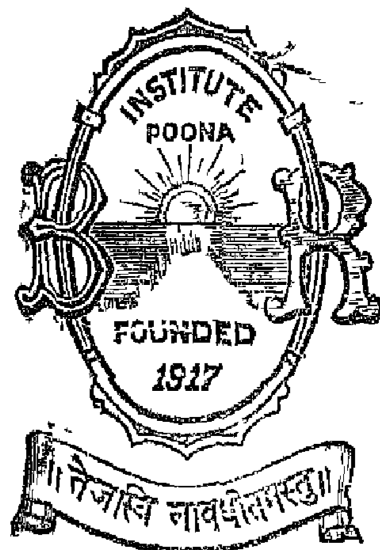
GOVERNMENT ORIENTAL SERIES

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FOREWORD

The idea of presenting a Volume of Commemorative Essays to Professor Kashinath Bapuji Pathak on the occasion of his 80th birth-day was first mooted in a resolution of the Executive Board of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute dated 26th October 1929, which ran as follows: —

"That it be recommended to the Regulating Council that a volume of Commemorative Essays (to be contributed by select oriental scolars of India and outside) be presented to Prof. K. B. Pathak on the occasion of his 80th birth-day which falls on Āśvina Śuddha 8 Śake 1852 (29th September 1930) and that the Executive Board be authorised to make all necessary arrangements to carry on the work expeditiously."

The resolution was approved by the Regulating Council of the Institute on 27th of October 1929, and a small Editorial Board with Dr. S. K. Belvalkar as Chairman was constituted. Invitations to scholars in India and Europe were forthwith despatched and some 50 papers on various subjects were received. It was decided to get the volume of Essays printed at the Institute's own Press, but, as naturally this was expected to take time, it was decided to formally present the Essays in their manuscript form to Prof. Pathak on the occasion of his 80th birth-day, which fell on 29th September 1930, corresponding to Āśvina Śuddha Aṣṭamı, Śake 1852, of the Indian Calendar. A meeting of the members of the Institute, of the contributing scholars and other members of the general public was accordingly convened at the Institute with Mr. R. H. Beckett, the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, in the Chair. It was a large and representative gathering at which Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M. A., Ph. D., the Hon. Secretary of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, submitted the following statement :—

cause of Sanskritic research ; and the inauguration of the Institute on that day was signalised by the presentation at the hands of Lord Willingdon, the then Governor of this Presidency, of a volume of commemorative essays written by Dr. Bhandarkar's "friends, pupils, and admirers from different lands and dedicated to him as a mark of respect and affection." It is no doubt a rare good fortune for this Institute to be privileged to present another similar collection of Commemorative Essays to Professor Dr. Kashinath Bapuji Pathak on the happy occasion of his 80th birth-day (81st according to the Hindu method of reckoning birth-days) which falls today, Aśvina Śuddha Aṣṭamī of the Hindu Calendar corresponding to the 29th of September 1930. On this occasion it may not be out of place for me to mention a few salient facts of his biography and his literary activity which has been, and still continues to be, as silent and unassuming as it has proved to be solid and epoch-making in more than one branch of literary history and archaeology.

"Dr. K. B. Pathak is a Brahman belonging to the Vajasaneyi Śākhā of the White Yajurveda, and his ancestors were the Joshis of Sholapur, to which family the last great Marāṭhī Poet Ramajoshi belonged. Some members of this family seem to have migrated to Hubli and permanently settled there. Professor Pathak's father, Bapu Shastri, was a well-known "Ghanapāṭhī" Vaidika, and he naturally wished his son, Kashinath, to follow the same vocation. The son, however, desired to learn English and went to Belgaum and to Kolhapur for the purpose. He graduated in 1877 and was appointed First Assistant Master in the Sardar's High School at Belgaum. It was here that Mr. Pathak saw copies of the *Indian Antiquary*, which had been started five years ago, and through it discovered the calling of his life. Dr. Fleet, the well-known Epigraphist, was then the Collector of Belgaum and Dr. Pathak felt that it would not be impossible for him to write papers and articles such as Fleet

published Digambara Jain Manuscripts, and set forth in proper perspective all the important historical information contained in the concluding *Praśastis* of the same.

"Mr. Pathak's papers in the *Indian Antiquary* as well as in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* soon attracted attention, and Dr. Fleet, who was later appointed Epigraphist to the Government of India, offered to Dr. Pathak the post of his assistant with a substantial increase in salary. This offer was declined, as Mr. Pathak apparently felt that service in the Educational Department would give him better opportunities and facilities for carrying on independent research work in Jain Literature. In 1884 Mr. Pathak was appointed Tutor to the Senior Chief of Miraj. This necessitated his continued stay at Kolhapur, to the Sarasvatī Bhāṇḍāra belonging to the famous Jain Matha of which place Mr. Pathak secured free admission. It was here that Mr. Pathak made his acquaintance of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar then Professor of Oriental Languages at the Deccan College, to whom he was privileged to explain several Jain texts and technical terms. As a consequence, in 1889, when the post of the Assistant to the Professor of Oriental Languages at the Deccan College fell vacant, Dr. Bhandarkar offered the post to Mr. K. B. Pathak, who readily accepted it, because he knew that it would afford him best opportunities for carrying on his studies in Sanskrit literary history. Papers which even now pass as land-marks in the history of Sanskrit Scholarship, as being the final decisive words on certain literary controversies such as the date of Śaṁkarācārya, belong to this period of Professor Pathak's literary career, while his paper entitled the "Position of Kumārila in Digambara Jain Literature" which was presented to the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists held in London in 1893 under the presidentship of Professor Max Müller, won unstinted praise from Fleet, Leumann and several other scholars.

was appointed Professor of Sanskrit in the Deccan College, Poona, from which post he retired in 1908. In the same year he was appointed by the University of Bombay as the "Bhagawandas Indraji Lecturer", the subject chosen by him being the "Inscriptions in the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency."

"Although Professor Pathak retired from Government service more than 22 years ago, he has not yet retired from active literary career. Some important papers of his appeared in the issue of the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute published this very month, and others are to appear in the issue now in the Press. A distinguished feature of Professor Pathak's papers is that they are in all cases based on new and unimpeachable evidence gleaned from inscriptions and actual quotations from literature, and, not on mere guesses and hypotheses. It is this circumstance which lends to them their value as landmarks. The number of new inscriptions that he has discovered and edited amount to about twenty, while his papers would easily exceed fifty. All these, and especially the latter, deserve to be published in a collected form. A complete list of these, put together with a view to eventual publication, is given at the end.

"The General Body of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute has elected Professor Pathak as its Honorary Member in 1924, and in the same year the University of Tübingen (Germany) conferred upon him the honorary Ph. D. as a mark of its appreciation of Professor Pathak's original and eminent work in the cause of Sanskrit and Jain Literature.

"The scholars who have contributed valuable papers for this occasion hail from the following places:—

Place	No.	Place	No.
Bombay	9	Mysore	2
Gujarat	2	Germany	1
Central Provinces	1	England	1
Punjab	2	Scotland	1
United Provinces	3	Belgium	1
Bengal	16	Norway	1
Bihar and Orissa	2		
Madras	9	Total	51

The papers will be arranged in the following main groups for their publication :

1	Veda and Indo-Iranian Antiquties	... papers	3
2	Epics and Purāṇas	... ...	2
3	Buddhism and Jainism	... ...	6
4	Indian Philosophy	... ...	11
5	Ancient Indian History and Archaeology	... ...	9
6	Grammar and Philology	... ...	4
7	Kāvya and Alaṁkāra	... ...	10
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		Total	51

"The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute begs to take this opportunity to offer its best thanks to all those scholars who so readily responded to the Editorial Committee's invitation for contributions. May the collection of essays thus brought together be deemed by their worthy recepient as a tribute most fitting for the occasion, and may he continue to enjoy his well-merited rest in retirement after such a strenuous but unassuming life of manifold and fruitful literary activity. "

The printing of the Commemorative Volume began early in 1931 and in spite of the delay involved in getting the proofs corrected by the authors resident all over India and beyond it was hoped that the Volume would be ready for presentation in its printed form by 1932. Unexpected delays however intervened and in the mean time Professor Pathak who was not latterly keeping the best of health passed away at Hubli on the 2nd of September 1932 at the age of 82. This was rather disconcerting and disappointing. The Editorial Committee however pushed forward the printing of the volume, which is now being issued on Āśvina Śuddha Aṣṭamī, Śake 1856, the Professor's 84th birth-day, but also unhappily a few days subsequent to his second Death-anniversary. May the soul of the departed scholar accept as a kind of a Vāṅmaya Śrāddha this offering of piety coming from his pupils, admirers and fellow-workers belonging to different Countries and Nationalities, but thus united in expressing their appreciation for the sterling qualities of head and heart

displayed in Professor Pathak's scholarly achievements no less than in his simple and unassuming life and his honest and kindly disposition.

*   *   *   *

My work of seeing this volume through the press was considerably lightened by the loyal assistance rendered by Mr. G. N. Shrigondekar, B A., of the Publication Department of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, who read all the proofs except the final. If some misprints have still remained uncorrected the reader's indulgence for them is requested in view of the peculiar circumstances attending the publication of this work.

B. O. R. Institute,
Poona, 15-10-34.

S. K. Belvalkar

LIST OF WORKS OF PROF. K. B. PATHAK

A. Independent Publications

1. The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa as embodied in the Pārśvābhyudaya of Jinasena, 1st ed. 1894 ; 2nd ed. 1916.
2. Nṛpatuṅga's Kavirājamārga, Bibliotheca Carnatica V, 1898.

B. Papers in the Indian Antiquary

3. On the Date of Śaṁkarācārya, XI, 174.
4. A Kadamba Inscription at Siddhapur, XI, 273.
5. Pūjyapāda and the Authorship of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa, XII, 19.
6. On the Date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa as determined in Śaka 1175, XII, 21.
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8. The Date of Trivikrama, XII, 150.
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17. The Ājivikas, a Sect of Buddhist Bhikṣus, XLI, 88.
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26. New light on the Gupta era and Mihirakula, XLVI, 287; XLVII, 16.

C. Papers in the Epigraphia Indica

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28. Abhona Plates of Śaṁkaragaṇa Kalacuri, Saṁvat 347, IX, 296
29. Rāyagoḍa Plates of Vijayāditya, Śaka 625, X, 14.
30. Pimpari Plates of Dhārāvarṣa Dhruvaraja, Śaka 697, X, 81.
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63. On the Date of Akalaṅkadeva, XIII pp. 157-160.

F. Papers contributed elsewhere

64. The Position of Kumārila in Jain Literature; Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists held at London.
65. An Analysis of the Pampa-Bhārata, in Mr. Rice's edition of the work in Bibliotheca Carnatica.
66. On the text of the Meghadūta as found in the Parśvābhyudaya.
67. A Silahara grant of Saka 1049.

I: Veda and Antiquities

ON THE POSSIBILITY OF CORRUPTIONS IN ṚGVEDA

BY PRINCIPAL VAIJANATH KASHINATH RAJVADE, M. A.

(QUOTATIONS ARE NUMBERED.)

It is a dangerous subject that I am handling. Anything that one does not understand is likely to be set down as corrupt. That is a temptation that ought to be scrupulously avoided, and I have done my best to resist it. This attempt of mine should be treated as an invitation to scholars for discussion. The text of the Ṛgveda has undergone no alteration whatever since its redaction. But what guarantee is there that the Ṛks reached the redactor in the form in which they had left the hand of the composers ? Even at the time of the redaction they were centuries old. It was a floating literature in all probability. Generations of bards had recited it. Slight alterations were quite natural. We come across only bits of what once had been complete Ṛks. Vowels may have been shortened or lengthened.

हरिः (18) has been altered to हरी and गिरा (1) to गिरः ; one vowel may have been substituted for another as उस्मेराः (7) for अस्मेराः ; and one consonant for another as

स्वपत्यानि (2-4) for स्वपस्यांनि,

शुष्मं (6) for शुष्णं,

अत्येषि (9) for अत्येति,

माव स्थात (11) for माप स्थात,

हिरण्यवीनां (12) for हिरण्ययीनां,

and

अधारयः (13) for अदारयः.

In 15 इन्द्रः has been altered to इक्दुः,
in 16 अहृयं ——— to अहृयः,
in 8 देवताता ——— to देवता तर,
in 10 स्वं यशः ——— to स्वयशः,

while 14 and 17 are cases of redundancies which the metres must reject. The intrusion of these redundancies can be accounted for by the only possible theory that Ṛks were committed to writing. Words written on the margin by way of explanation got inserted into the text by the ignorance of the copyist. Recitation would never permit these insertions.

I think vowel alterations and consonantal alterations are quite possible. They are due to mispronunciation which neither spoils the metre nor offends the ear. Keen intelligence added to Vedic learning' can alone detect them.

Irregularities are not infrequent in Ṛgveda. Are what I call corruptions Vedic irregularities? If not corruptions, are they irregularities at all?

गिरः (गिरा ?)

(1) देवयन्तो यथा मतिमच्छा विदद्वसुं गिरः ।
महामनूषत श्रुतम् ॥ (१।६।६) =

देवयन्तः विदद्वसुं महां श्रुतम् अच्छा अनूषत = Devotees or the gods-devoted (देवयन्तः) praised (अच्छा अनूषत) the great (महां), all-known (श्रुतं) Indra who grants wealth (विदद्वसुं).

अच्छा वच् or अच्छा वद् means to speak unto i. e. to praise. नु means to praise and yet अच्छा is prefixed to अनूषत without in any way altering the meaning. The difficult words are यथा मतिं and गिरः. I am not able to say anything about यथा मतिं. But I think गिरः was originally गिरा. देवयन्तः महां गिरा अनूषत. Sāyaṇa renders गिरः by स्तोतारः and यथा मतिं by मन्तारम् इन्द्रं यथा स्तुवन्ति तथा. He is under compulsion and must therefore interpret.

स्वपत्या(? स्या)नि

(2) आ ये विश्वा स्वपत्यानि तस्थुः कृण्वानासो अमृतत्वाय गातुम् ।
मह्ना महद्भिः पृथिवी वि तस्थे ॥ (१।७२।९) =

अमृतत्वाय गातुं कृण्वानासः कृण्वानाः कुर्वन्तः ये विश्वा विश्वानि स्वपत्यानि आतस्थुः तैः महद्भिः पृथिवी वि तस्थे.

The Ṛk seems to refer to the Ṛbhus who (desirous of) making a path for (their own) immortality took their stand on, i. e.,

had recourse to (आतस्थुः), marvellous deeds (स्वपत्यानि). By their power (मह्ना) the great Ṛbhus (महद्भिः) occupy (वि तस्थे) wide heaven (पृथिवी).

स्वपत्यानि is meaningless. It must be स्वपस्यानि. Remarks on the next Ṛk will make this clear.

(३) ये अश्विना ये पितरा य ऊती धेनुं ततक्षुर्ऋभवो ये अश्वा ।
ये अंसत्रा य ऋधग्रोदसी ये विभ्वो नरः स्वपत्यानि चक्रुः ॥ (४।३४।९).

ये ऋभवः अश्विना अश्विनौ ततक्षुः. The Ṛbhus fashioned the chariot of the Aśvins (१।२०।३). I have not found any reference to their creating the Aśvins.

ये पितरा ततक्षुः (१।२०।४). They rejuvenated their old parents.

ये धेनुं ततक्षुः (१।१११०।८). They made a cow out of a hide and restored the mother-cow to the calf.

ऊती = ऊत्या = by their miracle-working power.

ये इन्द्रस्य अश्वौ ततक्षुः (१।२०।२).

ये अंसत्रा अंसत्राणि ततक्षुः. There is no mention of this elsewhere in ṚV. अंसत्राणि ? Perhaps it means अन्तरिक्षाणि.

ये रोदसी ततक्षुः. No reference to this too.

ऋधक् = separately or successfully.

विभ्वः नरः स्वपत्यानि चक्रुः = these powerful (विभ्वः) heroes (नरः), performed (चक्रुः). स्वपत्यानि = स्वपतनसाधनानि कर्माणि तत्प्राप्तिसाधनानि वा कर्माणि (सायणः). स्वपतन must have been स्वर्गापतन. Or स्वपतन = सु + अपतन.

स्वपस्यया, सुकृत्यया, तरणित्वेन, शच्या, शमी, शमीभिः and विष्टी refer to the marvellous powers of the Ṛbhus who are twice called स्वपसः, i.e., wonder-workers. स्वपस्यानि therefore is a word that we naturally expect in descriptions of their deeds. स्वपत्यानि originally must have been स्वपस्यानि.

स्वपत्यानि occurs 4 times in ṚV. and except in VIII. 15. 10 has the meaning of स्वपस्यानि. Sāyaṇa in duty bound explains the word as meaning deeds that prevent one's fall from heaven or that take one to heaven and in VIII. 15. 10 as शोभनैः पुत्रादिभिः सहितानि.

रयिं० स्वपत्यं (१।११६।१९ ॥ २।४।८), रयिं सुवीरं स्वपत्यं (७।१।५), प्रजावन्तं स्वपत्यं क्षयं (७।१।१२), वस्वो रायः० प्रजावतः स्वपत्यस्य (२।२।१२), स्वपत्यस्य रायः (२।९।५ ॥ ३।१६।१ ॥ १०।३०।१२), स्वपत्यस्य शिक्षोः (३।१९।३), राये० स्वपत्याय (४।२।११), स्वपत्यै० इषे (१।५४।११) : all these show how स्वपत्य qualifies words meaning wealth. स्वपत्ये आयुनि (३।३।७) = in a member of the Āyu tribe that has a troop of children ; or perhaps in wealth joined to wealth. स्वपत्याय in one Ṛk (१।८३।६) qualifies राये understood. स्वपत्यानि in the present Ṛk at least has nothing to do with riches. It refers to the miracles wrought by the Ṛbhus.

The question is, did the composers of the Ṛks mispronounce स्वपस्यानि, or was the corruption due to mispronunciation in later times ?

(4) पीवोअन्नान् रयिवृधः सुमेधाः श्वेतः सिषक्ति नियुतामभिश्रीः ।
ते वायवे समनसो वि तस्थुर्विश्वेन्नरः स्वपत्यानि चक्रुः ॥ (७।९१।३) =

सुमेधाः मेधसा धनेन युक्तः नियुतां धनानाम् अभिश्रीः श्रिया युक्तः श्वेतः प्रकाशमानः अग्निः पीवः अन्नं येषां ताम् रयीणां धनानां वृधः वर्धयितॄन् देवान् सिषक्ति परिचरति । ते समनसः ऐकमत्येन वायवे वि तस्थुः वायुं परिचरितुं निश्चिक्युः । ते नरः विश्वा विश्वानि इत् अपि स्वपत्यानि चक्रुः.

Agni serves the gods with fat or flesh that is offered into him.

Who are the नरः ? They (the Maruts ?) decide to worshjp or to serve Vāyu, i. e. Indra at whose command they performed all possible wonderful deeds. स्वपत्यानि ought to be स्वपस्यानि.

(5) त्वं वृषा जनानां मंहिष्ठ इन्द्र जज्ञिषे । सत्रा विश्वा स्वपत्यानि दधिषे ॥ (८।१५।१०)=

हे इन्द्र वृषा त्वं जनानां देवानां त्वं मंहिष्ठः जज्ञिषे जातः असि । सत्रा सदैव विश्वा विश्वानि स्वपत्यानि अपत्ययुक्तानि वसूनि दधिषे धारयसि. मंहिष्ठः = दातृतमः.

स्वपत्यानि is all right here.

शुष्मं (? स्णं)

(6) अधाकृणोः प्रथमं वीर्यं महद्यदस्याग्रे ब्रह्मणा शुष्ममैरयः ।
रथेष्ठेन हर्यश्वेन विच्युताः प्र जीरयः सिस्रते सध्र्यक् पृथक् (२।१७।३) ॥ =

अध अथ हे इन्द्र प्रथमं महत् वीर्यम् अकृणोः अकरोः यत् अस्य अग्रे त्वं ब्रह्मणा अस्माकं स्तुत्यां शुष्मम् ऐरयः । रथेष्ठेन रथस्थितेन हरी अश्वौ यस्य तेन विच्युताः जीरयः स पक् पृथक् प्र सिस्रते =

Then thou didst thy first, grand (महत्) act of heroism (वीर्यं) that at the very commencement (अग्रे) of this (अस्य) preparation (mentioned in the preceding Ṛk), thou didst scatter (ऐरयः) Śuṣma. Then waters (जीरयः) let down (विच्युताः) by Indra who had gold-horses (हर्यश्वेन) and sat in a chariot (रथेष्ठेन) flowed (प्र सिस्रते) fast (पृथक्), all marching together (सध्र्यक्).

वीरस्य कर्म वीर्यम्. अस्य अग्रे ? जीरयः = mighty waters ; from जॄ to grow strong. सध्रि + अञ्च् = to go together. पृथक् = fast.

The Vedic bards always referred to the power of their praises and charms (ब्रह्मणा).

शुष्मं is a suspicious word. I think it was शुष्णं originally. Cf. उग्रो यर्यि निरपः स्रोतसासृजद्वि शुष्णस्य दृंहिता ऐरयत्पुरः (१।५१।११).

If शुष्मं be genuine, whose strength was it ? Sāyaṇa says :— thou didst raise (ऐरयः = उद्गमयः) thy strength that dries up the strength of enemies (शुष्मं = शत्रूणां शोषकं बलं). As soon as Śuṣṇa was pulverised and scattered, waters rushed down. That is the sense.

अस्मेराः (? स्मेराः)

(7) तमस्मेरा युवतयो युवानं मर्मृज्यमानाः परि यन्त्यापः (२।३५।४) =

अस्मेराः युवतयः आपः युवानं तं मर्मृज्यमानाः परि यन्ति = Just as young damsels surround or stand round a young man while giving him a bath, so waters pass round that (son of waters, viz. अपां नपातं).

मृज् = to give a bath. अस्मेराः दर्परहिताः says Sāyaṇa ; but that is an unusual sense of स्मि which means to smile, to smirk. Young damsels must smile, they must smirk. They enjoy the fun. अस्मेराः therefore cannot be the right word. Cf. अभि प्रवन्त समनेव योषाः कल्याण्यः स्मयमानासो अग्निम् (४।५८।८).

The word must be स्मेराः तमस्मेराः must be तम् स्मेराः.

देवता तां (देवताता)

(8) युवं श्रियमश्विना देवता तां दिवो नपाता वनथः शचीभिः । (४।४४।२) =

हे दिवः नपाता नपातौ अश्विना अश्विनौ युवं युवां शचीभिः श्रियं वनथः = O Aśvins, sons of Dyaus, you, by the miraculous powers you possess, enjoy the company of the fair damsel, Suryā.

Several gods took part in the competition for the hand of Surya. The Aśvins won her. She is the Śri here.

Sāyaṇa renders देवता by देवते and construes तां with श्रियं. The two Aśvins are the two Devatās according to him. I think, however, that देवता तां was originally देवताता. देवताता = देवताती = देवानां संघे. A host of gods competed for Sūryā's hand. The Aśvins who succeeded were in that competing host. By their success they are called शुभस्पती. शुभ् also means a fair damsel.

अत्येषि (अत्येति ?)

(9) प्र सद्यो अग्ने अत्येष्यन्यानाविर्यस्मै चारुतमो बभूथ ।

ईळेन्यो वपुष्यो विभावा प्रियो विशामतिथिर्मानुषीणाम् ॥ (५।१।९) =

हे अग्ने ईळेन्यः वपुष्यः विभावा चारुतमः मानुषीणां विशां प्रियः अतिथिः त्वं यस्मै आविः बभूथ भवसि स त्वं सद्यः अन्यान् प्र अति एषि.

ईळेन्यः = ईड्यः = स्तुत्यः. वपुष्यः = full of flames. विभावा =full of lustre or flames. मानुषीणां विशां = of men. प्र = अति.

An antecedent is wanted for यस्मै. सः जनः अन्यान् जनान् प्र सद्यः अति एति is what is expected and wanted. अत्येषि is evidently wrong. It was due to सेदग्निरग्नीँरत्येत्यन्यान् (७।१।१४) = सः इत् एव अग्निः अन्यान् अग्नीन् अति एति. सहस्रशृङ्गो वृषभस्तदोजा विश्वाँ अग्ने सहसा प्रास्यन्यान् (५।१।८) = हे अग्ने सहस्रशृङ्गः वृषभः तस्य वृषभस्य ओजः इव ओजः यस्य स त्वं सहसा बलेन विश्वान् अन्यान् अग्नीन् प्र अति असि.

This Ṛk may seem to justify अत्येषि. But यस्मै comes in the way of the justification.

नू नश्चित्रं॰ अग्ने रयिं मघवद्भ्यश्च धेहि । ये राधसा श्रवसा चात्यन्यान् सुवीर्येभिश्चाभि सन्ति जनान् ॥ (६।१०।५) = हे अग्ने नः अस्मभ्यं ये राधसा श्रवसा च अन्यान् अति सन्ति सुवीर्येभिः सुवीर्यैः अन्यान् जनान् अभि सन्ति तेभ्यः मघवद्भ्यश्च नू अद्यैव अधुनैव चित्रं रयिं धेहि देहि. To surpass others in wealth and a multitude of brave sons is a very natural desire.

येन वयं चितयेमात्यन्यान् तं वाजं चित्रमृभवो ददा नः (४।३६।९)= हे ऋभवः येन वयम् अन्यान् अति चितयेम तं वाजं चित्रं नः अस्मभ्यं दद दत्त. What more natural than the desire of out-shining others in wealth ?

The arguments in favour of अत्येति are stronger than those in favour of अत्येषि. सद्यः justifies the correction still more. That man to

whom Agni reveals himself *immediately* surpasses others. The word is meaningless in the case of Agni surpassing other Agnis. The Ṛgveda, however, is full of irregularities. Offences against Syntax are not uncommon. Though as a general rule there are antecedents for relatives, sometimes the antecedent sentence is altogether wanting as in 7. 60. 4, 8. 3. 23, and 8. 52. 3. Sometimes the antecedent word is understood as in 7. 59. 4.

यस्य त्वामिन्द्र स्तोमेषु चाकनो वाजे वाजिन् शतक्रतो ।

तं त्वा वयं सुदुघामिव गोदुहो जुहूमसि श्रवस्यवः ॥ (८।५२।४) =

हे वाजिन् शतक्रतो इन्द्र यस्य स्तोमेषु त्वं चाकनः । श्रवस्यवः श्रवः धनम् इच्छन्तः वयं तं त्वा त्वां वाजे संग्रामे जुहूमसि आह्वयामः । इव यथा गोदुहः सुदुघां गाम् आह्वयन्ति तथा. Here यस्य has no antecedent whatever, though it seems as though तं in the 2nd half were that antecedent.

Nevertheless I think अत्येषि was originally अत्येति.

हे अग्ने त्वं यज्ञम् आसाद्य (सद्यः) तदानीमेव अन्यान् स्वसमानान् अत्येषि अतिक्रामसि । यस्मै चारुतमः सन् आविर्बभूथ । किंच ईळेन्यः० भवसि. In this rendering Sāyaṇa leaves यस्मै without an antecedent.

स्वयशः (स्वं यशः)

(10) अस्य हि स्वयशस्तर आसा विधर्मन् मन्यसे ।

तं नाकं चित्रशोचिषं मन्द्रं परो मनीषया ॥ (५।१७।२) =

अस्य अग्नेः स्वयशः तरः हि खलु वर्तते । नाकं परः विधर्मन् विधर्मणि वर्तमानं तं चित्रशोचिषं मन्द्रम् अग्निम् आसा मनीषया मन्यसे मन्ये स्तौमि.

विधर्मन् it seems was a heaven above (परः) नाक. Agni originally lived there. He takes delight (मन्द्रं) in Soma. His flames (शोचिषं) ever burn (चित्र). मन्य + स् (of लेट्) + ए = मन्यसे = मन्ये. परः governs the accusative, here नाकं.

I praise him in praises with my mouth (आसा).

The Padakāra considers स्वयशस्तरः to be one pada. But it does not seem to be so. अस्य हि यशः तरश्च स्वं = Agni has his own strength. यशस् and तरस् both mean strength. The Padakāra was misled by स्वयुरिन्द्र स्वराळसि स्मद्दिष्टिः स्वयशस्तरः (३।४६।५); but स्वयशस्तरः qualifies त्वं here. What does स्वयशस्तरः qualify in the present Ṛk ?

स्वयशस्तरः or ं is an adjective in the other 2 Ṛks where it occurs. What then is स्वयशस्तरः here ? I would alter स्व to स्वं and then the whole difficulty disappears. अस्य हि यशः तरः स्वं स्वकीयं = his, verily, is inborn (स्वं) strength. यशः = तरः = बलम्. We have such expressions as स्वं शवः (५।५८।७) and स्वम् ओजः (७।८२।६).

माव (माप) स्थात

(11) आ यात मरुतो दिव आन्तरिक्षादमाद्धुतः।

माव स्थात परावतः ॥ (५।५३।८) =

हे मरुतः दिवः अमात् अन्तरिक्षात् परावतः आ आ यात । मा अव स्थात.

दिवः = अमात् अन्तरिक्षात्=परावतः = from heaven. मा अव स्थात = do not stay away. The corrupt word is अव which ought to be अप. अव means down ; अप away.

Cf. आ गन्ता मा रिषण्यत प्रस्थावानो माप स्थाता समन्यवः (८।२०।१) and

दूतेव हि ष्ठो यशसा जनेषु माप स्थात महिषेवावपानात् (१०।१०६।२). But

अव सिन्धुं वरुणो द्यौरिव स्थात (७।८७।६) ;

न ते महित्वमनु भूदध द्यौर्यदन्यया स्फिग्या क्षामवस्थाः (३।३२।११).

हिरण्यवी(? यी)नां

(12) दाता मे पृषतीनां राजा हिरण्यवीनाम् ।

मा देवा मघवा रिषत् ॥ (८।६५।१०) =

मे मह्यं हिरण्यवीनां पृषतीनां दाता मघवा राजा हे देवाः मा रिषत् = Let not this rich (मघवा) king, donor to me of gold (हिरण्यवीनां) mares (पृषतीनां) come to grief (रिषत्).

हिरण्यवीनां occurs here only. Sāyaṇa renders it by हिरण्य-वीतानां which means हिरण्यवत् कान्तानां. वीतानां has been shortened to वीनां for the sake of the metre. But really the word is a mispronunciation of हिरण्ययीनां. The form हिरण्यय (fem. यी) occurs nearly 65 times in ṚV. Was हिरण्ययीनां pronounced हिरण्यवीनां by the composer himself or was it a later mispronunciation ?

अधा(? दा)रयः

(13) एता च्यौत्नानि ते कृता वर्षिष्ठानि परीणसा ।
इदा वीळ्वधारयः ॥ (८।७७।९) =

हे इन्द्र एता एतानि वर्षिष्ठानि च्यौत्नानि ते त्वया परीणसा राया सह कृता कृतानि । इदा वीळु दृढं त्वम् अधारयः.

च्यु = to bring down. च्यु + त्नं = च्यौत्नं = a shower brought down or let fall. वर्षिष्ठानि = immense ; from वर्ष् to shower. Indra showers down treasures of heaven. Cf. इन्द्रः कोशमचुच्यवीत् । खेदया त्रिवृता दिवः (८।७२।८).

The usual expression is राया परीणसा ; here and in 1. 166. 14 there is परीणसा alone.

From thy very heart, thou sustainest what is strong (वीळु). But there is no merit in sustaining what is strong. On the contrary Indra smashes what is strong. अस्य मन्युः० शृणाति वीळु रुजति स्थिराणि (१०।८९।६). अदारयः therefore must have been the original word. Indra set his heart on tearing the treasure of Dyaus. दृ appears in such forms as दरयः, दरयन्, दर्दः etc.

ऋषिबन्धवे

(14) विश्वेत्ता ते सवनेषु प्रवाच्या या चकर्थ मघवन्निन्द्र सुन्वते ।
पारावतं यत्पुरुसंभृतं वस्वपावृणोः शरभाय ऋषिबन्धवे ॥ (८।१००।६) =

हे मघवन् इन्द्र या यानि त्वं सुन्वते चकर्थ ता तानि विश्वा विश्वानि इत् अपि सवनेषु प्रवाच्या प्रवाच्यानि । यत् यस्मात् ऋषीणां बन्धवे शरभाय परावति वर्तमानं पुरु संभृतं वसु त्वम् अपावृणोः.

प्रवाच्या = to be proclaimed, bruited abroad. परावत् = one of the 3 heavens. पुरु = immense. संभृतं = stored. अप + अवृणोः = didst discover.

ऋषि spoils the metre and is not wanted.

विश्वा इत्ता ते सवनेषु प्रवाच्या = 12 syllables.

या चकर्थ मघवन्निन्द्र सुन्वते = 12.

पारावतं यत्पुरु संभृतं वसु = 12.

अप अवृणोः शरभाय बन्धवे = 12.

The name शरम occurs here only. He was Indra's rel… (बन्धवे) as it were. There was a close friendship, even relation… between gods and men. Some one did not relish the idea of a man being Indra's relative and therefore prefixed ऋषि to बन्धवे by way of explanation. बन्धु means a father in ṚV. which perhaps was a rock of offence to the interpolator. Who could tolerate a statement that a human being was Indra's father? But the word may mean a relative or a friend or better still, one possessed of riches.

इन्दुः (इन्द्रः)

(15) यः सोमः कलशेष्वाँ अन्तः पवित्र आहितः ।

तमिन्दुः परि षस्वजे ॥ (९।१२।५) =

यः सोमः कलशेषु आ मध्ये पवित्रे अन्तः आहितः तम् इन्दुः परि सस्वजे = Soma (इन्दुः) embraces that Soma that is placed (first) in the strainer (पवित्रे) and (then) in the jars (कलशेषु). आ = अन्तः. Two Somas are combined here. What are they? तं स्वांशभूतं सोमम् इन्दुः सोमः देवः परि सस्वजे प्रविशति (सायणः). This explanation is not satisfactory. इन्दुः is suspicious. It must be इन्द्रः. Indra is avid of Soma. इन्द्राय पातवे सुतः is a frequent expression. इन्दुरिन्द्र इति ब्रुवन् (९।६३।९) shows how Soma was an invariable accident of Indra. इन्द्रमिन्द्रो वृषा विश (९।२।१) is not an infrequent expression.

अह्रयः

(16) अस्य प्रत्नामनु द्युतं शुक्रं दुदुह्रे अह्रयः । पयः सहस्रसामृषिम् (९।५४।१)= अस्य सोमस्य प्रत्नां पुराणां द्युतं द्योतमानां तनुम् अनु शुक्रं दीप्तं सहस्रसाम् अभिलाषितस्य अपरिमितस्य कर्मफलस्य दातारं पयः पातव्यं रसम् अह्रयः कवयः दुदुह्रे दुहन्ति (सायणः). Sāyaṇa renders अह्रयः by कवयः, But there is no such word as अह्रि in ṚV. of which अह्रयः would be the plural. अह्रय is an adjective as in वाजी अह्रयः दाश्वान् (१।७४।८) । भोजः सूरिर्यो अह्रयः (८।७०।१३) । कृधी नो अह्रयो देव सवितः (१०।९३।९) । अह्रयं वाजं (३।२।४) । राधो अह्रयं (५।७९।५ ॥ ८।५४।८ ॥ ८।५६।१) । प्रजावद्रेतो अह्रयं नो अस्तु (७।६७।६) । ईळते त्वाग्ने॰ अह्रयं (८।६०।१६) । राधांसि अह्रया (५।७९।६ ॥ ८।८।१३) । अह्रये धने (१०।१४७।३).

अह्रयं therefore must be the form of the word here, so that it may qualify पयः. शुक्रं, अह्रयं and सहस्रसां all these qualify पयः.

Sāyaṇa has not interpreted ऋषिं which he leaves out. The word really has no business here. नव्यमायुः प्रसू तिर कृधी सहस्रसामृषिं (१।१०।११); here ऋषिं is all right. The composer of the sūkta says :—Increase i. e. give fresh and long life and make the bard (ऋषिं) a possessor of thousands. सहस्रसां in our Ṛk had some other word after it. In course of time that word came to be unconsciously replaced by ऋषिं.

रजस्तुरं

(17) आ सोता परि षिञ्चताश्वं न स्तोममप्तुरं रजस्तुरम् ।

वनक्रक्षमुदप्रुतम् ॥ (९।१०८।७) =

(हे ऋत्विजः सोमम्) आ सोत सुनुत । (पवित्रेण) परि (कलशे) सिञ्चत । कीदृशं सोमम् । अश्वः अश्वबलः इन्द्रः । तं न इव स्तोमं स्तुत्यम् । अपां तुरं दातारम् । रजसः उदकस्य तुरं दातारम् । वने दारुमये कलशे ऋक्षं भल्लूकम् । उदनि प्लवन्तम् उदप्रुतम्. = Squeeze Soma, O priests, and pour him through the strainer into the water-jar, Soma who is as deserving of praise as the horse-like Indra, who like Indra gives waters, who is a bear in the wood and who floats in water.

परि (= through) पवित्रेण = through the strainer. Soma is most often identified with Indra who killed Vṛtra and won back waters. Indra is strong like a horse and deserves praise for heroic deeds. The water-jar is made of wood. As a bear sports in a wood, so does Soma in the wooden jar. Soma is liberally diluted with water in which consequently he floats. प्रु or प्लु = to float.

रजस्तुरं is not wanted by the Gāyatrī metre which consists of three pādas, each pāda consisting of 8 vowels.

आ सोता परि षिञ्चत = 8 syllables.

अश्वं न स्तोममप्तुरम् = 8.

वनक्रक्षमुदप्रुतम् = 8.

रजस्तुरं is therefore an interloper.

हरी

(18) हरिश्मशारुर्हरिकेश आयसस्तुरस्पेये यो हरिपा अवर्धत ।

अर्वद्भिर्यो हरिभिर्वाजिनीवसुरति विश्वा दुरिता पारिषद्धरी ॥ (१०।९६।८) = (Indra) has gold mustaches and beard (हरिश्मशारुः) and gold

hair (हरिकेशः). His body is of gold (आयसः). That warrior (तुरः), drinking gold-coloured Soma (हरिपाः) grew strong (अवर्धत) by that drink (पेये). Possessed of wealth (वाजिनीवसुः) he leads (पारिषत) people across (अति) all (विश्वा) dangers (दुरिता) by means of his gold (हरिभिः) horses (अर्वद्भिः).

What about हरी ? हरी रथे योजयित्वा says Sâyaṇa. But हरी means two horses which is against अर्वद्भिः which means by the help of many horses. I think the original word was हरिः. It refers to Indra who has a gold complexion. Indra is actually called हरिः in 3. 44. 3.

ARYAN MORALITY IN THE BRAHMAṆA PERIOD -

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(1) *Truthfulness*—

In dealing with the question of Aryan morality the first thing that attracts our attention is Truthfulness. It has been extolled in the very beginning of at least two of the most important Brāhmaṇa works — I mean the Śatapatha and the Aitareya. The entire Brāhmaṇa literature is permeated with the ideal of truthfulness. It has sometimes been praised in the strongest terms possible and the reader cannot but admire the high standard of morality the Āryans had attained at that early age. We have got bright instances of truthfulness in the Purāṇas and the Kāvyas but those of the Vedas are in no way inferior to any of these. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa opens, as it were, with an injunction of truth. In the very beginning of this Brāhmaṇa we find passages recommending truth and deprecating untruth.[1] The Brāhmaṇas of the Yajurveda begin with the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice. The Vratopāyana is the first ceremony of the Pūrṇamāsa sacrifice. One of the preliminary functions of this ceremony is to take a vow to speak the truth and avoid the untruth. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa also begins with a similar instruction for speaking the truth.[2]

There is a passage in the second Kāṇḍa of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, in connection with the Agnyādhāna ceremony, where a very great importance has been attached to truthfulness. It says that truthfulness is a potential factor of the sacrificer which adds to his strength (tejas) and welfare (śreyas) and the want of which diminishes these two day after day. One who is truthful will gradually gain in strength and prosperity like fire supplied with ghee, whereas

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1 अमेध्यो वै पुरुषो यदनृतं वदति (Śat. Brā. 1, 1, 1, 1) and स वै सत्यमेव वदेत् (Ś. B. 1, 1, 1, 5).

2 तस्माद्दीक्षितेन सत्यमेव वदितव्यम् (Ait. Brā. 1, 1, 6).

a person devoid of truthfulness will gradually decay in strength and will be vile and degraded like fire sprinkled with water.[1]

The Agnyādhāna or the establishment of the sacred fire is practically the primary ceremony of every sacrificer. No sacrifice can be performed without this sacred fire. The above passage of the Śatapatha states that the Agnyādheya or the sacrificer who observes the Agnyādhāna ceremony must, by all means, be a truthful man. The sacred fire being absolutely necessary for every sacrifice, and the man who has established this fire being required to be truthful, it is evident that the above injunction practically compels every sacrificer to be truthful. This passage refers to the Agnyādheya or the Āhitāgni sacrificer and not merely to the Agnyādhāna ceremony, so it follows that an Āhitāgni should be truthful throughout his life.

Here it may be said that the above statement that the Agnyādhāna is the primary ceremony is not a correct one, because, in all the Yajurveda Brāhmaṇas the Darśapūrṇamāsa has been described as the first sacrifice. But the answer to this question is that the Darśapūrṇamāsa has been given as the first sacrifice on technical grounds only. The Pavamāna *Iṣṭi* is a part of the Agnyādhāna ceremony, and this Pavamāna, being an *Iṣṭi*, is a modification or Vikṛti of the Darśapūrṇamāsa which is the Prakṛti or the fundamental form of all *Iṣṭis* (corn sacrifices). The fundamental form must be described before its modification; so, it is for this reason only that the Darśapūrṇamāsa, the fundamental form of all Iṣṭi sacrifices has been placed first in all the Brāhmaṇa works of the Yajurveda. Sāyaṇa has clearly explained all these points in his commentary on the Taittirīya Saṁhitā. The Darśapūrṇamāsa is the first sacrifice to the Vedic expert or to the scholar, that is to say, to one who has to teach or to one who has to learn the problems of the Vedic rituals. But for all practical purposes the Agnyādhāna is the first sacrifice to a sacrificer.

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1 तस्य वा एतस्याग्न्याधेयस्य सत्यमेवोपचारः स यः सत्यं वदति यथाग्निं समिद्धं तं घृतेनाभिषिञ्चेदेवं हैनं स उद्दीपयति तस्य भूयो भूय एव तेजो भवति श्वः श्वः श्रेयान् भवति अथ योऽनृतं वदति यथाग्निं समिद्धं तमुदकेनाभिषिञ्चेदेवं स जासयति तस्य कनीयः कनीय एव तेजो भवति श्वः श्वः पापीयान् भवति तस्मात् सत्यमेव वदेत् । (Śat. Brā. 2, 2, 2, 19),

In the next Kaṇḍikā of the above passage of Śatapatha it is said that the Āhitāgni should be "Vācaṁyama" a restrainer of speech, and "Na vadañ jātu", should not ever speak, because a man who speaks much cannot usually help speaking an untruth.[1] In conformity with this Vedic rule the Śrauta Sūtras also state anṛta as the first thing which an Āhitāgni must avoid.[2] The commentator Harisvâmin states that this Vedic injunction for truth is meant only for the welfare of the Āhitāgni.[3] Sāyaṇa concludes his commentary on this passage by stating that truthfulness is a part and parcel of the Agnyādheya.[4]

We find another passage in the ninth kāṇḍa of the same Brāhmaṇa[5] which says that though a man who speaks nothing but truth may not be rewarded immediately by prosperity he becomes nevertheless a prosperous man in the long run.

The highest tribute to truthfulness is however given in a passage in the second kāṇḍa of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[6] At a certain stage[7] of the Varuṇapraghāsa ceremony the wife of the sacrificer had to publicly acknowledge her adultery if there had been any in her life. This open confession of her guilt was rewarded not only by a simple pardon but she was accepted by her husband and the society and she was allowed to take part in the religious ceremonies along with her husband. The ancient Āryans gave truthfulness the

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1 तदु हाप्यरुणमौपवेशिं ज्ञातय ऊचुः। स्थविरो वा अग्नी आधत्स्वेति । स होवाच ते मैतद् ब्रूथ वाचंयम एवैधि । न वा आहिताग्निनानृतं वदितव्यं न वदन् जातु नानृतं वदेत्तावत् सत्यमेवोपचार इति । (Śat. Brāh. 2, 2, 2, 20).

2 अनृतातिथ्यापनोदपूतिदार्वाधानर्वीसपंक्तनाव्युदकानि वर्जयेत् । (Kāt. Śra. Sūtra, 4, 257).

3 तस्मादाहिताग्नेः **रक्षणार्थः** सत्यविधिः । (Harisvāmin's commentary).

4 तस्मात् सत्यवचनमेवाग्न्याधेयस्याङ्गमित्यर्थः । (Sāyaṇa's commentary).

5 ते देवाः सर्वं सत्यमवदन् सर्वमसुरा अनृतं ते देवाः आसक्ति सत्यं वदन्तः ऐषावीरतरा इवासुरनाढ्यतरा इव तस्मादु हैतद्य आसक्ति सत्यं वदत्यैषावीरतर इवैव भवत्यनाढ्यतर इव स ह त्वेवान्ततो भवति देवा ह्येवान्ततोऽभवन् । (Śat. Bra. 9, 5, 1, 16).

6 स पत्नीमुदानेष्यन् पृच्छति केन चरसीति वरुण्यं वा एतत् स्त्री करोति यदन्यस्य सत्यन्येन चरत्यथो नेन्मेऽन्तः शल्या जुहवदिति तस्मात् पृच्छति निरुक्तं वा एनः कनीयो भवति सत्यं हि भवति तस्मादेव पृच्छति सा यन्न प्रतिजानीत ज्ञातिभ्यो हास्यैतदहितं स्यात् । (Ś. B. 2,5,2,20).

7 During the करम्भपात्रहोम by the wife of the यजमान ।

first place in the list of all good qualities that a human being may possess. If a woman had been engaged with a person other than her husband it was a sin no doubt, but if she only openly confessed it, her sin would be minimised to a great extent only because she had preferred to stick to truthfulness. If she suppressed her guilt and did not give out the truth, that would bring evil to her near relations. Such a sin of women which is greatly looked down upon could be pardoned if it was only publicly admitted. A similar passage is found in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa also.[1] The Śrauta Sūtras[2] as well as this passage of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa go a step further and demand not only a general confession but also the definite statement of the name of the paramour or paramours. It is however interesting to note that for those women who could not give out the names of the paramours out of shame, an alternative had been proposed in the way of uprooting as many grasses as there had been the number of their offences.[3]

We should not conclude, however, from this that the Aryan society overlooked the moral delinquencies of their women when it was habitual or that illicit connection was of common occurrence. These texts only prove how liberal was the society and what a great importance it attached to truthfulness.

These passages certainly referred to penitent wives who were habitually pure in their character but who might have, in an evil moment, for reasons well known to all, gone astray. We have heard of scores of such goings astray in the cases of our sages and have not only overlooked them but have continued to offer these sages the same high position as they had held before they had committed the offences. What we do in the case of the men justice requires that we should do the same in the case of the women. The Aryans were a just and liberal race and such casual moral turpitudes

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1 यज्जारं सन्तं न प्रब्रयात् । प्रियं ज्ञातिं रुन्ध्यात् असौ मे जार·इति निर्दिशेत् ।
(Tait. Brā. 1, 6, 5, 2).

2 "संमार्जनाय प्रेषिते संमृष्टे प्रातिप्रस्थाता पत्नीमानेष्यन्नाह केन चरसीति ।" and again "संस्तुतानाचष्टे"। (Kat. Śr. Sūtra 5, 116 and 117).

3 यदि लज्जादिवशात् न कथयति प्रतिजारं तृणानि उद्गृह्णाति ।
(Notes on Kāt. Srau. Sūtra).

of the ladies as well as of men were judged by the same standard in their society and they were pardoned or their guilt was overlooked. But we are a degenerated nation now and so we overlook the misdoings of our men but punish our women for the same offence in a deplorable way only because they are weak.

Not only the Brāhmaṇas but the whole range of Vedic literature gives a very high place to truthfulness. Every scholar is well acquainted with the famous Jābāla story of the Upaniṣad.[1]

In the face of these bright examples of *satya* it is not a fact that truthfulness was known in the West first and the East learnt it from the West.

(2) *Chastity*—

The next point that I wish to deal with is chastity. I have already noted that moral turpitude was not a frequent occurrence in the women of the Vedic society. On the other hand there are instances to show that chastity in ladies was highly appreciated and there are brilliant examples of fidelity and devotion of wives. The fifth Brāhmaṇa of the first Adhyāya of the fourth Kāṇḍa of Śatapatha narrates the story of Sukanyā and Cyavana. The moral of chastity given here is very high. Sukanyā the beautiful daugther of Śaryāta Mānava was given in marriage, by her father, to the decrepit and abominable[2] Cyavana. When the Aśvins, coming to her with a desire to win her love, told her to follow them leaving her husband away, she replied "To whom my father has given me I will not abandon him as long as he lives."[3] What a noble answer it was ! She requested them not to vilify her husband for his deformities and prayed to them, divine physicians as they were, to cure him of his physical defects. Whatever a section of modern foreigners may say to the contrary, it is for this purity of character that the ladies of India had been and are still renowned all over the civilised world.

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1 Narrated in the fourth kāṇḍa of the fourth Adhyāya of Chāndogya Upaniṣad.

2 जीर्णिः कृत्यारूपो । (Ś. B. 4, 1, 5, 9).

3 सा होवाच यस्मै मां पितादान्नैवाहं तं जीवन्तं हास्यामीति । (Ś. B. 4, 1, 5, 9).

(3) *Restraint and Moderation—*

I now pass over to the topic of Saṁyama or restraint. Restraint is absolutely necessary for a human being to lead a healthy and happy life. Health is the greatest wealth. To enjoy perfect health one must be moderate in his habits and should not submit to excesses. We cannot keep good health unless we are moderate and restrained in respect of our food. There is a passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa which shows that the Aryans were moderate as regards their meals.[1] Moderate eating keeps the body light and capable of hard work ; on the other hand if anyone eats much and gets fatty thereby he becomes unable to work and is despised. The Vedic text referred to above says that one who eats only twice (i. e. in the morning and in the evening) gets a long life and his sayings never fail. This reminds one of the famous line of the great poet Bhavabhūti — ऋषीणां पुनराद्यानां वाचमर्थोऽनुधावति.

It is interesting to note here that in the ancient Aryan society the ladies did not take their food in the presence of their husband or other male members. The Vedic passage is "तस्मादिमा मानुष्यस्त्रियस्तिर इवैव जिघत्सन्ति या इव ता इवेति ह स्माह याज्ञवल्क्यः (Śat. Brā. 1, 9, 2, 12, in connection with the Patnīsaṁyāja ceremony). In this connection the commentator Harisvāmin however adds that kṣudra-yoṣitaḥ, girls, do take their food in the presence of men.

It is possible that the reference to the venerable name of Yājñavalkya in the above-quoted passage of Śatapatha is intended to show a difference of opinion among the Ṛṣis of that age. It may mean that this was the opinion of Yājñavalkya, but there were contrary views too. As in a grammatical Sūtra the name of a Ṛṣi in it implies that the rule is an optional one, so in these Brāhmaṇa passages also the name of any Ṛṣi in a particular passage sometimes implied that this was his opinion on the point, but there were opposite

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1 नैव देवा अतिक्रामन्ति न पितरो न पशवो मनुष्या एवैकेऽतिक्रामन्ति तस्माद्यो मनुष्याणां मेद्यत्यशुभे मेद्यति विह्वर्छति हि नह्ययनाय चन भवत्यनृतं हि कृत्वा मेद्यति तस्माद्‌ सायंप्रातराश्येव स्यात् स यो हैवं विद्वान् सायंप्रातराशी भवति सर्वं हैवायुरेति यदु ह किंच वाचा व्याहरति तदु हैव भवत्येतद्धि देवसत्यं गोपायति तद्वैतत्तेजो नाम ब्राह्मणं य एतस्य व्रतं शक्नोति चरितुम् । (Ś. B. 2, 4, 2, 6). (This is a passage in connection with the पिण्डपितृयज्ञ).

views. According to Yājñavalkya women should not take food before men ; but according to others there was no such prohibition. The former of these two views was strict and the latter liberal. It may be inferred here that the liberal views were of the earlier Ṛṣis and the strict one is of the comparatively later sages. The early Aryan society was simple and liberal and with the growth of social laws and the development of religious complexities it lost its original broad views and gradually became artificial.

Such contrary views existed not only with respect to the question of taking food of men and women together, but in connection with other things also. Here is another instance. With respect to the Agnyādhāna ceremony it is enjoined first that the sacrificer should pass the night of the Upavasatha [1] day wide awake and in fast [2] ; but, in subsequent passages [3] it is openly stated that there is a difference of opinion on this point and eating as well as sleeping on that night are allowed by some. Here also it may be suggested that these restrictions were of modern sages and they were not observed by others who had still retained the old liberal views.

The performance of the sacrifice with a pure and devoted heart was the chief object of the Brāhmanic Aryans in their religious life. They paid all attention to this point and the strict formalities and hardships imposed by later Ṛṣis were not approved by some of the Ṛṣis of the Śatapatha age. It is very probable that the strict formalities as shown in those observances of fasting and keeping awake on the Upavasatha night were unknown to the earlier society. But, with the advance of the elaborate character of the sacrifice, all these formalities gradually grew and developed till a time came when the Aryans paid more attention to these formalities than to devotion. The age of Śatapatha was probably the transition period when the society was gradually passing from the simple ancient nature of devotion to that of artificialities. The Śatapatha age was still the

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1 The day preceding that of the अग्न्याधान ceremony.

2 दिवैवाश्नीयात् (Śat. Brāh. 2, 1, 4. 1).

3 तस्माद्दपि काममेव नक्तमश्नीयात् । (S. B. 2, 1, 4, 2) and तस्माद्दपि काममेव स्वप्यात् । (Ś. B. 2, 1, 4, 7).

(3) *Restraint and Moderation—*

I now pass over to the topic of Saṁyama or restraint. Restraint is absolutely necessary for a human being to lead a healthy and happy life. Health is the greatest wealth. To enjoy perfect health one must be moderate in his habits and should not submit to excesses. We cannot keep good health unless we are moderate and restrained in respect of our food. There is a passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa which shows that the Aryans were moderate as regards their meals.[1] Moderate eating keeps the body light and capable of hard work ; on the other hand if anyone eats much and gets fatty thereby he becomes unable to work and is despised. The Vedic text referred to above says that one who eats only twice (i. e. in the morning and in the evening) gets a long life and his sayings never fail. This reminds one of the famous line of the great poet Bhavabhūti — ऋषीणां पुनराद्यानां वाचमर्थोऽनुधावति.

It is interesting to note here that in the ancient Aryan society the ladies did not take their food in the presence of their husband or other male members. The Vedic passage is "तस्मादिमा मानुष्यस्त्रियस्तिर इवैव जिघत्सन्ति या इव ता इवेति ह स्माह याज्ञवल्क्यः (Śat. Brā. 1, 9, 2, 12, in connection with the Patnīsaṁyāja ceremony). In this connection the commentator Harisvāmin however adds that kṣudra-yoṣitah, girls, do take their food in the presence of men.

It is possible that the reference to the venerable name of Yājñavalkya in the above-quoted passage of Śatapatha is intended to show a difference of opinion among the Ṛṣis of that age. It may mean that this was the opinion of Yājñavalkya, but there were contrary views too. As in a grammatical Sūtra the name of a Ṛṣi in it implies that the rule is an optional one, so in these Brāhmaṇa passages also the name of any Ṛṣi in a particular passage sometimes implied that this was his opinion on the point, but there were opposite

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1 नैव देवा अतिक्रामन्ति न पितरो न पशवो मनुष्या एवैकेऽतिक्रामन्ति तस्माद्यो मनुष्याणां मेद्यत्यशुभे मेद्यति विह्वर्च्छति हि नह्ययनाय चन भवत्यनृतं हि कृत्वा मेद्यति तस्मादु सायंप्रातराश्येव स्यात् स यो हैवं विद्वान् सायंप्रातराशी भवति सर्वं हैवायुरेति यदु ह किंच वाचा व्याहरति तदु हैव भवत्येतद्धि देवसत्यं गोपायति तद्वैतत्तेजो नाम ब्राह्मणं य एतस्य व्रतं शक्नोति चरितुम् । (Ś. B. 2, 4, 2, 6). (This is a passage in connection with the पिण्डपितृयज्ञ).

views. According to Yājñavalkya women should not take food before men ; but according to others there was no such prohibition. *The former of these two views was strict and the latter liberal.* *It* may be inferred here that the liberal views were of the earlier Ṛṣis and the strict one is of the comparatively later sages. The early Aryan society was simple and liberal and with the growth of social laws and the development of religious complexities it lost its original broad views and gradually became artificial.

Such contrary views existed not only with respect to the question of taking food of men and women together, but in connection with other things also. Here is another instance. With respect to the Agnyādhāna ceremony it is enjoined first that the sacrificer should pass the night of the Upavasatha [1] day wide awake and in fast [2] ; but, in subsequent passages [3] it is openly stated that there is a difference of opinion on this point and eating as well as sleeping on that night are allowed by some. Here also it may be suggested that these restrictions were of modern sages and they were not observed by others who had still retained the old liberal views.

The performance of the sacrifice with a pure and devoted heart was the chief object of the Brāhmanic Aryans in their religious life. They paid all attention to this point and the strict formalities and hardships imposed by later Ṛṣis were not approved by some of the Ṛṣis of the Śatapatha age. It is very probable that the strict formalities as shown in those observances of fasting and keeping awake on the Upavasatha night were unknown to the earlier society. But, with the advance of the elaborate character of the sacrifice, all these formalities gradually grew and developed till a time came when the Aryans paid more attention to these formalities than to devotion. The age of Śatapatha was probably the transition period when the society was gradually passing from the simple ancient nature of devotion to that of artificialities. The Śatapatha age was still the

1 The day preceding that of the अग्न्याधान ceremony.

2 दिवैवाश्नीयात् (Śat. Brāh. 2, 1, 4. 1).

3 तस्माद्धपि काममेव नक्तमश्नीयात् । (S. B. 2, 1, 4, 2) and तस्माद्धपि काममेव स्वप्यात् । (Ś. B. 2, 1, 4, 7).

golden era of the Aryans; but the decline had just set in. The Śatapatha gives both the contrary opinions, but its leaning seems to be more towards the old state of pure devotion than to that of the comparatively recent state of rigidness. It still prefers to worship and adore and gives only a subordinate place to rigidness and privations. Devotion of mind was still the predominant factor in their religious life. It is for this reason that we find such passages as "मनश्च ह वै वाक् च युजौ देवेभ्यो यज्ञं वहतः" (Śat. Brāh. 1, 4, 4, 1). Mere recitation of hymns would not do, but mind and speech both united would achieve the desired object and carry the sacrifice to the Gods. It was still a glorious day of the Aryans though not without the signs of those corruptions that gradually eat up the vitality and sound the death-note of a great race.

ŚĀKAPŪṆI THE NAIRUKTA—BY BHAGAVAD DATTA, B. A., SUPDT., RESEARCH DEPT., DAYANANDA ANGLO-VEDIC COLLEGE, LAHORE.

Śākapūṇi is one of the ancient Nairuktas often quoted by Yāska. He is quoted as many as twenty times by Yāska in his Nirukta, once in his Pariśiṣṭa, and seven times in the Bṛhaddevatā.

DATE

Ordinarily Yāska is placed between the sixth century and the fourth century B. C. To me he appears to be centuries older still. However, whatever may be his date, Śākapūṇi is at least a century or two older than he.

Skandasvāmi, while commenting on Nirukta II. 8, says :—

एवमर्थं पुराकल्पं पठन्ति—
शाकपूणिः संकल्पयांचक्रे । . . .

This tradition about Śākapūṇi could not be referred to as a *Purā Kalpa* within a short period of a generation or so.

I beg to differ from Dr. L. Sarup when he makes the following observations about the history of the text of the Nirukta.[1]

"THREE STAGES OF INTERPOLATIONS"

"We have thus manuscript materials which belong to three distinct periods."

(1) D, i. e. the commentary of Durga, written before the addition of the *pariśiṣṭas* and embodying the whole text of the Nirukta, represents the earliest period, i. e. about the thirteenth century A. D."

Now the Pariśiṣṭas are not so late as to be later than the 13th century A. D. This may be inferred from the following.

(a) Skanda-Maheśvara quotes Nirukta XIII. 13 while commenting on Nirukta I. 20.

1 **Nirukta, text, preface, p. 19.**

(b) Skanda-Maheśvara invariably copies the commentary of Udgītha and Skanda on the Ṛgveda, while commenting on the Nirukta. Here also in the above instance he is doing the same thing. So if there could have been any doubt about Skanda-Maheśvara's date, there is no such doubt about Udgītha. He belongs to circa 630 A. D. Fortunately, Udgītha also reproduces the same line of Nirukta XIII. 13, in his commentary on the same Ṛk.[1]

(c) Not only Udgītha, but Durga even, who may belong to a period, earlier than the sixth century A. D. quotes on the same place, the very same line of the Pariśiṣṭa. It is rather strange that Dr. Sarup failed to notice Durga quoting the Pariśiṣṭas at many places in his commentary on the twelve chapters.[2]

It will thus be sufficiently clear that the Pariśiṣṭas are sufficiently old. It is just possible these may be Yāska's own work. And if so, it will be easy to admit that Śākapūṇi's son even had become a sufficiently famous author to find a place in Yāska's Pariśiṣṭa.[3]

Apart from the above, there is a stronger evidence, which clearly shows that Śākapūṇi belonged to the period of Śākalya, who is generally placed in the eighth century B. C. and who belongs to the period of Mahābhārata according to me. The Purāṇas, while relating the history of the Śākhās of the Vedas, give important information on this point,

प्रोवाच संहितास्तिस्रः शाकपूणी रथीतरः ।
निरुक्तं च पुनश्चक्रे चतुर्थं द्विजसत्तमः ॥[4]
रथीतरो निरुक्तं च पुनश्चक्रे चतुर्थकम् ॥[5]
संहितात्रितयं चक्रे शाकपूणी रथीतरः ।
निरुक्तमकरोत्तत्तु चतुर्थं मुनिसत्तम ॥
क्रौञ्चो वैतालकि[6]स्तद्वद्बलाकश्च महामतिः ।
निरुक्तकृच्चतुर्थोऽभूद् वेदवेदाङ्गपारगः ॥[7]

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1 ṚV. X, 71. 5.

2 Cf. Durga's com. I. 4, I. 20, III. 21, VII. 4, X. 23.

3 Nirukta XIII. 11.

4 Vāyu LX. 65. 5 Vāyu LXI. 2.

6 It may be a scribe's error for क्रौष्टुकिः and तैटीकिः respectively.

7 Viṣṇu III. 4, 23, 24.

Here both Vāyu and Viṣṇu preserve the tradition of the composing of a Nirukta by Śākapūṇi. And they also express Śākapūṇi to be a near contemporary of Śākalya, the composer of the Pada text. So we may be almost sure that Śākapūṇi flourished earlier than the eighth century B. C.

ŚĀKAPŪṆI'S NIGHAṆṬU

Not only was he an author of a Nirukta, but he seems to have composed his Nighaṇṭu also, on which he commented in the form of a Nirukta. The following are the passages from different authors, wherefrom this information is gathered.

(a) Durga (sixth century A. D. or early) writes while commenting on Yāska VIII. 4—

शाकपूणिस्तु पृथिवीनामभ्य एवोपक्रम्य स्वयमेव सर्वत्र क्रमप्रयोजनमाह ।

This indicates clearly that Śākapūṇi composed a Nighaṇṭu, which also like the present Nighaṇṭu began with the synonyms of the Earth. Moreover it possessed a superiority over this work in detailing the cause of the order of these different synonyms.

(b) Skanda-Maheśvara makes the following observation on Nirukta I. 4—

दाशुषे । दाश्वान् इति यजमाननाम [1] शाकपूणिना पठितम् । [2]

This word *dāśvān* is not read by Yāska in his Nighaṇṭu, but it was read as a synonym of *Yajamāna* by Śākapūṇi.

(c) Skanda-Maheśvara observes on Nirukta III. 10—

व्याप्तिकर्माण उत्तरे धातवो दश इन्वति नक्षत्यादयः ।
शाकपूणेरतिरिक्ता एते— विव्याच । उरुव्यचाः । विव्रे । इति व्याप्तिकर्माणः ।[3]

This particular quotation of Skanda is sufficient to convince us that the Nighaṇṭu of Śākapūṇi was like the shorter recension of the present Nighaṇṭu. It did not state the number of the words read together in one section.

1 Cf. यजमानो वै दाश्वान् । Śatapatha II. 3. 4. 38, etc. My view stated in my History of Vedic Literature, Vol. II, p. 132, that the Nighaṇṭus were based on the Brāhmaṇas finds another support here.

2 This quotation in almost the same words is also found in Vararuci's Niruktasamuccaya.

3 Devarāja Yajvan also quotes this passage on Ngh. II. 19, and he is most probably borrowing it from Skanda

ŚĀKAPŪṆI'S NIRUKTA

From the twentyone quotations of Śākapūṇi's work in the Nirukta, it is clear, that he dealt like Yāska on many important Vedic items.

Space does not permit me to discuss those quotations here. I may only refer to another quotation from his Nirukta which is found in Ṛgvedabhāṣya of Skandasvāmi.[1] It runs as follows :—

तथा च शाकपूणिना नद्यभिधायिनः सरस्वतीशब्दस्य परिगणने—
"अथैषा नदी । चत्वार एव तस्या निगदा भवन्ति-
दृषद्वत्यां मानुष आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवदग्ने दिदीहि ॥[2]
चित्र इद्राजा राजका इदन्यके यके सरस्वतीमनु ।[3]
इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति ।[4]
सरस्वती सरयुः सिन्धुरूर्मिभिः ।"[5]
पञ्चममप्युदाहरति—
"अम्बितमे नदीतमे ।[6] इति ।"
अत्रायं न पञ्चः परिगणित इति ।

RATHĪTARA ŚĀKAPŪṆI

From the verses of the Purāṇas, reproduced above, it is apparent that Rathītara was his real name, and Śākapūṇi was his patronymic. A Rathītara, and his son Rāthītara, are both quoted in the Bṛhaddevatā. But Rathītara and Śākapūṇi are never quoted there, as two different authors although many other authors are. So it may be accepted that both these names refer to one and the same person.

Through the courtesy of Dr. C. K. Rāja I got six references to Śākpūṇi from the commentary of Vāsudeva on Ṛgv. Sarvānukramaṇī. These were found to be based on the Bṛhaddevatā, and not original ones. I have not, therefore, included those here.

It will be a remarkable thing if we chance to get hold of the original work of Śākapūṇi.

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1 ṚV. VI. 61. 2.
2 ṚV. III. 23. 4.
3 ṚV. VIII. 21. 18.
4 ṚV. X. 75. 5.
5 ṚV. X. 64. 9.
6 ṚV. II. 41. 16.

II : Epics and Purāṇas

A NOTE ON THE GHAṬOTKACAVADHAPARVĀDHYĀYA OF THE MAHĀBHARATA--BY HEM CHANDRA RAY CHAUDHURI,

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The *Ādi-parva* of the *Mahābhārata* contains a verse which says that there was a *Bhārata-saṁhitā* which consisted of 24,000 *ślokas*, of which the *Upākhyānas* did not form a part. It runs thus:

> Caturviṁśati-sāhasrīṁ cakre Bhārata-saṁhitām ।
> Upākhyānair vinā tāvad Bhāratam procyate budhaiḥ ॥
> Mbh. I, i. 102 (Vaṅgavāsi Ed.).

But the great Epic that has been extant since the days of Sarvanātha of the Khoh Copper-plate Inscription is, as is well known, styled a *Śata-sāhasrī Saṁhitā*, and is interspersed with numerous *upākhyānas*. Even so, the number of *ślokas* does not reach the total of 100,000 verses. As pointed out by Hopkins in his *Epic Mythology* (p. 2), the northern version contains 84,126 verses, excluding the *Hari-vaṁśa*. The southern version has 12,000 more than the northern recension and, without the *Harivaṁśa*, contains 96,578 verses or prose equivalents.

Various theories have been suggested to account for the difference between the traditional number 100,000 and the actual number of *ślokas* in the extant version of the Great Epic. According to some, " the attribution of a lakh of verses necessarily implies the existence, as part of the lakh, of the Harivaṁśa." But the addition of that work would make the total exceed the traditional number. This is particularly true of the southern recension. Others have urged that *śata-sahasra* is only a round number and is not to be taken too literally. But a third possibility cannot be entirely excluded, viz. the loss or disappearance of some *upākhyānas* which once formed part of the *Śata-sāhasrī Saṁhitā*. It was the addition of the *upākhyānas* which transformed the original *Catur-viṁśati-sāhasrī Saṁhitā* into a *Śatasāhasrī Saṁhitā*. Is there any certainty that all these added *upākhyānas* have come down to us?

A passage of the *Ghaṭotkaca-Vadha Parvādhyāya* seems to suggest that such has not been the case.

When Ghaṭotkaca, the Rākṣasa hero, son of Bhīmasena, fell down, struck by the terrible missile which Indra had given to Karṇa, and the Pāṇḍavas were plunged into grief, Kṛṣṇa is represented as saying :

[1] Yadi hyenaṁ nāhaniṣyat Karṇaḥ śaktyā mahāmṛdhe ı
Mayā vadhyo'bhaviṣyat sa Bhaimasenir Ghaṭotkacaḥ ı
Mayā na nihataḥ pūrvam eṣa yuṣmat priyepsayā ıı
Eṣa hi Brāhmaṇa-dveṣī yajña-dveṣī ca Rākṣasaḥ ı
Dharmasya loptā pāpātmā tasmād eṣa nipātitaḥ ıı

"If Karṇa had not slain this (Rākṣasa) by his Śakti in the great fight, then it would have been my duty to slay Ghatotkaca, son of Bhīmasena. It was to please you that I did not kill him before. This Rākṣasa was a hater of Brāhmaṇas and sacrifices, a violator of religious rites and a sinner. Therefore has he been slain."

In the verses quoted above Ghaṭotkaca is described as *Brāhmaṇa-dveṣī, yajña-dveṣī* and *dharmasya loptā*. Now, there is no *upākhyāna* in the extant epic which lends countenance to the serious charges here brought against the son of Bhīmasena. But it is clear that stories about Ghaṭotkaca's hostility to Brāhmaṇas and sacrifices must have been known to the writer of these verses. Is there any evidence as to the existence of such stories ? Here, light is vouchsafed from an unexpected quarter. In the *Madhyama-Vyāyoga*, attributed (rightly or wrongly) to Bhāsa, we have the story of the pursuit of a Brāhmana and his wife and children by Ghatotkaca who had received orders from his mother to secure a human being for her meal. The Sūtradhāra exclaims " *eṣa khalu Pāṇḍava-madhyamasyātmajo Hiḍimbāraṇi-saṁbhūto Rākṣasāgnir-akṛtavairaṁ Brāhmana-janaṁ vitrāsayati. Bhoḥ ! Kaṣṭaṁ kaṣṭam khalu patnī-suta-parivṛtasya Brāhmaṇasya vṛttāntaḥ.*"

It should, however, be noted that the *Madhyama-Vyāyoga* itself could not have been in the mind of the poet or poets of the Ghaṭotkaca-vadha section of the Drona-parva of Mahābhārata when the verses

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[1] Mahābhārata VII. 182. 26, 27 (Kumbhakonam Edition).

referring to Ghaṭotkaca's misdeeds were written. The epic ślokas refer not only to *Brāhmaṇa-dveṣa* but also to *yajña-dveṣa* and *dharma-lopa*, and the author must have had in his mind some *upākhyāna* or *upākhyānas* where Ghaṭotkaca is guilty of all these reprehensible acts. That such *upakhyanas* did exist is proved by the testimony of the author of the *Madhyama-Vyāyoga* who made use of *one* of them for dramatic purposes in the same way as Kālidāsa made use of the story of Śakuntalā and Bhavabhūti that of Śrī-Rāmacandra.

There remains another question -- How to account for the omission of these stories from the extant Mahābhārata? We can only hazard a guess on this point. From the references to Vārṣa-gaṇya (XII. 318. 59), the eighteen Purāṇas (XVIII. 6. 97), some of which treated of *anāgata* or future events (III. 191. 16), and the Hūṇas (associated with the Persians — Hūṇāh Pārasikaiḥ saha, VI. 9. 66) in the Great Epic, as it has come down to us, it is clear that its final redaction could not have taken place before the Gupta period; while the mention of the *śata-sāhasrī-saṁhita* in a Khoh Inscription of A. D. 533-34 shows that the complete epic must have come into existence before the extinction of the Gupta power. The responsibility for the final redaction, therefore, probably rests with the poets of the Gupta period. The great dynasty of the Guptas, who claim to have revived the sacrificial rites that had been in abeyance for a long time, contained more than one prince named Ghatotkaca, and perhaps it was not to their liking that their name should have reminded of one who figured prominently in episodes of an anti-Brāhmaṇical and anti-sacrificial character.

SARASVATI THE GODDESS OF LEARNING

— BY HARIDAS BHATTACHARYYA, M. A., B. L., P. R. S., Darśanasāgara, Head of the Department of Philosophy and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, DACCA UNIVERSITY.

Sarasvatī figures in present-day Hindu worship primarily as the Goddess of Learning and secondarily as one of the sacred streams. The romantic history of the transformation of the Vedic Sarasvatī river into a goddess may very well serve as an example of the way in which the mythopœic faculty of the early Indo-Aryans worked to increase the pantheon. Of the seven streams —Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Godāvarī, Sarasvatī, Narmadā, Sindhu and Kāverī, whose invocation is supposed to sanctify all waters used for worship, Sarasvatī may claim to have the holiest antiquity. The association with the mystic number seven comes down from the Vedic times[1] and the Avesta also mentions the Hapta-Hindu and the beautiful Haraqaiti[2]. ṚV. VIII, 39, 8 refers to the seven people whose sacrificial fire was supported by the rivers and ṚV. VIII, 96, 1 refers to the Sapta-sindhu. ṚV. IX, 86, 36 and IX, 92, 4 refer to the nourishment or purification of the Soma by seven sisters or rivers. There is no doubt that even though the number of sacred streams was fixed at seven, the individual members varied and that probably in the Avestan enumeration it was the Kubhā (Kabul river), and not Sarasvatī, that was included together with the Indus and its five tributaries[3]. In the Purāṇas many long lists of sacred streams occur[4] and it is probable that the comparative sanctity ascribed to the various rivers may often serve to indicate the locus of composition of the Purāṇa concerned or of the part where the lists occur. It is also likely that the successive enumerations of the seven sacred streams—from the Ṛgveda to the Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra[5]—indicate the gradual extension of the Aryan settlement to the south, incorporating within the number seven streams held sacred locally.

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1 ṚV. VIII, 24, 27; YV. (Wh) XXXIV, 24; XXXVIII, 26; ṚV. VII. 36, 6; V. 43. 1; Viṣ. Pur. II, iv,

2 Vendidād, Fargard I.

3 Macdonell's History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 141; YV. (Wh.) XXXIV, 24 (Griffith's note).

4 Mat. Pur. XXII, CXIV; Gar. Pur. LV; Harivaṁśa CCXXIV, 15; CCLVI.

5 Bār. Arthaśāstra iii, 82.

But while the assemblage of seven rivers travelled south the name Sarasvatī came generally to be applied to the easternmost boundary of the advancing Aryan settlement. It has been successively identified with the Oxus, the Arghandab in Arachosia[1], the Gāndhāra river referred to in the Avesta, the Indus[2], the Sutlej[3] and the modern Sarsuti[4]. The first two identifications are questionable, but there is some justification for identifying it with the other streams. The association of Sarasvatī with Gāndhāra and Gandharvas is pretty old. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers to the bartering of Sarasvatī for Soma[5] with the Gandharvas, and Gandharvas are referred to in later literature as having *tīrthas* on her banks[6], presumably because they were the exponents of music, song and dance. The strong current, the descent from the hills[7] and the possession of many tributaries and branches (whence probably the epithet 'the mother of streams')[8] make identification with the Indus easy; while the reference to the origin in the Mānasasarovara[9] (an association with Brahmā which made all streams issuing out of Brahmā's seat, whether at Puṣkara or at Rājagṛha, Sarasvatīs) makes the Sutlej association explicable as also the fact that the dry bed of a river, once probably a tributary of the Śutudru (Sutlej), is to be found in the States of Patiala, Bhawalpur and Bikanir[10]. There is no doubt, however, that from the time of the Manu Saṁhitā and the Mahābhārata Sarasvatī came to be permanently identified with the stream which formed the boundary of the Brahmāvarta[11], separating it from

1 Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, II, p. 437.

2 ṚV. VII. 95, 1-2 : VI, 61, 2 (Griffith's note) ; YV. (Wh.) XXXIV, 11 ; Vedic Mythology (Macdonell), p. 87. *Per contra* see ṚV. VII, 36, 6 ; X, 64, 9. Macdonell's His. of San. Lit., p. 141.

3 J. R. A. S. 1893, p. 56, p. 59. Macdonell's His. of San. Lit., p. 142.

4 Vedic Index II, p. 435ff.

5 Ait. Br, i, 27.

6 MBh. Śal. Par. XXXVII, 11.

7 ṚV. VI, 61, 2, 8 and 13 ; MBh. Vaṇa Par. XC, 4 ; MBh. Śal. Par. LIV, 11 ; Mārk. Pur. XXIII, 28.

8 ṚV. VII, 36, 6.

9 MBh. Śal. Par. 2360.

10 J. R. A. S. 1893, p. 56, p. 59.

11 Manu Smṛ. ii, 17 ; MBh. Vana Par. LXXXIII, 4 and 6 ; J. R. A. S. 1893, pp. 49ff.

Madhyadeśa, Brahmakṣetra or Kurukṣetra, and which was lost in the desert. Whether this river ever flowed directly into one of the present seas or whether there ever was a Rajputānā Sea into which it flowed must remain for the present an unsolved problem, but references make it clear that it had direct access to a sea [1] and that if it fell into the sea somewhere near about Prabhāsa, isolated pools of water survived for some time the disappearance of the stream itself and were regarded as sacred for bathing purposes [2].

There is no doubt that once the sanctity of the Sarasvatī was established she took the foremost place in the list of the seven streams. She is sometimes credited with seven sisters and at other times regarded as being one of the seven.[3] In the Mahābhārata she is said to cover the then existing Aryan universe in the form of seven streams at Puṣkara, Naimiṣa, Gayā, North Kośala, Kurukṣetra, the source of the Ganges and the Himālayas,[4] this being an ingenious attempt to explain why the same name came to be applied to different rivers in different localities. Gradually the myth of a Sapta-Sarasvata tīrtha on the Sarasvatī itself was invented [5] and even a Sapta-Sārasvata region was hinted at.[6] When changing times made Gaṅgā the holiest stream [7] and local patriotism raised Narmadā to the same status,[8] Sarasvatī came to be regarded as one of the seven streams into which these rivers divided themselves.[9] A confluence of Gaṅgā or Yamunā and Sarasvatī was also invented [10]— a supposition that served a very useful purpose when Sarasvatī disappeared from view. The drying up of no other river

1 ṚV. VII, 95, 2 (Griffith thinks the Indus was intended). See A. C. Das, Ṛgvedic Culture, pp. 2–3.

2 MBh, Śal. Par. XXXVI ; Vana Par. LXXXII, 11-12.

3 ṚV. VI, 61, 10.

4 MBh. Śal. Par. XXXVIII.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Pad. Pur. I, xiii, 23 ; Gar. Pur. LXXXI.

7 Sūtra Kṛtāṅga I, 6, 21 ; Gītā X, 31 ; MBh. Vana Par. LXXXV, 90 and 96 ; Mārk. Pur. XXXV, 32 ; Gar. Pur. LXXXI ; Ag. Pur. CX ; Mat. Pur. cii ff ; Kūr. Pur. I, xxxvi.

8 Pad. Pur. vi, 20, 21 and 63 ; Kur. Pur. xxxviii, 8 ; Mat. Pur. CLXXXVI.

9 Pad. Pur. ii, 68 ; Bhav. Pur. xvii ; also *Ibid.*

10 Pad. Pur. I. xvi, 3 ; Ag. Pur. CIX ; MBh. Śal. Par. LXXXIV, 38; MBh. Vana Par. CXXIX, 13-14. See also Vedic Index *Sub voce* Plākṣa-prasravaṇa.

seems to have caused so much grief, and as it is difficult to see what adverse effect it had upon local agriculture, the reason must be found more in the religious association of the river than in its economic effect. It appears that very early a desert belt was being formed about the river, for we are told that the dāsīputra Kavaṣa Ailuṣa was driven by the Brahmans into the desert region [1] near about, when he came to worship there. Later on the river disappeared at a place which came to be known as Vinaśana.[2] The natural decay of the river did not suit the fancy of the later writers, and so the myth was invented that Sarasvatī entered into the earth as soon as she came to the land of the Niṣādas lest their touch should pollute her.[3] Elsewhere Sarasvatī is said to have disappeared out of spite towards the Śūdras and the Ābhīras,[4] so sacred was her water and so exclusively meant for the Aryans was she considered to be. But it is this sacred river that followed Kavaṣa Ailuṣa and arrested his progress at Parisāraka after he had been driven away by the insolent Brahmans, and according to Aupamanyava, who is quoted by Yāska,[5] the sacrificial fire belonged to five peoples (the Brahmans, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas, the Śūdras and the Niṣādas) whom Sarasvatī made to flourish.[6]

Now when a river can disappear at will it can also re-appear if necessary, and this device was adopted to suit the needs of special sanctity at different confluences. Thus at Prayāga and at the Pañcagaṅgā ghāṭa at Benares [7] Sarasvatī is considered to be invisibly present, and further down at Triveṇī near Hughli a small stream gets the appellation of Sarasvatī to form a visible third in addition to Gaṅgā (the Hughli) and the Yamunā (a small local stream) [8]. Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī form a new trinity in later cults and

1 Ait. Br. II, 19 ; Kau. Br. XII, 3 ; MBh. Vana Par. LXXXII, 111–112 ; Pad. Pur. XI, 56–57.

2 Manu Saṁ. ii, 17 ff.

3 MBh. Vana Par. CXXX, 3–5.

4 MBh. Śal. Par. XXXVII, 1.

5 Nir. iii, 8.

6 ṚV. VI, 61, 12. Also ṚV. VII, 95, 2 (Griffith's note) ; J. R. A. S, Vol. 20 (O. S.), p. 426 ; Br. Pur. xlix, 28.

7 Sherring's Sacred City of the Hindus ; an account of Benares, p. 107. Cf. Lévi's *Le Nepal*, p. 327.

8 McCrindle, Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, p. 102.

a triple-headed goddess appears on the head of the Elephanta cave-figure of the triple-faced Śiva who combines in himself the trinity of the Hindu pantheon.[1] We shall see later on that association with two other forms is a most antique phenomenon with Sarasvatī.

From the Vedic times whiteness[2] and purity[3] came to be prominently associated with the river and it is not improbable that the whiteness of the Goddess of Learning came by transference from the river itself. A number of things conspired to invest the deity with whiteness. Not only the river association but also association with learning (which represents the sattva quality) and association with Śiva whose spouse she was later considered to be, gave her an all-white complexion ; and her vehicles, ornaments and objects of worship mostly partook of the same character. The lotus and the swan that figure as the vehicles, the cloth she wears and the vīnā she carries, the flowers and unguents that are offered to her, the ornaments she wears and the eatables that are presented to her are all white in consonance with her complexion which is described as white like the kunda, the moon, the snow and the pearl.

The tradition of purity the river carried from Vedic times. Apart from the fact that water gives bodily cleanliness it has always been used in Brahmanic worship in connection with the removal of sins committed at any time of the day or night in the apomārjana practice[4]. From time immemorial the banks of the Sarasvatī had been singled out as the most sacred spot for sacrifice[5] and all considerable sages had their hermitage there[6]. Gods and superhuman beings came there when anything specially sacred had to be done[7] and coronations were performed there[8]. There was difference of

1 Gopinath Rao's Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. II. Part I, p 318. So also in Aihole ; see Burgess : Cave-temples of India, pp 404, 470 Bhogavatī with Haṁsaprapatana is the third in Ag. Pur. CXI ; Mat. Pur. CX, 8.

2 ṚV. VII, 95, 6 ; VII, 96, 2 ; AV. VI, 51, 2 ; Vāj. Saṁ. 4, 2.

3 ṚV. I, 3,10 ; VII, 95, 2 ; YV. (Wh.) XXII, 20 ; Śat P. Br. XIII, 1, 8, 5 ; ṚV. VIII, 26, 18 (the Śvetāvayavī probably refers to the Indus).

4 ṚV. I, 23, 22 ; VI, 49, 7; X, 17, 10.

5 Āpas. Gṛ. Sū. 23, 12, 23 ; Gar. Pur. LXXXI.

6 Pad. Pur. I, xii, 111 ; MBh. Śal. Par. XLII, XLIII.

7 Mat. Pur. VII, 3.

8 MBh. Śal. Par. XLIV, 50. See R. Mitra, Indo-Aryans, Vol. II, p. 37.

opinion about the most sacred part of the river ; but from Prabhāsa to Syamantapañcaka was a long stretch which was the most auspicious for sacrificial purposes, and a Sārasvata heaven was even promised to those who would worship the Sarasvatī, especially at the Sapta-sarasvatī tīrtha [1]. She alone could absolve a Brahmanicide from his sin if he would traverse the entire length of the river from the mouth to the source, i. e. against the current[2], and it is this pratilomā Sarasvatī that Balarāma worshipped when in a fit of rage he killed Sūta[3]. For bearing false witness in order to save the life of a person belonging to the four castes the offering of caru to Sarasvatī was a sufficient penance[4]. For breaking his faith with Namuci, whose severed head pursued Indra, a bath in the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the Aruṇā saved Indra from the pursuing head as also from the sin[5], and a similar miracle occurred at Kapālamocana to the sage Mahodara on whose thigh the head of a Rākṣasa had stuck.[6] In later literature śrāddha was enjoined on the banks of the Sarasvatī.[7]

The reason for this purity is not far to seek. Here hymns and sacrifices arose perpetually from the devout Bhāratas[8] and even the origin of the world and the Vedas was sought in the same locality.[9] Her waters were unctuous with butter and she alone could undertake to supply Nahuṣa with that substance and milk for a thousand years' sacrifice.[10] Did not her husband (for she had a colourless husband Sarasvat from Vedic times[11] and was therefore known as vīra-patnī[12]) possess lakes of clarified butter in the three

1 MBh. Vana Par LXXXIII ; Śal Par. XXXV-LIV, XXXVIII ; Pad Pur. I, xiii.

2 Manu Saṁ. XI, 78

3 Mār. Pur. VI, 36 ; see also Yāj Saṁ. 1 ; Manu Saṁ. XII ; Br. Pur. I.

4 Manu Saṁ. VIII, 103-5.

5 MBh. Sal. Par. XLIII, 32-46 ; Kūr. Pur. II, XXX, 22.

6 MBh. Śal Par. XXXIX, 4-5

7 Mat. Pur. xxii, 23, 31, 38, 52 ; Cunningham's Anc. Geo. of India, pp. 333, 336.

8 ṚV. III, 23, 4. Macdonell's His. San. Lit., pp. 142, 145, 155.

9 Śat. P. Br. VI, 1, 1, 9 ; MBh. Sal. Par. XXXIX, 4 ; XLVII, 29.

10 Bṛ. Dev. VI, 20 ; ṚV. VII, 95, 2 ; MBh. Sal. Par. XLI, 31, substitutes Yayāti for Nahuṣa. For Sarasvatī as Milch-cow, see YV. (Wh.) XX, 55 ff,

11 ṚV. VII, 96, 4-6 ; YV. (Bl.) I, 8, 1 ; III, 5, 1.

12 ṚV. VI, 49, 7,

worlds[1]? She was Bhāratī, for on her banks the Bhāratas composed their hymns and performed their sacrifices and to her waters came gods, heavenly dancers and all types of beings[2]. She is bounteous in disposition[3] and is a great healer[4]. It is on her shore that Agni-Vaiśvānara issued from the mouth of Videgha-Māṭhava and travelled to the east[5], carrying the Aryan religion of sacrifice to that region; and it is she who conserved the Vedas by feeding Sārasvata on her fishes when during a twelve years' drought other Brahmans had left her shores[6]. Along with Ilā and Bhāratī she forms the triple tongue of the sacrificial fire[7], and because she was speech, pouring of ghee on her waters was forbidden[8].

The transformation of a river into a female deity was an almost imperceptible process. In the special case of Sarasvatī the Vedic tradition of being the wife of Sarasvat was added on to the feminine ending of a *nadī*. An early identification with Speech[9], which in its Sanskrit form of Vāk is a feminine term, helped the process still further. The association with sound came not only from its being a murmuring stream but also because in the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas Sarasvatī came to be identified with the speech of the middle region[10] (according to Sāyaṇa, with the waters of the

1 Bṛ. Dev. II, 51.

2 MBh. Sal. Par. LI; XLVIII; XXXVIII, 9. Macdonell, His. of San. Lit., p. 155.

3 ṚV. VII, 95, 2; II, 41, 16; I, 164, 49; VI, 61; VII, 96, 3; X. 30, 12; I, 89, 3; X, 17, 8-9; IX, 67, 32; also X, 184, 2; Kūr. Pur. I, XXIV.

4 YV. (Wh.) XIX, 12; Ep. Ind. I, p. 248; MBh. Śal. Par. XXXV.

5 Śat. P. Br. I, 4, 1, 10 (See foot-note in S. B. E. Series); B. C. Law's Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India, pp. 131-2.

6 MBh. Sal. Par. LI, 35-48.

7 For the relation of the three in the Āprī hymns, see J. R. A. S. Vol. 21 (N. S.) p. 285ff. and Vol. 22 (N. S.) p. 387; ṚV. II. 1, 11; II, 3, 8; I, 13, 9 (see Sāyaṇa); I, 142, 9 (Mahī as fourth); III, 4, 8; I, 188, 8; V, 5, 8; V, 42, 12; IX, 5, 8; X, 110, 8; YV. (Wh.) VIII, 43 and XXXVIII, 2.

8 Ś. P. Br. V, 3, 4, 25.

9 Ś. P. Br. II, 5, 4, 6; III, 1, 4, 9; III, 9, 1, 7; V, 3, 4, 3; V, 5, 4, 16; IV, 2, 5, 14; II, 5, 1, 11. Ait. Br. iii, 1; Bṛ. Dev. II, 51; YV. (Bl.) III, 4. 3; ṚV. I, 22, 10 and YV. (Bl.) I, 6, 3 give different names. Ait. Br. identifies them with three vital airs.

10 ṚV. I, 188, 8; III, 4, 8; VI, 61, 11; IX, 5, 8; X, 110, 8; Naigh. V, 5; Bṛ. Dev. II, 72.

interspace and according to ṚV. VI, 49, 7 with the daughter of the lightning) and also with the second form of the thunderbolt[1]. In fact, it is she who created the thunderbolt for Indra out of her own foam in which a generous measure of melted butter formed an ingredient[2]. No wonder that in later lexicons all the synonyms of Sarasvatī came to be some forms of speech[3]. And because speech was the medium of revelation (whence the name Śruti) Sarasvatī came to be equated with divine wisdom — the prajñāpāramitā of Buddhism — and became the wife of Brahmā, the revealer of Vedic lore. Thus the Vedic and Nirukta statement that Sarasvatī not only gave copious waters but also imparted wisdom[4] because she was possessed of many thoughts[5] — was a river and a goddess at the same time[6] — was securely established. An intermediate identification with the learned female seer Vāk may also have expedited the process of identification[7]. The river association so frequently obtrusive in the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas recedes into the background and the aspect of the deity comes to the front. Vāk-Sarasvatī and Sarasvatī-Vāk are the forms sometimes met with[8], and Sarasvatī is repeatedly credited with having used her speech to help the gods in their attack upon the demons[9] and to cure them when ill[10] or exhausted[11]. When once the relation between Sarasvatī and Speech was firmly established her status as the Goddess of Learning was definitely secured, and she became the mother of the Vedas[12] and the dispenser of all wisdom and clarity of speech[13].

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1 Kau. Br. xii, 2.

2 Ait. Br. I, 26 ; Ś. P. Br. XII, 7, 3, 1-3 ; ṚV. VI, 61, 5-7.

3 Amarakośa, Svargavarga, 151.

4 ṚV. I, 3, 11-12 ; VII, 96, 2-3 ; YV. (Wh.) XX, 86 ; also MBh. Śal. Par. (Vaśiṣṭha's prayer) ; YV. (Wh.) XX, 86 ; ṚV. X,30, 12 ; VI, 61, 4 ; Nir. ix, 26.

5 ṚV. X, 65, 13.

6 Nir. ii, 23.

7 Bṛ. Dev. II, 84 and 86.

8 Ś. P. Br. V, 2, 2, 13 ; YV. (Wh.) XVIII, 37 ; Ait. Br. III, 2.

9 Ś. P. Br. II, 5, 4, 6.

10 Ś. P. Br. V, 5, 4, 16 ; YV. (Wh.) XIX, 12.

11 Ś. P. Br. III 9, 1, 7. See also Ait. Br. VI, iii ; YV. (Wh.) XX, 56 ; see also Macdonald's Brāhmaṇas of the Vedas, p. 133.

12 MBh. Śān. Par. V, 12920 ; S. P. Br. iv. 6, 7, 3 ; Gar. Pur. XXXVII.

13 Mār. Pur. LXXII. 26-27 ; YV. (Bl.) iii, 4. 3 ; Śāt. Saṇ. ii, 26-28 ; Kur. Pur. II, vi, 32.

She became at once the foremost of the mothers, the best of the rivers and the greatest of the goddesses [1].

A tradition ascribed the identification of Speech and Sarasvatī to some northern region, and it is likely that the Pathyāsvasti whose symbol was probably the Svastika sign and Sarasvatī whose symbol was the Om (as the essence of the three Vedas) were so closely identified through their common identification with Vāk that the northern seat of the former [2] came to be the seat of the latter also, and in sacrifices Sarasvatī came to be worshipped on the northern side of the sacrificial field according to Gṛhyasūtra and Brāhmaṇa injunctions, and the vanished river was itself worshipped on the south bank (i. e. with the river on the north) [3] where the population was the thickest [4]. She is credited with having given language to the offspring of Prajāpati [5] and Indra is credited with having made that articulate [6], meaning probably that he was responsible for the first grammar of the divine tongue.

The identification with speech explains why she is so closely related to the vocal region in later literature. She resides in the mouth of Brahmā [7]; she is the speech uttered by Brahmā or Prajāpati [8]. She is the tongue of Viṣṇu, the tooth of the Buddhistic deity Padmapāṇi [9]. She is the speech of Viśvakarman [10] and to her went the tip of the tongue of the horse killed in sacrifice [11] and she was invoked in the tongue of a horse meant for riding [12]. She was to be invoked near the lips (and sometimes near the ear) of a new-

1 ṚV. II, 41, 16 ; J. R. A. S. Vol. 2 (N. S.), p. 19.
2 Kau. Br. vii, 6 ; see also J. S. A. B. (N. B.), p. 231, XVII,
3 Lāṭ. Śrauta Sū. 10, 15, 1.
4 Mbh. Śal. Par. XXXVII, 41.
5 Tait. Br. i, 6, 2, 1.
6 Tait. Saṁ. vi, 4, 7.
7 Corpus Ins. Ind. Vol. III, pp. 204, 208 ; Mat. Pur. XIII, 52 ; Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa, opening verse.
8 MBh. Śān. Par. v, 6811.
9 Mat. Pur. ccxlvi, 57.
10 Ś. P. Br. VII, 5, 2, 21.
11 V̄Y. (Wh.) XXXV, 1.
12 Ag. Pur. CCLXXXVIII.

born babe for wisdom[1] and a wise man is, according to a popular verse, one in whose tongue (and not one in whose mind) Sarasvatī resides.

Very soon Sarasvatī became not only the presiding deity of learning but also of fine arts in general, especially music, dance and song. The chanting of Vedic hymns by Udgātr priests gradually developed into a system of music[2] and the sounds of nature and brute creation were imitated and organised into a system of vocal and instrumental music which, in spite of the ban on tauryatrika, survived in religious cults and popular diversions, and gods and sages came to be equipped with special instruments of music in course of time. Music was supposed (like the Mahābhārata) to form the fifth Veda when the four Vedas were prohibited to those not twice-born, and according to Bharata, music, drama, song and painting were equal to Vedic mantra[3]. So Brahmā not only revealed the Vedas but also taught vocal music to the Gandharvas, Hūhu and Tumburu, dance to the Apasaras Rambhā and the science of music and drama to Nārada and Bharata[4]. So Sarasvatī came early to be invested with her vīṇā and the earliest archaeological evidence of Sarasvatī worship—a stone image from Mathurā now in the Lucknow Museum—bears a dedication by a Jaina blacksmith which indicates that it was installed in a theatre[5]. Aśvatara and Kambala propitiated Sarasvatī to get proficiency in music whereby they ultimately pleased Śiva and got back Madālasā[6]. In Bharata Brāhmī and other goddesses appear as nāṭyamātṛkās[7]. Of course, writing goes with learning and the script that survived also came to be known as Brāhmī. And it is no wonder also that Sarasvatī should be the goddess for curing dumbness, lapse of intelligence and memory. From very early times she was worshipped fortnightly or monthly by music, song and dance at

1 Śāṅ. Gṛ. Sū. 1, 15. 2. Hir. Gṛ. Sū, 1, 2, 6, 4.

2 Raja Sir S. M Tagore's Universal History of Music, p. 51 ; see also MBh. Vana Par. XCI, 14.

3 Nāṭ. Śās. XXXVI, 21 ; see also Br. Pur. XXXVI, 35 ; Ś. P. Br. III, 2, 4, 1-6.

4 Raja Sir S. M. Tagore's Universal History of Music, p. 51.

5 V. A. Smith's Jaina Stupa etc., pp, 56-7 ; Fausboll's Epic Mythology, pp. 50, 78 ; Guerinot's Rèpertoire d'epigraphie Jaina, p. 85.

6 Mār. Pur. XXIII, XXIV.

7 Nāṭ. Śās. iii, 59.

a temple where the whole village congregated [1]. As a matter of fact, with the gradual fixing of outlines and the assignment of definite functions to the different gods of the pantheon the miscellaneous powers ascribed to Sarasvatī from Vedic times gradually fell off, leaving only the superintendence of learning and fine arts behind.

The matrimonial ventures of the goddess are so interesting and informative that without a knowledge of them much will remain obscure. At present Sarasvatī is worshipped twice in the year in Bengal, once as a minor deity along with Dūrgā in autumn and again singly at the close of winter. As in the former festival Lakṣmī is also worshipped as a minor deity there is no doubt that Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī and Durgā represent the śaktis of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively. The association of Sarasvatī with Lakṣmī or Śrī and Devī or Gaurī or Mahī or Bhūmī finds numerous repetitions all through religious literature [2] and is probably an echo of earlier triads in which Sarasvatī figures [3], even a triple Sarasvatī being referred to in the Atharva Veda [4]. The worship of the single deity at the advent of spring has a Vaiṣṇava association but here she is practically regarded as spouseless—a prototype of many a female seer of ancient times who lived on the banks of the Sarasvatī, as mentioned in the Śalya Parva, and who never cared for a matrimonial alliance. The Buddhistic Mahāsarasvatī is only twelve years old [5], but the Hindu goddess is full of youth and was therefore required by later convention to have a husband. Bāṇa invents the myth of Durvāsas' curse to bring her down to the earth where she bears a son of the name of Sārasvata (mentioned before as preserving the Vedas during the twelve years' drought) and is then relieved of the curse [6].

But even in Vedic times Sarasvatī began to figure as a goddess invoked along with other deities [7] and supposed to be the wife of

1 Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, IV, i, 27–32.

2 Nṛ. Pūr. Up. iv, 5 ; R. Utt. Up. v ; Ag. Pur. i, 1 ; Mat. Pur. XXIII, 35–37.

3 ṚV. I, 188, 8 ; II, 1, 11 ; II, 3, 8 ; I, 13, 9 ; I, 142, 9 ; III, 4, 8 ; I, 22, 10 ; V, 5, 8 ; V, 42, 12 ; IX, 5, 8 ; X, 110, 8 ; YV. (Bl) I, 6, 3 ; YV. (Wh.) XXXVIII, 2.

4 AV. VI, 100, 1 ; see Griswold's Religion of the Vedas.

5 B. Bhattacharyya, Buddhist Iconography, p. 150.

6 Harṣa Carita i ; Viṣ. Pur. III, iii.

7 ṚV. II, 30, 8 ; III, 54, 13 ; II, 41, 16 ; V, 42, 12 ; VI, 52, 6 ; IX, 81, 4 ; V, 43, 11 ; VI, 49, 7 ; X, 65, 1 ; X, 141, 5 ; VII, 35, 11 ; VIII, 38, 10.

Sarasvat[1] —a colourless god probably derived out of Sarasvatī by dropping the feminine suffix. (When Sarasvatī became Vāgīśvarī a similar colourless Vāgīśvara was also invented to match her[2]). In the Anvārambhaṇīya, Sautrāmaṇi and Darśapaurṇamāsī ceremonies they were invoked together[3], and when Sarasvatī began to be regarded as Speech, Sarasvat came to be considered as Mind[4] (out of which speech proceeds) and interesting discussions arose as to which of them was superior[5]. It would be an anachronism to see in this Sarasvat a mere synonym of the sea into which rivers fall and whose wives they are supposed to be[6] for it does not explain why Sarasvatī should be singled out for wifehood, especially as her connection with the sea was problematical, unless Sarasvatī stands for rivers in general[7].

The most intimate associations of Sarasvatī are with Indra and the twin Aśvins[8]. In many a hymn Sarasvatī and the Aśvins are invoked together and it is they who advise Indra to slay Namuci[9], forge the thunderbolt for him out of foam[10], and tend him to recovery[11]. Indra sometimes appears as the son of Sarasvatī and the Aśvins[12] and at other times the Aśvins appear as Sarasvatī's sons[13]. Indra sometimes appears as the husband of Sarasvatī[14] and even replaces Sarasvat as Mind when Sarasvatī becomes Speech[15]. Sarasvatī is the second form of the thunderbolt[16] and in Buddhistic

1 ṚV. VII, 96, 4-6 ; YV. (Bl.) I. 8, 1 ; III, 5, 1.

2 Ag. Pur. LXXV, 11.

3 Ś. P. Br. XII, 9, 1, 5 ; XI, 2, 4, 9.

4 YV. (Wh.) XIII, 40 ; Ś. P. Br. VII, 5, 1, 31 ; XI, 2, 4, 9 ; XI, 2, 6, 3 ; Kau. Br. X, 6.

5 Ś. P. Br. IV, 6, 7. 5 ; Anugīta, VI ; Ait. Br. IV, iii.

6 Amarakośa, Pātālavarga 15, Nānārthavarga 54; Medinī, Tāntavarga 200.

7 ṚV. VII, 36, 6 ; Medinī, Tāntavarga, 221.

8 YV. (Wh.) X, 32 ; XIX, 6 ; XIX, 36 ; Ś. P. Br. XII, 9, 1, 13-14.

9 ṚV. VI, 61, 3 ; X, 131, 4 ; Ś. P. Br. XII, 7, 3, 1-3 ; II. 5, 4, 6 ; XII, 7, 1, 12. See YV. (Wh.) XX, 67 ff.

10 Ś. P. Br. XII, 7, 3, 1-3. See ṚV. VIII, 14, 13 and YV. (Wh.) XIX, 71.

11 Ś. P. Br. V, 5, 4, 16 ; also ṚV. X, 131, 5 ; Vāj. Saṁ. X, 34 ; XIX, 12 ; YV. (Wh.) XX, 55 ff. and XIX, 82 ff.

12 Vaj. Saṁ. XIX, 12 ; XIX, 94 ; XX ; YV. (Wh.) XIX, 94 ; Vāj. Saṁ. X, 34.

13 Of Sūrya and Sarasvatī-Vāk (see Mat. Pur. and Skan. Pur.).

14 Tait. Br. II, 8, 8, 4 ; YV. (Wh.) XXXVIII, 8 and 18.

15 Ś. P. Br. XII, 9, 1, 13-14. See YV. (Wh.) XIII, 35.

16 Kau. Br. XII, 2.

literature a Vajra-Sarasvatī makes her appearance. The three forms of the sacrificial fire appear as Indra's consorts in the White Yajur Veda[1]. As one form of that fire Sarasvatī appears naturally also as the spouse of Agni with whom she is very often invoked[2], just as she is invoked with the Maruts for the same reason (and Indra often figures as the foremost of the Maruts). She is Agnāyī and Svāhā, and Agni's vehicle, the ram, is hers also. She is one of the rivers on whom the Āhavanīya fire begets the Dhiṣnis[3]. In ancient times the ram or he-goat or ewe was her favourite sacrifice[4], *and even today in East Bengal one of the popular diversions* on the Sarasvatī Pūjā day is ram-fight. Sūrya in later times figures as her husband presumably because he dispels the gloom of the outer world as Sarasvatī does of the inner world and the twin Aśvins appear as the sons of Sūrya and Sarasvatī-Vāk[5]. It was easy to identify her with Saṁjñā, the wife of Surya as the word means wisdom and Sūrya himself is described as the triple Veda and wisdom is asked of him in the Gāyatrī hymn. Even Yama (who in the Avesta is represented as being the first to receive wisdom of Ahura Mazda) occasionally appears as her spouse[6]. All these associations are easily explained. On account of her healing properties Sarasvatī came to be associated with the divine physicians, for in the Atharva Veda she appears as curing the worms of children[7] and poisoning in general[8], from which latter fact an association with Manasā, the goddess of snakes, was easily established[9]. The Jāṅguli Tārā of the Buddhists has the same function.[10] The Indra-

1 YV. (Wh.) XXVII, 19 ; XXIX, 33. For the association of Sarasvatī with threes, see Mār. Pur XXIII.

2 YV. (Wh.) II, 20 ; IV, 7 ; Bṛ. Dev. II, 72 ; MBh. Śal. Par. XLII, 32.

3 Br. Pur. XXX.

4 Ś. P. Br. XII, 7, 1, 12 ; IV, 2, 5, 14 ; IV, 6, 3, 3 ; YV. (Wh.) XIX, 90 ; XXI, 46 ; XXIV, 1.

5 Bhaviṣya Pur. XIII ; Rūpa and Bala are the sons.

6 Vendidād, Fargard II. In Mat. Pur. CLXXI, 32–33 Brahmā bestows his five creations, including Sarasvatī, on Dharma.

7 AV. V, 23.

8 ṚV. I, 191, 13–14 ; AV. VI, 100 ; MBh. Śal. Par. XXXVII, 28–30.

9 See Raghunandana, Tithitattva : Pañcamī.

10 Bhattacharyya's Indian Buddhist Iconography, p. 185 ; Foucher's E'tude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde, p. 89 (whence Jāṅgulika = poison-curer — Amarakośa, Pātālavarga, 11).

association through lightning and thunder for a river is quite natural, and as Sarasvatī became in course of time the goddess of all speech, including diplomatic speech, the heavenly king had need of her help. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa her two breasts are called truth and falsehood [1] and she not only advises Indra how to break his vow to Namuci but also warps the tongue of Vṛṣaya in the pronunciation of the word Indra-śatru so that Vrtra became the victim and not the victor of Indra [2]. The Agni-association was more natural for her banks always glowed with sacrificial fire and her earliest friends were Ilā and Bhāratī, the former being associated with gods and men and the latter with the solar rays while Sarasvatī herself stood for the middle region (the Sārasvats)[3]. The Sūrya association is difficult to explain, but an ancient tradition ascribed the teaching of the Yajur Veda to Sūrya [4] and latterly Sūrya came to be the representative of the three major gods of Hindu Trinity whose wife Sarasvatī became in turn.

In spite of other alliances Sarasvatī has been primarily regarded as the śakti or wife of Brahmā, the revealer of the Vedas and the presiding deity of wisdom. She still retains the swan and the lotus as her seats and carries the rosary and books (representing the Vedas) in her hands [5]. A bare hint in the Veda about the enjoyment of the daughter by the father [6] was expanded into the tale of Prajāpati desiring his own mind-born daughter Sarasvatī alias Śatarūpā [7] and growing four faces in the four directions and a fifth one at the top [8] (which was subsequently torn off by Rudra) [9] in order to gaze at the circumambulating figure of his beautiful daughter. Even his mind-born sons could not brook this scandal

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1 Ait. Br. IV, 1.

2 Sāyaṇa's Commentary on ṚV. VI. 61, 3.

3 YV. (Wh.) XXVIII, 18.

4 Bṛ. Ār. Up. 6, 5, 3 ; Br. Pur. lxvii, 22.

5 Ep. Ind. VIII, p, 213 ; Harivaṁśa, XLI, 43-47 ; Mat. Pur. clxi, 5 ; Var. Pur. XXXII, 14 ; Kūr. Pur. I, iv, 39 ; H. Krishna Sastri, South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses, p. 185.

6 ṚV. X, 61, 5-7 ; V, 42, 13.

7 Bhāg. Pur. iii, 12, 28 ; Mat. Pur. III, 30 ff.

8 MBh. Anu. Par. XIV, 309 ; XVII, 121 ; Mat. Pur. IV, 38-40.

9 Archaeologie der Sudd 'Inde, Tome II, p. 114 refers to a Pallava figure illustrating this episode,

and protested, whereupon, according to one version, he laid down his life. According to another version, he married her to one of his mind-born sons and Manu (who in a different version appears as the progeny of the incest) [1] is mentioned as that son [2]. Later accounts palliated this tale by supposing that Brahmā divided himself into two halves - one male and another female - and holding that these halves were only reunited [3]. Elsewhere an allegorical interpretation was given to the whole affair and Brahmā was called the Veda and Sarasvatī the Sāvitrī invocation [4]. Whatever be the relation, Brahmā continued to be intimately associated with Sarasvatī all through the centuries in literature, inscription and religious practice. It cannot be said that she was an ideal wife, for she is very often described as having a high strung temper, and when once because she came late to a sacrifice Brahmā married the youthful Gāyatrī she cursed him to the effect that he would be worshipped only on one day in the year [5]. The rarity of Brahmā's temples and worship explains to some extent why Sarasvatī assumed an independent status, for in a land devoted to culture the Goddess of Learning could not but be frequently invoked and either she was divested of matrimonial encumbrances or readily other husbands were found for her. Still, even in Buddhism, Sarasvatī was regarded as the wife of Mañjuśrī who resembles Brahmā in functions and attributes [6]. She represented the spirit of revelation in subsequent formulations and continues to do so in present-day worship.

It is natural therefore that when Viṣṇu rose to eminence in popular favour an alliance of Sarasvatī with him should be soon established. Even as early as the Vedic times Sarasvatī and Vāk (two distinct entities) are invoked together with Viṣṇu [7] and in the Anvārambhaṇīya sacrifice Sarasvatī and Sarasvat are regarded as

1 Mat. Pur. III, 44 ; Viṣ. Pur. I. vii.

2 Br. P. X ; Viṣ. Pur. VII ; Kūr. Pur. I, viii.

3 Viṣ. Pur. I, vii ; Agni Pur. XVII, 16 ; XVIII ; Bhav. Pur. XIV.

4 Mat. Pur. IV, 7-10. See also Rao's Hindu Iconography, Vol. II, Part II, p. 244 (App. B).

5 Tod's Annals (ed. Crooke), Vol. II, p. 892.

6 Foucher, E'tude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde, pp. 89, 108. For Sarasvatī in Buddhistic pantheon, see B. Bhattacharyya's Indian Buddhist Iconography, pp. 150ff.

7 YV. (Bl.) I, 7, 10.

presiding deities together with Agni-Viṣṇu [1]. The identification with Sūrya also helped the process of transference and Viṣṇu absorbed much of the splendour of other gods in course of time. So in the Mahābhārata Sarasvatī appears as the mind-born of Kṛṣṇa [2]. In some Tantras Vāṇī and Sarasvatī became the Vaiṣṇava Śaktis of consonants and vowels respectively [3]. A close relation with Lakṣmī, the goddess of prosperity and the wife of Viṣnu, from very early times helped the Vaiṣṇavite transformation. Not only was Sarasvatī herself approached for prosperity [4] but she and Lakṣmī were very often invoked together [4]. She is one of the deities that despoiled Śrī of her riches [5] - an attitude that easily lent itself to the interpretation in later times that she and Lakṣmī were the two wives of Viṣṇu [6], none too cordially related, or that Lakṣmī was the mother-in-law of Sarasvatī [7] and their relation was governed by the Paurāṇic prescription " mā snuṣābhiḥ samam śvaśrvā viśvāso bhavatu kvacit " [8]. This unfortunate relationship between prosperity and learning has been invoked to explain why all the world over scholars are proverbially poor.

To what length the strained relationship between the two co-wives of Viṣṇu might go is described with great details in the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa where an amusing story of domestic unquietness is told [9]. Viṣṇu had always been partial towards Lakṣmī and this was too much for the other two wives Sarasvatī and Gaṅgā (for here Gaṅgā also appears as the wife of Viṣṇu), and as soon as Viṣṇu was out one day a quarrel broke out and by mutual curses all the three were converted into streams, viz. Sarasvatī, Gaṅgā and Padmā. Here we have the counter-process of the Vedic belief : instead

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1 Śāṅ. Gṛ. Sūt.

2 MBh. Bhīṣ. Par. 3019.

3 Prapañcasāra Tantra.

4 Ait. Br. II, 1, 4 ; Vāj. Saṁ. 21, 37.

5 Ś. P. Br. XI, 4, 3. 1 and 3.

6 Bengal images of Viṣṇu have Lakṣmī on one side and Sarasvatī on the other. B. C. Bhattacharyya's Indian Images, Vol. I, p. 12 ; Ag. Pur. XXI, 23.

7 Ep. Ind. VI, 128.

8 Var. Pur. VIII, 38.

9 Br. Vai. Pur. ii, 5.

of a river being transformed into a goddess here a goddess is transformed into a river, which to the Paurāṇic mind was the more natural process. But more often Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī figure as the two wives, one on either side of the same God, whether he be Viṣṇu of the Hindu pantheon or Mañjuśrī of the Buddhistic faith. (Sometimes Sarasvatī is replaced by Pṛthvī or Tuṣṭi)[1]. Sometimes their names are interchangeably used, Lakṣmī being regarded as one of the eight forms of Sarasvatī [2] and conversely Sarasvatī being called Viśvarūpā, Śrī, etc. — names that properly belong to Lakṣmī. The use of rice with or without milk and of barley grains in the worship of Sarasvatī betrays her association with the goddess of corn or the spirit of vegetation. Both Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī are symbolically worshipped on corn and books respectively and in some parts of Bengal an image, when used, is not immersed lest prosperity or learning, as the case may be, should depart. The four arms with which Sarasvatī is sometimes invested, the lotus and discus that sometimes appear in her hands, and the worship of the goddess on the Śrīpañcamī day [3] which is sacred to Lakṣmī also (although Raghunandana quoting Vyāḍi points out that Śrī may mean Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī both)[4] and the description of her as the Śakti of the Saṁkarṣaṇa Vyūha of Nārāyaṇa [5] all ally her with Viṣṇu. In order to explain why she was at all related to Brahmā the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa in the episode described above mentions that after the quarrel of the co-wives Viṣṇu sent Sarasvatī away to Brahmā and Gaṅgā to Śiva, bestowing on the former the uncomplimentary epithets 'vāgduṣṭā' and 'kalahapriyā' and calling Lakṣmī 'suśīlā'.

The transformation of the goddess into the śakti of Śiva whose spirit of revelation she ultimately became probably owes its origin to the theory that in the Iron Age there is no room for Vedic rites and

1 Pad. Pur. Utt. Khaṇ.. CCLVII ; Ag. Pur. XLIV ; Mat. Pur. CCLVIII, 13.

2 Mat. Pur. LXVI, 9.

3 Par. Gṛ. Sū. III, 1, 6.

4 Raghunandana's Tithitattvam and Kriyātattvam. Other tithis : re 9th day of the Dasarā (Shastri's South Indian Images p. 187) and the Māghī Pūrṇimā (Ep. Ind. V, p. 13).

5 Mantramahodadhi.

that salvation comes from following Śaiva revelation (Āgama)[1]. Alike in Kashmir and in South India he received extensive homage and in the former place Śāradā with whom Sarasvatī was identified[2] claimed fervent devotion. Durgā as a synonym of Vāk appears in the Bṛhat Devatā[3] and of Sarasvatī in the Taittirīya Āranyaka[4] and the only goddess having any resemblance with Sarasvatī to be found in the Bṛhat Saṁhitā is Ekānaṁśā with whom Durgā is identified[5] In the Śāradātilaka, from which the present mode of worshipping her is derived, the Śaiva associations are obtrusive: she is Śāradā, Varadā, Parvataśikharajātā, snow-white, three-eyed and with the crescent moon on her forehead. Later compositions call her Gaurī, Śivakāntā, Śaṁkarārdhāṅgī, Bhadrakālī, Maheśvarī, Śarvānī, etc., seat her on a lion, clothe her in tiger-skin and decorate her with serpents and the trident. The blue Sarasvatī was a Śaiva innovation, based probably on a Brāhmaṇa tradition that for helping the gods Sarasvatī got a blue lotus as a reward. The Mathurā image seats her on a lion which is the vehicle of Durgā. If Brahmā's wisdom (jñāna) and Viṣṇu's prosperity (aiśvarya) could be allied with Sarasvatī, it is but natural that Śiva's dispassion (vairāgya) should also be related to her in a land where the ideal of life has been the synthesis of the three. She is the Mahāsarasvatī of the Buddhists and in spite of the many dark things ascribed to her at different times she retains the whiteness of purity or the blueness of immensity and depth and her associates are spiritual qualities of the mind, such as Prajñā, Medhā, Smṛti, Mati, etc.[6].

In later worship she became so much a synthetic goddess that she outgrew all sectarianism and became the object of universal adoration. With the decay of Pauranic traditions it became possible to

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1 Mah. Nir. Tantra II, 7 and 30; Kūr, P. I, xxix, 32; Br. Pur. XXXIII, 20; lxv, 57.

2 For relation of Śāradā to Sarasvatī, see Stein's Translation of Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, Vol. II, pp. 273–290. See also Foucher's E'tude ... l' Inde, p. 89 and H. K. Shastri's South Indian Images, p. 139.

3 Durgā is regarded as an interpolation in Br. Dev. ii, 72 by some.

4 Tait. Ār. X, Nāray. Up. 34; Var. Pur. XXVIII.

5 Bṛ. Saṁ. LVIII, 38; Harivaṁśa CCLIV, 22.

6 Ag. Pur. CCCIX; Mat. Pur. lxvi, 9.

reduce the multiplicity of her hands [1] and to reduce her to human proportions. When toleration preached the identity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva the triad of Vedic times, of which Sarasvatī formed one, could easily be fitted into the new scheme and by a happy inspiration Sarasvatī was converted into the wife of Traipuruṣa [2] — a synthesis of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

Before we pass on to consider the last transformation of the goddess into the impersonal spirit of wisdom we may refer to the concrete objects with which Sarasvatī has been associated in course of her millenium-long history. The swan, the lotus, the ram, (or ewe or he-goat), the peacock and the lion have all served as vehicles according to tradition and locality and she has herself been worshipped in the form of a white snake[3] and there is a reference that she was herself of the form of a swan [4]. The parrot has sometimes figured in her hand and sometimes as an offering [5] and the ram also has figured as a sacrifice. She has been offered ground rice (indraśāli), butter or ghee, rice, rice-pap, sour curd, thickened milk, barley mixed with honey, white flowers and sandal paste, palāśa flower, lotus and jujube. The tenacity of tradition is shown by the fact that even today in Bengal many of these figure in the annual worship and scholars do not eat jujube (badara) before the Śrīpañcamī day [6]. In her hands she may have rosary, book (repre senting the Vedas), staff, pitcher of nectar, lotus, sword, discus, bleached skull, gem, pen, vīṇā, goad, trident, bell, parrot, water-pot and the drum, as the Śāradātilaka and the Tripurāsārasamuccaya prescribe; but in present-day worship either vīṇā and book or pen and book are placed. A pose of giving instruction or blessing is also to be found in some stone images.

We have already referred to the multiplicity of boons asked of her from ancient times, the most important being prosperity and

1 B. C. Bhattacharyya's Indian Images, Vol. I, p. 43 ; Ag. Pur. ccix ; B. Bhattacharyya's Indian Buddhist Iconography, p. 150 ; Foucher's E'tude etc. p. 90.

2 Ind. Ant. VIII, 22-3 ; Barth's Religions of India p. 181 footnote.

3 Getty, Gods of Northern Buddhism,

4 Rājataraṅgiṇī, i, 35.

5 Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa's Sāhityakaumudī quoting Kamalākara ; see also Ep. Ind. II, 194.

6 YV. (Wh.) X, 32 (Griffith's note).

cure. But there is one boon that has persisted all through the centuries, viz. success in marriage. She has been approached for virility,[1] for promotion of marriage[2] and even for submission of others (vaśīkaraṇa)[3]; she has been invoked during the saptapadī ceremony and during impregnation[4] and also to descend into the mother's breast during the nomenclature ceremony[5]. She has been asked to cure the worms of children and to give them insight. How she came to have special powers in these directions is difficult to see, but it is remarkable that her associates in this matter are Anumati, Rākā, Kuhu and Sinīvālī—the earlier and later phases of the full moon and the new moon—an association that links itself easily with the worship of Sarasvatī and Sarasvat (to whom also unmarried men prayed for wife and children)[6] in the Darśapaurṇamāsī sacrifice. As the foremost of mothers to whom a thousand children are ascribed in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[7], as the wife of the Lord of creation Prajāpati and as the mother of rivers she was probably regarded as in a special degree qualified to promote matrimonial alliance, just as being Speech she was eminently fitted to bestow learning.

From a synthetic goddess to the impersonal spirit of wisdom is not a big step and this transfiguration of the goddess was so effectively achieved that her sectarian associations almost totally disappeared from her worship. She is popularly regarded as unmarried and is sometimes described as an ascetic with the rosary[8] and bleached skull as her symbols. She is supposed to have no body in the ordinary meaning of the term for the letters of the alphabet form

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1 AV. IV, 4 ; VII, 68.

2 Par. Gṛ. Sū. II, 4, 8; Hir. Gṛ. Sū. I, 6, 20, 1.

3 AV. VI, 94.

4 Par. Gṛ. Sū. and Hir. Gṛ. Sū.

5 ṚV. I, 164, 49 ; Bṛ. Ār. Up. VI, 4, 27.

6 ṚV. II, 41, 17 ; VI, 61, 1 ; X, 85, 47 ; X, 184, 2 ; YV. (Wh.) II, 32 ; YV. (Bl.) III, 5, 1.

7 Ś. P. Br. IV, 6, 7, 2-3.

8 For rosary as the symbol of abstraction, see Vācaspati Miśra on Vyāsa Bhāṣya on Yoga Sūtra III, 6.

her spiritual frame. In the Tārārahasyavṛttikā—a palmleaf manuscript in the Varendra Research Society's Library, bearing the date 1626 Śakābda, she is described as being without quality, activity or modification, inaccessible to the senses because of her formlessness, and identical with perfect wisdom. She is further described as the spirit of every auspicious quality and of the wisdom of the three persons of the Trinity; she is neither gross nor subtle, unknown and unfathomable, ubiquitous and universal, partless and ever pure. She is the eternal manifestation of the Absolute Self [1] and identical with Prajñāpāramitā with whose invocation the Mahāyāna text of Vajracchedikā begins. No wonder that such a goddess was acceptable to Buddhists and Jains also in their sanctuaries [2] as the peculiar Hindu flavour did not cling to her worship. Today in millions of Hindu homes she is enthusiastically worshipped with reverence, all reading and writing being abjured out of necessity as the books and pens are placed either as substitutes of or offerings to the goddess on the Śrīpañcamī day.

1 Uttararāmacarita — Invocatory verse

2 V. A. Smith's The Jaina Stūpa and other antiquities of Mathurā, pp. 56–57; Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath, p. 150 Burgess, Cave-temples of India, p. 384.

III : Buddhism and Jainism

A FEW WORDS ON *SUKHA*—BY LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN,

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All the students in Indianism are wishing every sort of *sukha* to Dr. K. B. Pathak. There are many sorts of *sukha* in Buddhism.

i. According to Asaṅga-Maitreya's Yogaśāstra, we have—

1. *Hetu-sukha*, what is *sukha* because it produces *sukha* : the pleasurable object, the organ, the "contact" (*sparśa*) which is pleasantly experienced, the action which results in pleasure.

2. *Vedita-sukha*, the experience which benefits (*anugrahakara*) the mind or the body. This experience is sixfold, according to the organ, the eye . . . . the mind. It is again fourfold, as it belongs to one of the three spheres of existence, as it may be associated with the path of a Śaikṣa or of an Aśaikṣa.

3. *Duḥkhaprātipakṣika sukha*. The notion of *sukha* arises with reference to the cessation of pain, thirst, hunger, cold. . . . This *sukha* is neither cause of *sukha*, nor *sukha* in itself ; it is *sukha* owing only to the fact that pain is stopped.

4. *Veditopaccheda sukha* : it is the *sukha* of the highest trance, the saṁjñāveditanirodhasamāpatti. We have here a *sukha* which is neither cause of *sukha*, nor *sukha* in itself, nor stopped pain ; how can it be *sukha* ? Because it is the momentary cessation of the third sort of suffering, the *saṁskāraduḥkhatā*, id est, the *pāramārthıka* or "metaphysical" suffering. The Lord has said that every feeling (*vedita*) is substantially suffering : *yat kiṁcid veditaṁ idam atra duḥkhasya* (Kośa, VI, p. 131, Sūtrālaṁkāra, p. 131, Saṁyutta, iv, p. 213).

5. *Avyābādhya sukha*, which is fourfold : *a. naiṣkramya-sukha*, the happiness of the man who leaves the secular life, for he is liberated from the many secular attachments ; *b. viveka* or *pravıveka-sukha* : the happiness (viz. *prītisukha*) obtained in the first Dhyāna ; *c. upaśamasukha* : the happiness of the superior Dhyānas, which is produced by the cessation of intellectual exertion (*vicāra* and *vitarka*);

d. sambodhisukha : when the saint is "disconnected" from action and from passion, (*kleśa*, id est, "error" and "passion", such as affection, etc.) when the saint knows exactly all knowable object. This *sukha* is *sukha*, because, for the time being, the saint is no longer obstructed by the " incapacities " (*dauṣṭhulya*) created by passion, because he will later obtain the absolute and definitive cessation of the " metaphysical" suffering.

ii. Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi of Dharmapāla.— Hiuan-tsang states that the Yogaśāstra, on certain topics, quotes and emphasizes the views of the Sarvāstivādins : mere "condescendance".—The Vibhāṣā, 26 at the end, gives the description of the fourfold *dṛṣṭadharmasukhavihāra : pravrajyāsukha, vivekasukha, upaśamasukha, bodhisukha* (Kośa, vi, p. 259). Saṁghabhadra has the same list and adds as a fifth *sukha* (of course, not a *dṛṣṭadharmavihārasukha*), the happiness of Nirvāṇa, *nirvāṇasukha*.

These theories can be traced in the old Piṭaka. According to Aṅguttara, i, p. 81, the *pabbajjāsukha* is to be contrasted with the *gihīsukha*, the *nekkhammasukha* with the *kāmasukha*, last not least, the *nirupadhisukha* with the *upadhisukha*.

iii. Buddhists agree on this point that the Nirvāṇa is *sukha*. But the school of Asaṅga opens a new way to the speculation when it states that, while Nirvāṇa is *sukha* without being *sukhasaṁvedana*, happiness without consciousness of being happy, the Bodhisukha is both beatitude and consciousness of beatitude. This definition is to be found in a treatise which belongs to the school of Asaṅga, the Buddhabhūmiśāstra : but it belongs to all doctors who add to the traditional two-fold Nirvāṇa (the *sopadhiśeṣa* and the *nirupadhiśeṣa*) a third and better Nirvāṇa, the *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa* ; the saint is perfectly free from error and attachment ; every *upadhi* or "support" or cause of pain has been destroyed ; he therefore resides in *nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa* ; but he continues helping beings, preaching, and busy with every contrivance of salvation : without any endeavour or exertion, but not without enjoying both his perfect calm and his charitable activity.

Bodhi is a sort of *turyā avasthā*.

AMITY—BY MRS. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, M. A., D. Litt., CHIPSTEAD, SURREY, ENGLAND.

The idea of friendship and of the attitude of man as friend has a history in the religious thought of India of considerable interest. A comprehensive historical treatment of the subject I have as yet not come across. It may exist; but I incline to the belief, that as yet European writings on friendship are too much confined to its history as limited on the East by Palestine. The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (Edinburgh, 1908-21) exemplifies this in its odd and irregular way, in its article on Friendship. This starts with a discarding reference to Hinduism, as a religion tending to repress individuality, the key to friendship lying in this. There is truth in the last clause, (cited by the writer) ; but there is a singular want of truth in the preceding clause, for which he makes no one responsible beyond himself. So he leaves us only one writer to deal with. It is difficult to find any religion in which the individuality of the man reaches the height and emphasis attained in Hinduism old and later, from about the 8th century B. C. onwards, that is, from the day when man began to realize, not only that Deity was fundamentally one, but also that man's nature was fundamentally That Who is Deity. So completely was this a consummation of the idea of the 'individual', that Indian polytheism became ultimately an immanent monotheism :— " many the forms but all are One " — and, as inherently divine, the self attained a perfected singularity which excluded in language, for centuries, the use of the word 'self' in the plural.

This being so, we ought (according to the cited clause), in the old recorded sayings or mantras of India, to find so marked a religious conception of individuality forming the key to a notable expression in those mantras on friendship. We do find such an expression. But we do not find it developing synchronously with the new word of that religious mandate. Man elaborates and embroiders the New Word, diverting it here and there to other mandates of the spirit of his age ; but the New Word is given him ; is, as such, not elaborated. Hence it is later, that the idea of amity between 'the

self' and 'the self' found a deeper, worthier expression. But it will not have been long after the idea known as 'Thou art That' reached and unlocked this further door. That note was struck in the teaching associated with the Sakyamuni.

I have said 'not long after'. This is not because I would see, in the records showing this teaching, which are known as the Pali Pitakas, compilations dating soon after the compiling of the older, greater Upaniṣads, wherein we find the oneness of the individual, Divine and human, at its apogee. On the contrary, I see in the Pitakas compilations *of a later period,* ranging from the reign of Aśoka till the last century B. C. I say 'compilations'; I do not mean, that for the three preceding centuries a thesaurus of oral sayings was not growing in bulk. But the compiling these into connected 'discourses, vaggas, nikāyas, 'books'—all this was later work, with which went an indefinite amount of editing. But many of the Sayings, surviving in a more or less fragmentary state, and the inspired mandates themselves will date, I believe, from an earlier day, even from the day itself of some of those Upaniṣads we now call pre-Buddhistic. The Sakya mandates are one thing; the completed Pitakas are another. And just as, in those Upaniṣads, individuality in idea touches its highest religious development, so, in the Sakyan mandates surviving in the monastic elaborations of the Pitakas, there appears a new and remarkable development of the idea of amity. It was based on nothing less than *a new ground* for the cherishing of friendship between man and man.

Friendship among men was not the new word. That was indefinitely old. Man cannot live in sodality without it, however circumscribed be the group-limits within which it be exercised. Life is even now a matter of intermittent peril, but in earlier epochs peril was chronic, as was also, more or less, famine. And it is in peril that the comrade-relation emerges most. We still know it in war, at sea, on the heights, in exploring. The friendship of the comrade comes then to a sharp accentuation, the after-sweetness of which is abiding. It is a matter largely of potential and actual warding of the bodily life as being in the comrade's hands. If with it there goes a fellowship in ideas, purposes, tastes, in which mind may ward mind, the comradeship becomes all the more that which we under-

stand by friendship. In all this the Indian had nothing to learn, when there came to him the New Word that, as man, he was a son of God—that he as man was Divine. The warding forces of nature had annexed the term 'friend'. Mitra may have meant *mihir*, the sun in Persian-Aryan sources, but it was as friendly-divine that the Indian Aryan valued the word. And he pictured all that went to compel the fulfilment in rites of his prayer as a friend coming as ally to his help in a fray.[1] The old literature is poor in passages on friendship, but the friend is there, whether as God-comrade, in Mitra and Varuṇa, toward this bodily life, or as man-comrade to do no less.

But when Sakya was about to be born, there had come a new note into the former, the God-comrade relation. This was a new reason for warding life. In it life became no mere transient coming-to-be and passing-away of an earthly body. Man as inmate of a body, had been subject to, had exercized affection for, man as inmate of body. And not as friend only, but as husband, father, as wife, mother. Friend with friend, parent with child, conjugal pair mutually : herein was play of affection, covering both 'man' and body as 'priya'. (I do not include mind in any distinct way, for the influence of Sāṁkhya, creating in India a separate study of mind, as not 'the man', was yet young, and although its powerful wedge had got into discussions, it had not yet re-shaped India's thought). But now there had come into the concept of the 'man' a new inwardness, a sacredness which, in Christian traditional diction would be best expressed by the word 'sacramental', in that of later Greek religion, by the word 'mystery'. The Christian mystic of the Apocalypse "saw the holy city coming down from God out of heaven, as a bride to her husband". But the Indian mystic of an earlier era beheld with inner vision the God Itself taking up Its abode within the man. The coming was not new ; the realization of the Something *implicit in man's nature* was new. Once realized, the ground of that which was 'dear' in the man was transformed; the man himself was transformed. No longer a 'be-minded', or 'be-manned' body, doomed in a few years to decay and death, he was now akin to, nay, of the imperishable, the Eternal. He himself was the thing

1 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 5. 3. 7 (Sacred Books of the East Series). Cf. Keith & Macdonell (Vedic Index) art. : Mitra.

most prize-worthy in all the world. But not for his visible attributes. Within and of him was the value of values ; his body was but the shrine, the *garbha* of the holy of holies.

Was he then to live absorbed in himself, dear only as being himself ? Not so, for the friend was even as he, a shrine of the divine Self. So was also the woman of his choice, the child he loved. So too for her was her child and the man of her choice. There was thus come, through a new word in religion, a new infusion of reverential tenderness into the relations of affection. And this new note we find sounded by Sakya, as the new basis of ethics, or the warding of man by man. In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad is the prelude to this. " That self (Brahman) is dearer....than all else, for It is nearer...He who reverences the Self as dear, verily what he holds dear is not perishable....And in repeating this in a dying charge to his wife, the teacher says : ....Lo ! verily not for love of all is the all dear, but for love of the Self is all dear." This, as taught by (of, let us say,) his Brahman chaplain, the king of Kosala is recorded as repeating to his queen Mallikā and then to the Sakyamuni. The latter makes rejoinder :

The whole wide world we traverse with our thought,
And nothing find to man more dear than self.
Since aye so dear the Self to others is,
Let the Self-lover harm no other man.[1]
(*Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, Kosala, 8 ; *Udānaṁ*, I, 5).

Read as a European will read it, this verse will not be appreciated. It finds the ground for ethical action in the inference from a principle, which he will call egoistic. And he will, if he be apologist for ' Buddhism,' try to explain away the force lying in the word Self : *atta-*; I tried to do so when translating the Sutta 14 years ago. It seemed then to me impossible that the Founder of Sakya would have taken the saying in the way a Brahman would. I now know better. I believe it is far more likely, that the original speaker of the verse used *atta-* in the sense in which the original speaker of the Upaniṣad utterance used *ātman*. I believe it is far less likely,

1 According to Rockhill's translation of a Tibetan recension of the Dhammapada, in which the verse cited occurs (but does not in the Pali version), the last line reads : "hurt not others with what pains yourself."

that the Sakyan used *atta-* in the sense in which the Piṭaka compilers came to use it, much later. For those two older speakers, the *ātman, atta-* was that More in each man Who was potentially the Most in him. And we shall come to see this is so, when we realize, that in the Pāli Piṭakas we have works, which, while they record half-forgotten events of a long-ago, and religious ideas of that day in half-forgotten fragments, are themselves the output of changed and diverted ideals.

Hīnayāna Buddhism has been accused of egoism in its ideals. The accusation is not unjustified, albeit Indian ideals are to a certain extent involved, not Hīnayāna only. But let accusers look to it, that they are not reading the modern West into the ancient East. They would not call it egoistic, to see the warding of the fellowman called for from devotion to God. They would allow, that for the Theist all men are, as sons of God, warders of each other as is the Divine Father. Yet this reasoning, with other emphasis, is just what that survival of original Sakya teaching bears in itself implicitly. It is something far above what *we* call egoistic. In and of each man is that Most Holy Thing, and it is with That, and not with a be-minded body only, that a man is dealing in his relation with another man. Tender will he be towards him and reverent, as were he dealing with a woman pregnant with maternity. There is nothing new in this idea for us, for the best of men and women among us observe this attitude, and teach it, especially in the right attitude towards the child. But just now we are preoccupied with the brother-relation between man and man. We have not yet come to the mother-relation, or parental relation, which sees, in right intercourse, the man warding his fellowman as the child who is becoming, who will eventually become That who he is in germ.

The brother-relation was not in the day of Sakya developed in India. The word of course, 'brother', was there, but never did a man call his fellow 'brother', brethren'. He did not even call his blood brother by that word. He was just 'tāta'. It is the Christian parallel on the one hand, and the difficulty of conveniently rendering the monk-appellatives : *āvuso* and *āyasmā*, together with a certain scruple in fitting 'monk' to *bhikkhu*, that led Rhys Davids, and after him present-day votaries of Hīnayāna Buddhism to use the word

brethren. The Christian analogy was of course very strong, and the difference between 'monk' and *bhikkhu* was exaggerated. Early Christians did address each other as brother, brethren. The very first public utterance recorded after the Founder's death has the words "Are ye not all brethren one of another ?" [1] But, in Sakyan records, even when the Founder is seen tending a sick disciple and rebuking his neglectful fellows, he does not use such a saying, or such a word.

And the ethic in the verse is negative : it is the ethic of that other verse of the bee extracting honey or pollen without harming the flower. That the bee actually rendered service to the flower is passed over. This negative idea of well-doing — the keynote of Jainism and the main chord in Sakyan morals— was more ; it was Indian. Averting the undesirable was stressed more than bringing about the desirable. To be well was to be 'not-ill'. Had it been otherwise, the whole trend in Indian religious thought would have been different. For, now and then, a teacher tried to bring in the ideal of making the Better to become, of the New, the Added, the Growing, the Positive, but in vain. The teaching wilted and perished. This happened with the creative ideal worded as a Becoming More. This happened with man worded as becoming the more in his life as a whole, figured as a Way in the worlds. The simpler idea stuck fast, that man is, does not become (only the body did that) ; that man as the Highest was the Not-perishing, the Unchanging, the Stable. We too are a conservative people, we of Europe, but as compared with India we are less so. We have found the word for the motor of change :— the 'will'. India never found it, that is, she lost the Aryan root-idea. I have said this elsewhere. She chose on the whole the way of the negative in her self-expression, and with this result, that the possibilities conceivable for man in his becoming were more and more tied down to life on earth.

But in its first days Sakya was little touched by these limitations. Its most noteworthy ideas were positively worded. Always it strove to express a More in the man ; this was developed later in the theory of the Arhan, a word which at its birth meant nothing

1 Speech of Stephen, the Martyr.

more than 'fit for', 'suitable', 'worthy', as applied to this or that. It described the man, not as 'is' or 'is not', but as becoming. It figured that becoming as a Way through life as a whole to the consumma tion, and man the wayfarer as so far unfinished; as the To Be. It strove to make good the want of words for will and choice by notable idioms of energy. And the man's recognition of fellowman as co-wayfarer was most worthily expressed as a suffusing of the more-that-was-He into that fellowman :—amity, pity, joy, poise. With the four as not originally Sakyan, but as adopted very early by the founders I have dealt elsewhere.

Of the four, amity, *mettā* is by far the most frequent in the records. And it is only in *mettā*, that we come upon the idea of a relation between man and man, which is independent of all social and worldly relations. It was the more in man calling to the more in man. The comradeship of body and mind of which I spoke at first is usually worded by *sahāya*. But *mettā* only appears with the distinctive qualification of 'freedom of mind, or purpose' : *ceto-vimutti*. In *mettā* the man, the Self, met the man, the Self, divested of other relations.

Hence the accompanying belief in its tremendous possibilities, namely, the power of warding off harm from threatening foe or beast. It was only the mother-love in a beast which was held to have this potency. I will return to this.

It is interesting to trace the influence of monasticism on the cult of *mettā*. Cut off from all human relations save those of friend with friend, and of teacher and pupil, monastic life will have served as a stimulus to that amity which was solely and absolutely disinterested, at least in theory. I can well believe, that monastic Buddhism, even with its wilted concept of the self, availed in this way of monk-life to hand down the original emphasis on amity. Buddhist monks were no less notorious for quarrelsomeness than the monks of other cults; but then it is the quarrels that get into the records as calling for rules. The Saṁgha upheld the importance of *mettā* and left that as a worthy legacy to India. But it was a fostering of the virtue in unhealthy, in hot-house conditions. It could not attain wholesome, sturdy growth save when the man, in midst of other human relations, asserted and fostered the culture of the

one relation which distinguished him as very man, and was based on the ultimately true attitude towards his nature and his life :— the man as bearing about in him the true Kinsman, the true Friend, That Who he is coming to be. We should not expect to see the plant of friendship fostered by monastic conditions developing between monk and layman; it did not. But neither should we expect to find it developing between monk and monk; it did not. I do not say it was not held in lip-worth, and, among chosen spirits, in more than that. The Anthologies here and there bear witness to this, the only eloquent testimony being that of a notable woman, the Founder's aunt :—

āraddhaviriye pahitatte niccaṁ dalhaparakkame
samagge sāvake passa !...esā Buddhāna vandanā !
Behold the disciples in concord ever, with strenuous energy
and the self established, stoutly advancing—
this is the (true) worship of Buddhas ! (*Therīgāthā*, 161)

And in such lines as those ascribed to a disciple of Gotama, Upasena :

mittaṁ idha kalyāṇaṁ sikkhāvipulaṁ samādānaṁ
sussusā ca garūnaṁ : esa samaṇassa paṭirūpaṁ (*Theragāthā*)

we get the term, elsewhere called *kalyāṇamittatā*, expressive of that amity between man and man as such, which our own Jeremy Taylor well expressed as "made, not by nature, not by contract, not by interest, *but by souls*." In other words, growing not out of juxtaposition of circumstances, nor out of worldly relations, but out of an appreciation of the man by the man. In such a relation, as Emerson well said, unaware perhaps how well it fitted the case for India, "truth and tenderness are the main elements" [1] : truth about that which each sees in the man, and tenderness for That holy thing Who he as man is.

But when we look for particular cases of such friendship in Pali literature, the absence of them is striking. I can cite no lovely lines like those of David to Jonathan, nor episodes which in another poet would have called forth such an utterance. *Mettā* was indeed highly valued, and was, with the fourth vihāra, 'poise', as pity and joy were not, a qualification in 'supra-mundane' (*lokottara*) training; nevertheless the accepted definition of the Arahan was that of the lone

1 I owe these two citations to the art. : Friendship, *E. R. E.*

man : *eko, adutiyo,* un-seconded : *eko vūpakaṭṭho....tad anuttaraṃ brahmacariya-pariyosānam....vihāsi.* And to the question : Who is the man's second (i. e., mate) ? the answer is Faith :—

Saddhā dutiyā purisassa hoti (*Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, I, p. 38, P.T.S.). Nor was *mettā* likely to be appreciated in its true worth as the ideal relation between man and man in a teaching, where the reality of the man was being ever more sapped at the root. The worth of it, especially in the Brahmavihāras, could only be maintained by an implicit belief in the reality of the man, when body and mind were discounted. It thus involved a perpetual unspoken contradiction between theory and ideal practice.

I judge then, that, in the high, the new value placed in *mettā* patent in the Pāli scriptures, we have the surviving outcome of a gospel, preached by Gotama and his men (most of whom were Brahmans), who were themselves filled with amity toward men, who had accepted the current Brahman ideal of the man as akin to Deity, and who sought to advance it by seeing man so conceived as not just *being*, but as in a way or process of *becoming* That. And the monk-vehicle of that gospel, in developing into an ever larger, more self-contained world of monks, was on the one hand in a position to force the growth of *mettā*, on the other was, both by their artificial sodality and by their repudiation of the man's reality quâ man, only able to maintain the tradition, but were not capable of producing really fine cultures of the relation.

There is one interesting, and in a way anomalous handling of the subject of amity—this time in post-canonical writing— where imperfect treatment is due to lack of fit words, and I may add, lack of exploiting a new and useful word. I invited comment on this a few years ago[1] and received none. I will here be my own commentator.

In the Dilemmas section of the Milindapañha this point is raised : Of the eleven benefits accruing to the man who fully 'makes-become' amity, one is, in that Sutta passage, said to be his immunity from harm through fire, poison, or weapon. Now in the Sāma Jātaka, Sāma so practised *mettā*, yet was he all but mortally wounded by an arrow. Either then the Sutta has a false statement, or the *mettā* is falsely ascribed to Sāma.

1 JRAS. 1924, p. 442.

The problem, on the surface of it, is not hard to solve. At the moment of the arrow piercing him, Sāma was not sending out *metta*; he was engaged in drawing water. Incidentally it is interesting to note, that the writer had in mind (or before him) a different version of the story, in which Sāma is represented as disturbed by the upset of his water jar. In the version we know, he is acting with utmost calm and poise. None the less he was not practising *mettā* at the moment, and the explanation is not invalid. You must, says the apologist, hold a tarn-root in your hand to be invisible; you must enter the cave in rain, would you not get wet. You must be *willing mettā*, for it to make you immune.

But the last clause is not so worded. The words are: "These are not virtues (i. e., the eleven benefits) of the man (*n'ete guna puggalassa*); these virtues are of a making *mettā* to become[1] (*mettā-bhāvanāya' ete guṇa*).

Now here, as I suggested, the apologist lands himself in a worse crux than that which he tried to solve. He has divorced the man who calls up, or makes become, from that which is his work. The causative *bhāv-* is hereby stultified; the right word would be *bhav-*: a becoming of *mettā*. But unless we make a goddess, a Kwanyin, of the idea *mettā*, or a divine Idea of a Platonic sort—and there is nothing of either traceable in Hīnayāna, to which tradition the Milindapañha belongs—we are landed in a great difficulty. We have on the one hand a *Mettā* working, willing; on the other a Robottian five-*skandha*-ed Sāma wrought upon by that *Mettā*. And I would here only stress this, which is virtually in my note, that if the apologist had had a right notion of the will, as well as a word for it, he might not have had recourse to his anomalous reason: man is one thing, the creation of amity is another. For that matter the old teaching of the Brahmavihāras 'put it across' better than he, when, for lack of the word 'will,' it said "he with *mind* accompanied by *mettā* suffuses X or Y.," or, as in the Sutta-Nipāta, "makes-*mettā*-to-become" in a man. Even in early Abhidhamma, which preceded the Milinda, *mettā* is considered as a factor of the *citta*, and the *citta* is not yet held up over against the *puggala*.

1 Rhys Davids here translated "they are in...the love that he is calling up in his heart" This is very free, but his note on *bhāvanā* deserves utmost attention (S. B. S. vol. XXXV. p. 281).

It is a problem not without particular interest, albeit of not great intrinsic importance. I do not think the writer of the Dilemmas was a Buddhist. He is careful to show his debaters are dummies, not the real king and sage of the conversations. At the same time (a) his training had been Buddhist, (b) his readers (mainly hearers) would be mainly Buddhist, and (c) his work will have undergone Saṁgha-editing after reaching Ceylon. I commend these points to one considering the dilemma, and finally this: Sakya suffered the fate of other religions where a successful first mandate has grown into an orthodox church annexing current academic culture, and giving it fresh food :—it became preoccupied with the word and the idea more than with the thing. I would not treat the problem as more important than as just a 'college debate'. At the same time it may show what some Buddhist monk teaching at that college, say, Nālandā, may have asserted—a straw in the current of ideas about the wilting 'puggala'.[1]

Were the solution put forward historically true, it would quash my theory, that the Brahmanic gospel of the man as immanently divine, still fresh when Sakya was born, had, as one corollary, that development in the teaching of *mettā* which is both new and marked in Sakyan records. One result of that gospel was, I incline to think, of a very opposite tendency. It was a 'God-intoxicated' idea, and sent men filled with it to muse apart in the then new vogue of the *śramaṇa*. But men are of all sorts; and in others, more alert in social relations, it would blossom in that heightened sense of the Deity as immanent in the fellowman no less than in the self. In either case it was a mighty awakening to this true thing; that a man is, somehow yet evermore a coming to be that who he was not, that he is in a Way, the end of which is not yet, that this *becoming* it is, which in life he cherishes, both as he realizes it in himself and also in another. As with the better mother's love for her child goes the sense of his becoming More from day to day, so in that Indian idea of the Uttermost, inherent, potential in the Man, was implicit the More to be fostered, cherished, made-to-become which, between man and man, found its noblest expression in *mettā*.

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1 See hereon my *The Milinda Questions*, 1930.

SOCIAL, ECONOMICAL, AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS OF ANCIENT INDIA ACCORDING TO THE BUDDHIST TEXTS

By Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M. A., B. L., Ph. D.

I. SOCIAL CONDITION

The records of the Buddhists throw much light on the social conditions in Ancient India. The Nikāyas and the Jātakas inform us that people were divided into four social grades, e. g., the Khattiyas, the Brāhmanas, the Vessas and the Suddas (Ambattha Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. I ; Vessantara Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. VI). These are undoubtedly the four principal castes mentioned in Sanskrit books as well. In the Ambajātaka (Jātaka, Vol. IV), however, we find a reference to two more castes, the Caṇḍālas and Pukkusas, both mixed castes and much despised. The Mahādukkhakkhandha Sutta (Majjhima, Vol. I) refers to the Khattiyas, the Brāhmaṇas and the Gahapatis as the three upper classes. The Gahapatis no doubt correspond to the Vessas.

There are several Suttas and Jātaka stories which deal with the subject of caste (Ambaṭṭha and Soṇadaṇḍa Suttas, Dīgha, Vol. I ; Madhura Sutta, Majjhima, Vol. II ; Setaketu Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. III ; Amba Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. IV ; Vasala and Vāseṭṭha Sutta, Sutta Nipāta). These records tell us that the Brāhmaṇas claimed precedence over all other classes. They contended that they were originally born of Brahmā and were his legitimate heirs. Here the classification of people is based on the mere accident of birth. The Buddhists however hold that this division of people is based on reasonable grounds. They are of opinion that virtue of righteousness should be the criterion of division. They think that the Khattiyas are superior to all other castes in respect of virtue. The Khattiyas are, therefore, throughout the Nikāyas and the Jātakas, ranked first (Vessantara Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. VI ; Ambattha Sutta, Dīgha, Vol. I).

It is to be noticed, however, that we cannot safely rely on the Buddhist records for the study of castes in Ancient India. Let us take, for example, the Ambaṭṭha Sutta and see carefully how far it

can be utilised as a source for the study of castes in Ancient India. To begin with, from the manner of interrogation and rejoinder (in the Ambaṭṭha Sutta between the Buddha and Ambaṭṭha, a Brāhmaṇa youth), it appears that the compilers of this Sutta have made a fool of Ambaṭṭha. Ambaṭṭha is versed in three Vedas and the Buddha is an 'Incomparable Religious Teacher'. But Ambaṭṭha's replies to the Buddha's questions and the Buddha's clenching the arguments are not at all convincing. This is for two reasons. Either the followers of the Buddha purposely made a fool of Ambaṭṭha so that the Master would shine by contrast or that some intervening portions in this Sutta have been omitted carelessly. Moreover, we do not know the other side of the question, that is to say, what the Brāhmaṇas have got to say on the point. It is to be borne in mind, however, that the Brahmanical books give preference to the Brāhmaṇas over the Khattiyas and in the Buddhist and Jaina records the Khattiyas are given precedence over the Brāhmaṇas. So the relative position of both is a point of controversy.

The Jātakas, again, tell us that there was no rigid caste system in Ancient India. There was intermarriage among all sections of people. In the Kaṭṭhari Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. I) we find the king of Benares marrying an unknown beautiful woman without enquiring into her parentage. That in Ancient India there was the connubium or the right of intermarriage is borne out by many Jātaka stories. But the custom of commensality was not in vogue. The Satadhamma Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. II) supplies us with an instance in which a Brāhmaṇa, it is said, is reluctant to dine with a Caṇḍāla.

Further, the Jātakas tell us that occupational castes were not formed then. A man could adopt any profession he liked without being looked down upon for following a low profession. A Brāhmaṇa lives as an archer (Culladhanuggaha Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. III); a Brāhmaṇa takes up the profession of a carpenter and earns his livelihood by bringing wood from the forest, and making carts (Phandana Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. IV).

The Brahmajāla Sutta (Dīgha, Vol. I) gives us an exhaustive list of different occupations[1] which people could take up for livelihood. They are briefly as follows :—

1 See Dialogues of the Buddha by T. W. Rhys Davids, pp. 16 ff,

Aṅgaṁ (palmistry); nimittaṁ (divining by means of omens and signs); lakkhaṇaṁ (fortune telling from marks on the body); muddā (counting on the fingers); gaṇanā (counting without using the fingers); saṁkhānaṁ (summing up large totals); lokāyata (sophistry); sālākiyaṁ (practising as an occulist); sallakattikaṁ (practising as a surgeon); āvāhanaṁ vivāhanaṁ (fixing a lucky day for marriage or giving in marriage); saṁvādanaṁ vivādanaṁ (fixing a lucky time for the conclusion of treaties and outbreak of hostilities); uppādaṁ (auguries drawn from thunder-bolts and other celestial portents); supinaṁ (prognostication by interpreting dreams); aggi-homaṁ (sacrificing to Agni); aṅga-vijjā (looking at the knuckles, etc., and after muttering a charm, to divine whether a man is well born or lucky or not); vatthu-vijjā (determining a proposed site for a house which would be lucky or not); khatta-vijjā (advising on customary law); bhutta-vijjā (laying ghosts); Bhuri-vijjā (knowledge of a charm to be used when lodging in an earth house); pakkajjhānaṁ (foretelling the number of years that a man has yet to live); viruddha-gabbhakaraṇaṁ (using charms to procure abortion); jivhānittaddanaṁ (to bring on dumbness); hanu-saṁhananam (to keep a man's jaws fixed by charms); and vatthukammam vatthuparikiraṇaṁ (fixing on lucky sites for dwellings and consecrating sites). In the Sāmaññaphala Sutta (Dīgha, Vol. I) we find a list of the ordinary crafts of the time. The list is briefly as follows :

Hatthārohā (elephant riders); assārohā (cavalry); rathikā (charioteers); dhannuggahā (archers); dasakaputtā (slaves); ālārikā (cooks); kappakā (barbers); nahāpakā (bath-attendants); sudā (confectioners); mālākārā (garland-makers); rajakā (washermen); pesakārā (weavers); nalakārā (basket-makers); and kumbhakārā (potters). The Jātakas also enumerate many other occupations which have not been found in the Nikāyas. They are mentioned below : Uyyānapālā (gardeners - Cullaka-seṭṭhi Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. I); Agghakāraka (valuer - Taṇḍulanāli Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. I); Vaḍḍhaki (carpenter - Kulāvaka Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. I); Visavejjā (doctors skilled in the cure of snake bites - Visavanta Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. I); Laṁghananaṭaka (acrobat - Dubbaca Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. I); Bālisika (fisherman - Ubhatobhaṭṭa Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. I); Kasi-kamma (tillage - Sihacamma Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. II);

Gandhabha (music - Guttila Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. II) ; Nāvika (ferryman - Avāriya Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. III) ; Kammāra (smith - Suci Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. III); Tuṇṇakāra (tailor - Nigrodha Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. IV) ; Bherivādaka (beater of drums - Bherivādaka Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. I) and Vāruṇīvāṇijo (a tavern keeper - Vāruṇi Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. I).

We are told there were various guilds in Ancient India. References are not wanting to the fact that people following the same occupation lived together and the locality in which they resided was named after the vocation of its people. Thus there are references to Vaddhakigamo (village of carpenters - Alīnacitta Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. II) ; Kammāragāma (village of smiths - Suci Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. III) ; Nesādagāma (village of hunters - Sāma Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. VI) ; and Brāhmaṇagāma (village of Brāhmaṇas - Ambaṭṭha Sutta, Dīgha, Vol. I). There are also references to the kulas or families, e.g., Nesādakula, Veṇakula, and Rathakārakula. These guilds no doubt give us hints regarding corporate life in Ancient India. Traces of this kind of nomenclature survive even to-day, e. g., Kumartuli, Saṅkāritola, Sakhāribazar and Telibazar.

We shall now mention some of the rites or ceremonies connected with social life. We find many references to the custom of naming children. This is called in Pali nāmagahana which corresponds to our Bengali nāmakaraṇa (Kulāvaka Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. I ; Therī-gāthā Commy., p. 162). There is another called gabbhaparihāra (Dhammapadatthakathā, Vol. I, p. 4), that is to say, a ceremony relating to the protection of the embryo. Certain rites are also observed in connection with marriages. In the Ambattha Sutta (Dīgha, Vol. I), it is said, where the talk is of marrying or giving in marriage, that reference is made to such things as birth or lineage. In the Sādhusīla Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. II) we find a reference to the custom of polygamy. It is also implied, though not actually stated in the Ucchaṅga Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. I) that a woman could marry more than once. In the Asilakkhaṇa Jātaka, (Jātaka, Vol. I) we find a reference to the fact that marriage between cousins was allowed. In the Ambaṭṭha Sutta we find an instance of a curious marriage - a marriage between a brother and a sister, born of the same father and mother. This is, however, an exception, and we

should not take this sort of marriage to be customary in Ancient India. We are also told of the Sayaṁvara system of marriage. Sayaṁvara was the public choice of a husband by a maiden from a number of suitors assembled for the purpose (Kunāla Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. V). But this sort of marriage was not confined only to the royal families. It was also in vogue among others. In the Dhammapadatthakathā (Vol. I, p. 278) we find a certain wealthy man saying that his daughter should choose for herself such a husband as she sees fit (*vide* my work "*Women in Buddhist Literature*").

It is interesting to note that the purdah system existed in Ancient India. So far we have been under the impression that the purdah system was never in vogue in Ancient India and that the Mahommedans are largely responsible for the origin of this system. But we are in the wrong. That this system existed in India long before the advent of the Mahommedans in this country is attested by a passage in the Dhammapadatthakathā (Vol. I, p. 190). The passage runs thus : "tasmin pana nakkhatte bahi anikkhamaṇaka-kuladhītaro pi attano parivārena saddhiṁ padasā va nadiṁ gantvā nahāyanti". It is quite apparent from this passage that women observed strictly the Purdah system, though occasionally there was relaxation, as for example, when bathing in the river under the constellation of stars. This is also the case with women in orthodox families in Bengal.

We shall now say something about the system of education in Ancient India. In the Ambaṭṭha Sutta we find a list of the different branches of learning which the Brāhmaṇa youths in those days had to study with their teacher. The branches of learning are as follows : tiṇṇam vedānam pāragu sanighaṇḍu-ketubhānam sākha-rappabhedānam itihāsa pañcamānam padako Veyyākaraṇo (the three Vedas with the indices, ritual, phonology, exegesis, legends, idioms and grammars). We find enough of references to the fact that Taxila was then one of the great centres of learning, (*vide* my work, Historical Gleanings - Taxila as a seat of learning in Sanskrit and Pali Literature). Youths from different countries and different families used to go to Taxila (Takkasīlā) in order to study different branches of learning under the guidance of famous teachers. There was the custom then that those who were taught either gave

teacher's fee or attended on the teacher in return for the instructions they received (Jātaka, Vol. II – Tilamuṭṭhi Jātaka). Benares was also a seat of learning. In the Losaka Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. I) we find that the people of Benares used to give day by day food to poor lads and made provision for free teaching. Again the Tilamuṭṭhi Jātaka tells us that kings of former times, though there might be a famous teacher living in their own city, often used to send their sons to distant countries to complete their education that by this means they might learn to quell their pride, and be made acquainted with the ways of the world. In the Darīmukha Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. III) we find that the son of the king of Benares and the son of the Purohita went to Taxila and learned all the arts. Then in order to acquire all practical usages and understand country observances, they wandered through towns and villages. A sort of liberal education, indeed, was given to the students in Ancient India.

We shall complete our study of the social condition of Ancient India by giving a brief account of the disposal of dead bodies. The dead bodies of ordinary men used to be thrown away into a public place which used to be called Sivathikā or Āmakasusāna. They were to be devoured by wild beasts. The dead bodies of persons of high rank, e. g., distinguished teachers or great rulers, used to be cremated and Thūpas erected over the ashes or the relics. In the Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta (Dīgha, Vol. II) we get the details of the cremation of a greater teacher. The body was surrounded several times by corded cotton and new cloths. Then it was thrown into an iron trough, thus forming a closed coffin. A pile of fire wood was then made and the coffin placed over it and fire was set to the pile. When the fire was extinguished the bones from the coffin were taken out and distributed amongst several persons who wanted to erect Thūpas over them. In the Rāmāyana we find that the dead body of King Daśaratha was placed in a trough of oil because the princes were absent from the capital. Probably it was a practice to preserve for sometime the dead bodies in oil (cf. Aṅguttara, Vol. II, p. 57).

II. ECONOMIC CONDITION

We shall now deal with the economic conditions in Ancient India as depicted in the Pali Canonical literature. The economic conditions were simple. The essential features were the following: (1) the majority of the people lived by agriculture, (2) there were craftsmen who used to supply the simple needs of the people, and (3) tradesmen who used to carry on trade both within the country and outside it. They used to carry on both inland and maritime trade.

In the Cullakasetthi Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. I) we find that there were both land-traders and sea-traders (cf. thalapatha kammiko and jalapatha kammiko). In the Appaṇṇaka Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. I) we are told of the land-traders who travelled through different countries in order to sell their costly wares, which they took with them usually on five hundred carts drawn by oxen, in important centres of trade. There were trade routes which passed through many a wilderness. These were infested by robbers, demons, lions and other wild beasts. There were also no bathings or water to be got, and no roots or other food to be found. These routes also passed through water-less deserts in extent sixty leagues or more. In the Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. I), we find that the caravans used to travel in the deserts at night. There were desert-pilots who guided them through the desert by knowledge of the stars (cf. thala niyāmako nāma laddhuṁ vaṭṭati, so tāvaka saññāya satthaṁ tāveti). At dawn the caravans did not move. They used to range their carts in a circle to form a lāager with an awning spread overhead, and used to sit in the shade all day long. In the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā (Vol. II, p. 214) we find a reference to a trade route from Suppāraka (Sopārā) to Sāvatthī (Sahet-Mahet). It is also stated that the distance between them was a hundred and twenty leagues (vīsaṁyojana-satikam).

In the Bāveru Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. III) we are told of sea-traders. This Jātaka tells us that the merchants from Benares used to come to the kingdom of Bāveru (Ancient Babylon) in order to sell Indian wares in the market towns of Babylon. This decisively proves that there existed a trade relation between Babylon and India from very ancient times. In the same Jātaka and also in the Dham-

maddhaja Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. III) we find that in a sea-voyage crows were taken on board the ship to ascertain directions in the ocean (cf. Vānijā disākākaṁ gahetvā nāvāya sammuddam pakkhandiṁsu). In the Dhammikavagga (Aṅguttara, Vol. III, p. 368) we are told that when the sailors could not ascertain the directions in the mid-ocean they used to set free a crow and did not allow it to alight on the ship. Accordingly the crow in order to find an alighting place used to fly on and if it could reach land, it did not come back. If it could not find an alighting place it would come back to the ship again. In this way the sailors could ascertain the direction and know whether there was any landing place near at hand or not. In the Sussondi Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. III) we find that there existed a trade relation between Bharukaccha (modern Broach) and Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Burma). Bharukaccha was a great port and an important centre of trade. This Jātaka informs us that the trade route from Bharukaccha to Suvaṇṇabhūmi was through water. In the Mahājanaka Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. VI) we are told of traders going from Campā (the capital of Aṅga) to Suvaṇṇabhūmi. In the Milinda-Pañho we are told of sea-traders going to Vaṅga, Takkola, Cīna (China), Sauvīra, Surat, Alexandria, Colapaṭṭanaṁ (Koromandel Coast) and Burma.

We shall now say something of Banking and Currency in Ancient India. There are several references in the Jātakas and Nikāyas to the fact that in Ancient India there were few banking facilities. Men used to bury their riches in grounds and sometimes deposit them with their friends (Nanda Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. I ; Kañcanakkhandha Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. I ; Nidhikaṇḍa Sutta, Khuddakapātha). The Nidhikaṇḍa Sutta also states the reasons for hoarding money in secluded places. They are as follows : the king may exact the money by force or the thief may steal ; in order to be free from debts or for future provision against famines.

From the Taṇḍulanāli Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. I) we know there was exchange by barter. But we also find the use of coins, e. g., Kākanika (Cullakaseṭṭhi Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. I); māsaka (Visayha Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. III) ; aḍḍamāsaka (Sutano Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. III) ; Pada, aḍḍha-pada, and kahāpaṇa (Dhammapadatthakathā, Vol. II, p. 132) ; aḍḍha kahāpaṇā (Gaṅgamāla Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. III). These were doubtless copper coins. " No silver coins

were used and the references to gold coins are late and doubtful". Rhys Davids points out that besides the coins, there was a very considerable use of instruments of credit. The great merchants in the few large towns gave letters of credit on one another. And there is constant reference to promissory notes (Buddhist India, p. 101).

III. RELIGIOUS CONDITION

It was a general belief amongst scholars that Brahmanism was the predominant religion in Northern India before the rise of Buddhism. The cause of this belief was that when the European scholars began to take interest in Indian literature, their attention was chiefly directed towards the Brahmanical literature. A careful examination of the literature of this period, however, shows that the Brahmanical religion or the religion of the Vedas was confined to a small section of the people. Hopkins in his 'Religions of India' truly says that Brahmanism was an island in a sea. Majority of the people followed other religions.

The mass of the people believed in spells, incantations charms, and spirits. In the Āyācitabhatta Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. I) we find a reference to the belief that trees were inhabited by spirits and people used to offer sacrifices to the tree-deities by killing goats. The Nalapāna Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. I) tells us that even ponds, tanks and lakes were inhabited by spirits and Yakkhas. The Baka Jātaka and the Dummedha Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. I) also refer to this aspect of the popular belief.

The Brahmajāla Sutta (Dīgha, Vol. I) also gives us to know some of the popular beliefs. We are told of aṅgam (palmistry) nimittam (divining by means of omens and signs), uppāda (auguries drawn from thunder-bolts and other celestial portents), supinam (prognostication by interpreting dreams), mūsikācchinnam (auguries from the marks on cloth gnawed by mice), aggi-homam (sacrificing to Agni), lohita-homam (drawing blood from one's knee as a sacrifice to gods), siva-vijjā (laying demons in a cemetery), bhūta-vijjā (laying ghosts), ahi-vijjā (snake charming), santi kammam (paying gifts to gods if certain benefit may be derived), vassakammam vossakammam (muttering charms to cause virility

and impotence), dabbi-homam (offering oblations from a spoon), and mukha-homam (sacrificing by spewing mustard seeds into the fire out of one's mouth).

From the Matakabhatta Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. I), and Tirokudda Suttam of the Khuddaka Pāṭha we know that in Ancient India the offering of food to the 'dead' was considered as a religious duty.

Summing up these matters in more technical terms : the religion of the mass was purely animistic.

In the Mahābodhi Jātaka (Jātaka, Vol. V) we are told of different religious tenets. These have been condemned here as heretical views. The five heretical views are : (1) one denied the existence of cause (ahetukavādi), (2) another believed everything was the act of a Supreme Being (Issarakāraṇāvādi), (3) a third professed the doctrine of previous actions (*pubbakatavādi*), (4) a fourth believed in annihilation at death (ucchedavādi), and (5) a fifth held the Khattiya doctrine (Khattiya-vijjā-vādi).

He who denied the cause taught the people that beings in this world were purified by rebirth. He who believed in the action of a Supreme Being taught that the world was created by Him. Sorrow or joy that befalls man here is the result of some previous action. The believer in annihilation taught that no one passes hence, but that this world was annihilated. He who professed the Khattiya creed taught that one's own interest is to be desired even at the cost of killing one's parents.

The Sāmaññaphala Sutta (Dīgha, Vol. I) mentions six heretical teachers who were contemporaries of the Buddha. They are :

(1) Pūraṇa Kassapa : He holds the theory of non-action (akiriyam). He denies both punna and pāpa respectively in a good act and a bad act.

(2) Makkhali Gosāla : He holds the theory of purification through transmigration (Saṁsāra-suddhi). He rejects both Karma and its effects. According to him, fools and wise alike, wandering in transmigration exactly for the allotted term, shall then and only then make an end of

(3) Ajitakesa-Kambalī : He holds the theory of annihilation (ucchedavāda). He, in preaching annihilation at death, shuts out the possibility of any effect to be worked by Karma. According to him, fools and wise alike, on the dissolution of the body, are annihilated, and after death they are not.

(4) Pakudha Kaccāyana : The theory of Pakudha seems to exclude responsibility. It is otherwise called Sassatavāda. According to him the following seven things — the four elements, and ease, and pain and soul — are neither made nor caused to be made. There is neither slayer nor causer of slaying, knower nor explainer. When one cleaves with a sword a head in twain, no one thereby deprives any one of life, a sword has only penetrated into the interval between seven elementary substances.

(5) Saṁjaya Belaṭṭhiputta : He was the first to maintain a neutral attitude towards the dogmatic views of life and things and to prove that it was impossible to offer certitude for human knowledge concerning the reality of life and things. He was the first to turn men's attention away from vain speculations and to teach that the best pathway to peace lay elsewhere, in preserving a tranquil state of mind. Thus he suggested the problems to be excluded from the domain of speculation and he inaugurated a critical era dominated by higher ethical ideals.

(6) Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta : He holds the theory of fourfold bond (Catuyāmasaṁvara). The Nigaṇṭha simply begs the question that a Nigaṇṭha has attained the end. He says "A Nigaṇṭha is restrained with a fourfold self-restraint. He lives restrained as regards all water ; all evil ; all evil he has washed away ; and he lives suffused with the sense of evil held at bay. And since he is thus tied with this fourfold bond, therefore the Nigaṇṭha is called Gatatto, Yatatto and Ṭhatatto.

In the Brahmajāla Sutta we find a long list of the various speculations or theories about the past and future. They are as follows : (1) Eternalists (Sassatavāda) who maintain that the soul and the world are eternal ; (2) Semi-eternalists (Ekacca-Sassatikā Ekacca-Asassatikā) who maintain that the soul and the world are partly eternal and partly not ; (3) Extensionists (Antānantikā) who maintain the infinity or the finiteness of the world ; (4) Amarā-

vikkhepikā (eel-wrigglers) who, when a question is put to them on this or that, resort to equivocation; (5) Fortuitous-originists (Adhicca Samuppanikā) who maintain that the soul and the world arose without a cause.

These are the speculations with regard to the past. Then there are also speculations with regard to the future. They are (1) Those who hold the doctrine of a conscious existence after death, who maintain that the soul after death is conscious (Uddhamāghatanikā saññi-vādā); (2) those who hold the doctrine of an unconscious existence after death, who maintain that the soul after death is unconscious (Uddhamāghatanikā asaññi-vādā); (3) those who maintain that the soul after death is neither conscious nor unconscious (Uddhamāghatanikā neva-saññi-nāsaññi-vādā); (4) those who are annihilationists who maintain the cutting off, the destruction of a living being (Ucchedavādā); (5) those who hold the doctrine of happiness in this life, who maintain the complete salvation in the visible world, of a living being.

All these speculations have been condemned by the Buddha as fruitless and leading not to the good of mankind.

THE BUDDHIST PANTHEON AND ITS CLASSIFICATION—

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The varied, extensive and diversified pantheon of the Northern Buddhists owes its origin to Tāntric Buddhism or Vajrayāna. There are certain indications that Buddhism had no pantheon before Tāntrism was well established. In earlier Buddhism it recognized thirty-three gods of the Hindus, who were the residents of the Trāyatriṁśa heaven which is one among the different Rūpa heavens. Buddha did not believe in gods, and in the Saundarānanda we find Buddha discouraging Nanda to touch his feet in token of worship. He told Nanda that he would not be the least pleased by Nanda's taking the dust off his feet but he would bless him if he would follow the precepts of true Saddharma. Buddha was deified in Mahāyāna which considered him to be Lokottara or superhuman.[1] In Buddhist art also we do not find any of his images in any of the earlier schools like Sanchi and Bharhut and it is believed that the Greco-Buddhists of Gandhara were the first to carve out his image from stone. Dr. Coomaraswami, on the other hand, has shown that the Mathura school of sculpture can have an equally strong claim to antiquity and probably for carving out the first image of Buddha. Without going into a detailed discussion as to the correctness or otherwise of the two theories we can only remark while passing that both in the Gandhara and Mathura schools we meet with a large number of images of Buddha. A number of gods or goddesses are described in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, which is believed to have been written in about the second century A. D. : also in the Prajñāpāramitā we meet with a description of elaborate worship of the Buddha, with diverse paraphernalia. But even then it does not seem clear that the Buddhists had at this time any conception of a well-defined and well-classified pantheon. It is in the Guhyasamāja[2]

1 Mahāyāna took its cue from the Mahāsāṅghikas whose chief treatise so far discovered is the Mahāvastu Avadāna, where we read the following passage : ' Āryamahāsāṅghikānāṁ lokottaravādinām Madhyadeśikānām pāṭhena Mahāvastu ādi ', Vol. I, p. 2.

2 The Guhyasamāja is in course of publication in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*. The quotations given in this paper are from the portions so far printed.

that we find the idea of the Buddhist Pantheon properly crystallized : here, for the first time, we find the description of the five Dhyāni Buddhas, their Mantras, their Maṇḍalas and their Śaktis. These Dhyāni Buddhas represent the five Skandhas or elements of which the world is composed.[1] They are here described as the progenitors of five Kulas or families (Kuleśas) which are enumerated in the following verse :

द्वेषमोहस्तथा रागश्चिन्तामणिसमयस्तथा ।
कुला ह्येते तु वै पञ्च काममोक्षप्रसाधिकाः ॥

" The five Kulas are the Dveṣa, Moha, Rāga, Cintāmaṇi and Samaya which conduce to the attainment of all desires and emancipation ".

The emanations or off-springs of these Dhyāni Buddhas constitute their families. It is in this way that the Buddhists got a systematized and well classified pantheon with its profusion of gods and goddesses. When these were represented in art they were required to show their origin by holding on their head the miniature figure of their parental Dhyāni Buddha. Each deity was given various forms with two, four, six, eight, sixteen or even twenty-four hands and proportionately one head to three, four, eight and twelve heads. They were given different colours, different companions and different expressions according as they were worshipped in the different Tāntric rites, and according as they were required to discharge different functions — from curing a disease to the killing of an enemy. The artists had a considerable hand in executing the images of deities and they introduced their own traditions and innovations. The votaries also, according as they wanted to have their god in a more or less powerful form, added extra hands, heads and feet to suit their own ideas and whims, and it is precisely in this way that the deities increased to an amazing number.

The Guhyasamāja or the " Tantra of Secret Communion " which was perhaps the first book of its kind to give a blank charter to all varieties of Tāntric practices in the name of religion, was very

1 Compare for instance Jñānasiddhi in the Two Vajrayāna Works (No. 44 in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*), p. 41 : ' Pañcabuddhasvabhāvatvāt pañcaskandhā Jināḥ smṛtāḥ '.

probably composed in the time of Asaṅga in the 3rd century A. D.[1] Immediately after its inception quite naturally the Tantra could not get publicity as the public mind was not prepared to receive the outrageous innovations introduced in it. Thus the Tantra went into private hands since its inception and was handed down through an unbroken chain of gurus and disciples for three hundred years in the most secret manner possible ; it obtained publicity through the teachings and mystic songs of the Buddhist Siddhācāryyas and Vajrācāryyas in about the middle of the seventh century. It is for this reason that we do not meet with references to the Pantheon in general Buddhist literature or in the works of the Chinese travellers who came to India to investigate the condition of Buddhism prevalent in their own time. Despite this fact, certain names of Buddhist gods and goddesses are indeed met with in these writings, though they do not pertain to the well classified pantheon referred to above. In the Sukhāvatī Vyūha[2] which was translated into Chinese during A. D. 148 to 170 the name of Amitābha appears for the first time as the presiding deity of the Sukhāvatī or the Akaniṣtha heaven, where he is believed to have brought forth Avalokiteśvara into existence. We should remember that in the Vajrayāna works also this heaven has been characterized as the abode of all deities. In the smaller recension of the same work, which was also translated into Chinese between A. D. 384-417 mention is made of two more gods, namely Akṣobhya as a Tathāgata and Mañjuśrī as a Bodhisattva.[3] Fa-Hien (394-414 A. D.) mentions the names of Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara and the future Buddha Maitreya, and Yuan Chwang (629-645 A. D.) the names of Avalokiteśvara, Hārītī, Kṣitigarbha, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Padmapāṇi, Vaiśravaṇa and Śākyabuddha, Śākya Bodhisattva and Yama as also the names of deified saints such as Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, Sumedhas and others. I-Tsing (671-695 A. D.) mentions the names of Avalokiteśvara, Amitāyus or Amitābha, Hārītī, the Catur-Mahārājikas, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, and Yama besides several others. Śāntideva (695-730 A.D.) in his Śikṣāsamuccaya mentions the names of Akṣobhya as a Tathā-

1 For a detailed examination of its antiquity and probable date, see Sādhanamālā, Vol. II, introduction, pp. xxviiff, xxxvff.

2 Ed. F. Max Müller in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, pp. 1, 28, 32.

3 Ibid. Appendix II, p. 92. For the date see introduction, p. iii, note 4 (1).

gata, Gaganagañja as a Bodhisattva, Siṁhavikrīḍita, as a Tathāgata, Cundā, Trisamayarāja, Mārīcī, Siṁhanāda, Mañjughoṣa and many others. After Śāntideva the Tantra of the Buddhists got wide publicity; and in the Tāntric works written after his time all referred to the Pantheon and described many gods who were included in it. The Sādhana literature which describes the forms of gods and the procedure for worshipping them was developed by the Siddhācāryyas Saraha, Nāgārjuna, Śavarapā, Anaṅgavajra, Indrabhūti and many others, though the earliest Sādhana was perhaps written by Asaṅga, who flourished in the third century A. D., where he referred to the Dhyāni Buddhas and their emanations.

When we examine the images executed in the different schools of art we also come to the same conclusion that the Buddhist Pantheon was not well developed before the Tantras got wide publicity in about the middle of the seventh century. In the Gandhara school for instance, besides the Buddha images we meet with the images of Jambhala, Maitreya, Hārītī, the Indian Madonna, and her consort along with other unidentifiable Bodhisattva images. In the Mathura school of sculpture which was either contemporaneous or somewhat later than the Gandhara school we meet with numerous Buddha and Bodhisattva images and those of Kubera, Yakṣas and Nāgas. The Mathura school extended to the early Gupta period and here also, we do not meet with the later Buddhist gods namely, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Tārā and the like. The case of the Magadha school which flourished after the Mathura school is otherwise. It included the images of Sāranāth, Nālandā and Odantapurī. The most flourishing period of the Magadha school was contemporaneous with the reign of the Pala kings of Bengal and lasted till the Muhammadan conquest of Eastern India. In this school we find reference to a well classified Pantheon; because in most of the images there are the five Dhyāni Buddhas round the aureole over the head, as also the miniature of the parental Dhyāni Buddha on their crowns. Again, unlike Gandhara and Mathura schools there is a dearth of Buddha images in later schools of art, and even when he is represented he takes the semi-mythical form of Vajrāsana being flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya on the two sides. In the Magadha school therefore Buddha partakes of the nature of the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya as is evident from the numerous Sādhanas

dedicated to his worship. The Bodhisattva images also are not so stereotyped as we find them in Gandhara and Mathura. The Magadha school is characterized by its wide variety of images of gods and goddesses and this will be apparent to any visitor who goes to the Museums at Sāranāth and Nālandā or Patna and takes a round in the extensive ruins of the Odantapuri Vihāra now situated near Bihar, a Railway station on the Bihar Bakhtiyarpur Light Railway. At Sāranāth we meet with the images of Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara, Ucchuṣma Jambhala, Mañjuśrī, Tārā, Vasudhārā, Mārīcī, all the five Dhyāni Buddhas, Vajrasattva the sixth Dhyāni Buddha and many others belonging to the Vajrayāna Pantheon. Almost the same variety of images presents themselves at Nālandā and Sāranāth.

The Bengal school of art which comes next was distinguished by the high-class art it produced and for its beauty of execution. Its flourishing period ranged from 10th century to the conquest of Bengal by the Muhammadans. Many of the specimens of the Bengal school are preserved in the museums at Calcutta, Dacca, Rajshahi and the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad and a large number of them are scattered about in the Parganna Vikrampur, in the districts of Dinajpur and Commilla. In this school many interesting images of gods belonging to the Tāntric Buddhism are to be met with ; and from these it appears clear that the artists were acquainted with a large number of descriptions of the form of gods as given in the Sādhana literature ; for instance, among others there are images of Heruka, Vasudhārā, Jambhala, Arapacana, Khasarpaṇa, Parṇaśavaiī, Siṁhanāda, Mañjuvara, Aparājitā, Mahāpratisarā, Nairātmā, Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara, Mahāśrī Tārā, Khadiravaṇī Tārā and many others. Those who are desirous of knowing more about the extent, variety, workmanship and beauty of the images presented in the Bengal School of Art are referred to the excellent work of Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, entitled the *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum,* where incidentally images obtained elsewhere in Eastern Bengal have also been treated.

The images of Buddhist deities found at Ajanta, Ellora, and South India show signs of an immature development of Tantra and may be assigned to a period prior to the Bengal School, though the paintings at Ajanta and other sculptures are of long antiquity. The Javanese art seems to have been profoundly influenced by the

Bengal school of art, and the images of gods and goddesses as found in the Boro-Budur temple show that they knew many deities of the Vajrayāna Pantheon. As Vajrayāna was mainly a product of Bengal it is probable that the Bengali colonists carried their art and religion to Java by the sea route, probably from Tamralipti which is even now regarded as a sea-port.

After the destruction of Buddhism from India the priests of the celebrated monasteries of Bengal and Magadha who could save their heads from the hostile swords of Muhammadanism fled to Nepal which is protected on all sides by the natural ramparts of the Himalayas, and took refuge in that country and thus kept the torch of Buddhism still burning there. The Bengal school of art was carried there ; but it was soon modified when it came in contact with the native artists and thus became stereotyped. The general impression of the visitor, who visits the numerous monasteries in Nepal which are a repository of a large number of images of the diverse Buddhist deities, is that the excellences of the Bengal school could not be preserved by the Nepal artists and that decadence in art was already in evidence. The followers of Vajrayāna who went to Nepal in order to make sure of their existence converted a good many Newars of the land to Buddhism and carved out innumerable images of gods and goddesses in stone, metal and wood, so much so, that a student of Iconography is overwhelmed at their wealth and variety. It is curious to note that the origin of almost all the monasteries in Nepal dates from the 13th century, which shows unmistakably that they started almost immediately after the Muhammadan conquest of Bengal.

The cumulative evidence of art, history and literature leads us to believe that the Pantheon of the Northern Buddhists was not widely known before the 7th century A. D. ; nor was the underlying philosophy, which may warrant the formation of a pantheon, well developed before that time, though the origin of the latter may have been considerably earlier. This may be explained by the fact that the Guhyasamāja which for the first time inculcated the doctrine of the five Dhyāni Buddhas and their families, was composed and transmitted in secret for about three hundred years ;[1]

1 Compare Kern's remarks in the *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 133: 'Tārānāth informs us that Tāntrism existed and was transmitted in

and that is why it did not get wide publicity as can be expected. It is only in the Sādhana of Asaṅga that we meet with a definite reference to the five Dhyāni Buddhas and their families, and it is for that reason not improbable to connect Asaṅga with the introduction of the very Guhyasamāja Tantra itself. The subsequent writers only got a glimpse of what filtered through the secret organisations. After the eighth century secrecy was no longer required, as the principles of Vajrayāna then were fully established and widely spread through the teachings and mystic songs of the twenty-four Siddhapuruṣas.

The Pantheon of the Northern Buddhists revolves round the theory of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. The Buddhists believe that the world is composed of five elements or Skandhas ; Rūpa, Vedanā, Saṁjñā, Saṁskāra and Vijñāna ; and these were deified in the form of five Dhyāni Buddhas. In course of time these five Dhyāni Buddhas were regarded as the primordial gods, and therefore Vajrayāna took more or less a polytheistic form. The priests were conscious of this defect especially when they found all the six systems of Hindu philosophy setting up a monotheistic form. They tried to cure this defect by the theory of Vajradhara or the Ādi or the Primordial monotheistic god to whom even the Dhyāni Buddhas owe their origin. The theory originated in the Nālandā monastery in about the 10th century.[1] Thereafter a large number of images of Vajradhara must have been made in the different schools of art as can be inferred from the numerous Vajradhara images which are to be met with in the Nepal and Tibetan schools. Alexander Cosma de Koros places the introduction of this conception of Ādibuddha in Central Asia, in the latter half of the 10th century. It originated in Nālandā according to him in the beginning of the 10th century

an occult manner in the period between Asaṅga and Dharmakīrti, but that after Dharmakīrti's time the Anuttara-Yoga became more and more general and influential. Substantially his statement is certainly right'. The Guhyasamāja represents the landmark in the history of Tantra in general and Buddhist Tantra in particular, and this work advocates for the first time the sort of mysticism which is known as regular Tāntrism. It is very likely that Tārānāth refers to the existence of Tāntrism in this and similar other works.

1 J. A. S. B. Vol. II (1833), p. 57ff; also B. Bhattacharyya ; *Vajradhara versus Vajrasattva* in J. B O. R. S. Vol. IX, p. 114ff.

and no mention of Ādibuddha is made by any writer before that time. Homage is paid to Ādibuddha in the shape of a flame of fire which the priests consider as eternal, self-born and self-existent. It is said in the Svayambhū Purāṇa that Ādibuddha first manifested himself in Nepal in the form of a flame of fire, and Mañjuśrī erected a temple over it in order to preserve the flame. This temple is known as the Svayambhū Caitya.[1]

The conception of Vajradhara in human form presupposes Adibuddha and, therefore, is later than the first half of the 10th century. Vajrasattva being a regular development of Vajrapāṇi, the Bodhisattva emanating from Akṣobhya is a little earlier though the conceptions of Vajrasattva and Vajradhara are sometimes inextricably mixed up. In Vajrayāna, Adibuddha is regarded as the highest deity, the originator even of the Dhyāni Buddhas. When represented in human form, he begets the name of Vajradhara. and is conceived in two forms, single and Yab-yum. When single he is bedecked in jewels and gaudy ornaments, sits in the Vajraparyaṅka attitude carrying the Vajra in the right hand and the Ghaṇṭā in the left, the two hands being crossed against the breast in what is known as the Vajrahuṁkāra Mudrā. In Yab-yum form it is the same as above described with the difference that he is in this case locked in embrace by his Śakti whose name according to Getty is Prajñāpāramitā. The Śakti is somewhat smaller in size, is richly dressed and bedecked in ornaments, carrying the Kartarī in the right hand and the Kapāla in the left.

But Vajradhara was not universally accepted as the Ādibuddha. When the theory of Ādibuddha was fully established the Buddhists ranged themselves into so many sects, as it were, holding different views regarding specific forms which Ādibuddha should take. Some considered one among the five Dhyāni Buddhas as Ādibuddha ; some acknowledged Vajrasattva as the Ādibuddha ; and according to some the Bodhisattvas, Samantabhadra and Vajrapāṇi were regarded as Ādibuddhas. Thus the cult of Ādibuddha was distributed amongst the different theories, which gave rise to as many different sects amongst the Tāntric Buddhists.

1 It is somewhat curious to note that Mañjuśrī should be connected with the Ādibuddha because the former was well-known in the 3rd century while the name of Ādibud was not heard before the 10th century.

Vajradhara or Adibuddha is supposed to be the originator of the five Dhyāni Buddhas and it is therefore necessary to give an account of these Buddhas as they are the most important amongst the deities of the Buddhist pantheon. The Dhyāni Buddhas are a peculiar kind of Buddhas, who are not required to pass through the stage of Bodhisattva. They had never been anything more or less than a Buddha ; they are always engaged in peaceful meditation and they voluntarily restrain themselves from the act of creation. To create is the duty of their emanations or rather of the divine Bodhisattvas. The Dhyāni Buddhas are five in number, to which a sixth Vajrasattva is sometimes added. The theory of the five Dhyāni Buddhas was promulgated in about the 3rd century A. D. for the first time in the Guhyasamāja, and was later on developed in the Tāntric Buddhism. It may be possible that the five Mudrās, which Buddha Śākyasiṁha made sacred by using on memorable occasions and which were constantly realized in the Buddhistic figures of the different schools of art gave rise to the five Dhyāni Buddhas. The Tāntric authorities however maintain that the five Dhyāni Buddhas took their origin from the theory of the eternity of the five Skandhas or elements which were held by Buddha to be the constituents of a being fused together by the act-force. Vajrasattva the sixth Dhyāni Buddha who was generally regarded as the priest of the five Dhyāni Buddhas and was usually represented with the priestly symbols Vajra and Ghaṇṭā, is an embodiment of the five Skandhas collectively, and undoubtedly a later incorporation into the pantheon. The five Dhyāni Buddhas are Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasaṁbhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi.[1] When represented they appear all alike but they vary according to the particular colour of their body and the different mystic poses exhibited in their hands, their vehicles and their recognition symbols. Every Dhyāni Buddha is represented in a sitting posture on a full-blown double lotus, the attitude being known as the meditative pose in which he is required to sit cross-legged, the right foot crossing over and in front of the left with the soles of both feet turned upwards. The hand which

1 For the names and descriptions of the Dhyāni Buddhas see Advayavajrasaṁgraha, pp. 40ff., Sādhanamālā, Vol. II, pp. 568-9. Two Vajrayāna Works, p. 79; see also the Chapter on the Buddhism, Buddhaśaktis and Bodhisattvas in the *Indian Buddhist Iconography* by B. Bhattacharyya, pp. 2ff.

rests on the lap, is sometimes empty but in most cases carries a bowl ; the head is bare and hair curly which radiates effulgence like a flame of fire, and the eyes are half-closed in token of meditation. The dress consists of an undergarment reaching from the breast to the knees and tied by the scarf. The body is loosely covered by the habit of a monk leaving the right arm bare. The Dhyāni Buddhas are generally represented on the four sides of a Stūpa which is the symbol of the Buddhist universe. Four Buddhas out of five, face the four cardinal points, Vairocana the deity of the inner shrine being generally unrepresented. But when he is represented outside, he is assigned a place between Ratnasambhava and Akṣobhya. On the Stūpa, Akṣobhya faces the East, Ratnasambhava South, Amitābha West, and Amoghasiddhi North. Vairocana is supposed to reside in the heart or the sanctum of the stūpa. Occasionally, Vairocana and Akṣobhya change places ; and in this state they appear in the Dhyāni Buddha Maṇḍala described in the Guhyasamāja.

Besides the Dhyāni Buddhas there are a large number of deities and their classification has been a baffling problem. Amongst the deities of the Buddhist pantheon some are male and others female, some are single and others Yab-yum, some are benefic and others malefic, some are benign and peaceful while others cruel and malignant, some are sitting, some standing while others dance in the Ardhaparyaṅka attitude, some are of blue complexion while others have green, yellow, red or white colour ; and therefore their classification is not an easy matter.

Professor Foucher in his *Etude sur L'Iconographie Bouddhique de L'Inde* classified the deities as male and female with malefic and benefic as subdivisions. Alice Getty in her *Gods of the Northern Buddhism* has classified the deities as Dhyāni Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Tutelary deities, Miscellaneous and so forth. But really speaking, the deities are not and should not be classified in this arbitrary manner without looking to the ancient traditions. The best classification that a layman can do is to divide the deities according to colour, and this will have some scientific flavour as the different Dhyāni Buddhas are each assigned a different colour ; thus Akṣobhya has blue colour, Amitābha red, Ratnasambhava yellow, Vairocana

green. But this has also an inherent defect as sometimes the emanating deity does not always bear the same colour as the Dhyāni Buddha. Moreover, colour is not an important matter in the Tantra as it is well known that the deities change colour according as they are worshipped in the different Tāntric rites. It is said in the Sādhanamālā[1] that Yamāri takes the white or yellow colour in Śānti, yellow colour in Pauṣṭika, red colour in Vaśīkaraṇa, and blue colour in Ākarṣaṇa. It will indeed be very foolish to assign the different forms of the same deity to different classes because of the colour. Moreover, as is well known the emanated deities bear on their crown small images of their parental Dhyāni Buddhas, and there are examples where an emanated deity with different colours bear the image of the same Dhyāni Buddha on the crown in all different forms. Jāṅgulī and Ekajaṭā and Kurukullā are examples of this kind. Akṣobhya is blue, and Jāṅgulī and Ekajaṭā, the two emanations of his also are generally described as blue, but they have also white forms having the same miniature figure of the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya. Similarly, Kurukullā is an emanation of Amitābha who is red and therefore Kurukullā is generally red; but she has a white form which is also said to be an emanation of Amitābha. These are some of the anomalies which are sure to arise if an attempt is made to classify the deities naively for reason of their colour. The best classification of the Buddhist deities is undoubtedly according to the Dhyāni Buddhas, though this also may have some drawbacks necessitating the treatment of deities sometimes under several heads, particularly when one deity is described as an emanation of two Dhyāni Buddhas. The example of Parṇaśavarī is an example of this kind as she is described both as an emanation of Akṣobhya and Amoghasiddhi, which requires that the deity should be treated in two separate places under the two Dhyāni Buddhas. But such examples are rare. When an occasion like this arises it is necessary to consider the different forms of the same deity as belonging to the different families, and in that case we may always look forward for some vital difference either in description or in the procedure for worship.

1 Op. cit. pp. 533ff. Śāntike sitavarṇṇam Yamāntakarūpam : Śāntike pauṣṭike vā pītavarṇṇaṁ Yamāntakamūrtim ; Raktayamārirūpam-ātmānam dhyātvā ... vaśam kuru hoḥ svāhā ; saṁdhyārkanibhaṁ Yamāntakarūpam-ātmānam dhyātvā ... āgacchantaṁ cintayet.

Thus the importance of the Dhyāni Buddhas is unquestionable in the matter of classifying the Buddhist deities as the originators of the different Dhyāni Buddha families. The Guhyasamāja Tantra, which was very probably composed in the 3rd century A. D. and was connected in some way or other with the celebrated Buddhist scholar Asaṅga, ushered into existence the conception of the five Dhyāni Buddhas, connected them with a Mantra, a colour, a direction, and a Śakti. The Guhyasamāja opens in a grandiloquent style with the description of a monster assembly of gods, Tathāgatas, Bodhisattvas, the Śaktis, the elements and so forth. The principal members of the Assembly requested the Speaker Bodhicittavajra to define the Tathāgatamaṇḍala ; and in response Bodhicittavajra brought into requisition several forms of meditation, and brought forth the Dhyāni Buddhas one after another and placed them in their proper places. The Śaktis were then associated with each and with the four guardians of gates. The Maṇḍala becomes complete. The description which is grand and magnificent is here reproduced for the first time in order that the readers may appreciate the beauty and grandeur of the Saṁgīti style :—

अथ भगवान् सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तवज्रस्तथागतः सर्वतथागताध्येषणां विदित्वा ज्ञानप्रदीपवज्रं नाम समाधिं समापद्येदं द्वेषकुलपरमसारहृदयं स्वकायवाक्चित्तवज्रेभ्यो निश्चारयामास ॥ वज्रधृक् ॥ अथास्मिन् भाषितमात्रे स एव भगवान् सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तविद्यापुरुषः अक्षोभ्यमहामुद्रासंयोगपरमपदैः कृष्णसितरक्ताकारेण सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तवज्रे निषीदयामास ।

अथ भगवान् सर्वतथागतसमयसंभववज्रं नाम समाधिं समापद्येदं मोहकुलपरमसारहृदयं स्वकायवाक्चित्तवज्रेभ्यो निश्चारयामास ॥ जिनजिक् ॥ अथास्मिन् भाषितमात्रे स एव भगवान् सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तविद्यापुरुषो वैरोचनमहामुद्रासंयोगपरमपदैः सितकृष्णरक्ताकारेण सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तवज्रस्य पुरतो निषीदयामास ।

अथ भगवान् सर्वतथागतरत्नसंभववज्राश्रियं नाम समाधिं समापद्येदं चिन्तामणिकुलपरमसारहृदयं स्वकायवाक्चित्तवज्रेभ्यो निश्चारयामास ॥ रत्नधृक् ॥ अथास्मिन् भाषितमात्रे स एव भगवान् सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तविद्यापुरुषो रत्नकेतुमहामुद्रासंयोगपरमपदैः पीतसितकृष्णाकारेण सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तवज्रस्य दक्षिणे निषीदयामास ।

अथ भगवान् सर्वतथागतमहारागसंभववज्रं नाम समाधिं समापद्येदं वज्ररागकुलपरमसारहृदयं स्वकायवाक्चित्तवज्रेभ्यो निश्चारयामास ॥ आरोलिक् ॥ अथास्मिन् भाषितमात्रे स एव भगवान् सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तविद्यापुरुषो लोकेश्वरमहाविद्याधिपतिमहामुद्रासंयोगपरमपदै रक्तसितकृष्णाकारेण सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तवज्रस्य पृष्ठतो निषीदयामास ।

अथ भगवान् सर्वतथागतामोघसमयसंभववज्रं नाम समाधिं समापद्येदं समयाकर्षणकुलपरमसारहृदयं स्वकायवाक्चित्तवज्रेभ्यो निश्चारयामास ॥ प्रज्ञाधृक् ॥ अथास्मिन् भाषितमात्रे स एव भगवान् सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तविद्यापुरुषोऽमोघवज्रमहामुद्रासंयोगपरमपदैः हरितसितकृष्णाकारेण सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तवज्रस्य उत्तरे निषीदयामास ।

अथ भगवान् सर्वतथागतवज्रधरानुरागणसमयं नाम समाधिं समापद्येमां सर्ववज्रधराग्रमहिषीं स्वकायवाक्चित्तवज्रेभ्यो निश्चारयामास ॥ द्वेषरति ॥ अथास्यां विनिःसृतमात्रायां स एव भगवान् सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तविद्यापुरुषः स्त्रीरूपधरो भूत्वा [सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तवज्रे] निषदियामास ।

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अथ भगवान् सर्वतथागतरागधरानुरागणवज्रं नाम समाधिं समापद्येमां सर्वरागधराग्रमहिषीं स्वकायवाक्चित्तवज्रेभ्यो निश्चारयामास ॥ रागरति ॥ अथास्यां विनिःसृतमात्रायां स एव भगवान् सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तविद्यापुरुषः स्त्रीरूपधरो भूत्वा पश्चिमकोणे निषीदयामास ।

अथ भगवान् सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तविसंवादनवज्रं नाम समाधिं समापद्येमां सर्वतथागतप्रज्ञाधराग्रमहिषीं स्वकायवाक्चित्तवज्रेभ्यो निश्चारयामास ॥ वज्ररति ॥ अथास्यां विनिःसृतमात्रायां स एव भगवान् सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्ताविद्यापुरुषः स्त्रीरूपधरो भूत्वा उत्तरकोणे निषीदयामास ।

अथ भगवान् महावैरोचनवज्रं नाम समाधिं समापद्येदं सर्वतथागतमण्डलाधिष्ठानं नाम महाक्रोधं स्वकायवाक्चित्तवज्रेभ्यो निश्चारयामास ॥ यमान्तकृत् ॥ अथास्मिन् विनिःसृतमात्रे स एव भगवान् सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तविद्यापुरुषः सर्वतथागतसंत्रासनाकारेण पूर्वद्वारे निषीदयामास ।

अथ भगवान् सर्वतथागताभिसंबोधिवज्रं नाम समाधिं समापद्येमं सर्वतथागतमण्डलाधिष्ठानं नाम महाक्रोधं स्वकायवाक्चित्तवज्रेभ्यो निश्चारयामास ॥ प्रज्ञान्तकृत् ॥ अथास्मिन् विनिःसृतमात्रे स एव भगवान् सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्ताविद्यापुरुषो वज्रसमयसंत्रासनाकारेण दक्षिणद्वारे निषीदयामास ।

अथ भगवान् सर्वतथागतधर्मवशंकारिं नाम समाधिं समापद्येमं सर्वतथागतरागधरमण्डलाधिष्ठानं नाम महाक्रोधं स्वकायवाकचित्तवज्रेभ्यो निश्चारयामास ॥ पद्मान्तकृत् ॥ अथास्मिन् विनिःसृतमात्रे स एव भगवान् सर्वतथागतकायवाक्चित्तविद्यापुरुषः सर्वतथागतवागाकारेण पश्चिमद्वारे निषीदयामास ।

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SAṄGHARAKṢA, THE CHAPLAIN OF KANIṢKA —BY PRABODH CHANDRA BAGCHI, M. A., Docteur-ès-lettres (Paris), Lecturer, Calcutta University.

The association of Saṅgharakṣa with Kaniṣka throws some light on the latter's date. A work of Saṅgharakṣa is said to have been translated into Chinese between 148 to 170 A. D. and this tradition, in fact, has been adduced by scholars[1] for determining a lower limit of the reign of Kaniṣka. It is therefore necessary to examine all the available information on Saṅgharakṣa, preserved in the Chinese sources.

The Parthian Buddhist monk, Ngan She-kao, who worked in China between 148-170 A. D. translated the *Mārgabhūmi-sūtra* (also called the *Mahāmārgabhūmi-sūtra*) of Saṅgharakṣa[2]. This translation which is still found in the Chinese Tripitaka (Nanjio, Catalogue, No. 1326; Tokyo XIX, 6, pp. 81a-86b) bears the following notice at the commencement:—"The work was composed by Saṅgharakṣa (*Seng-kia-lo-ch'a*), which means the protector of the community, in the language of the Han (i. e. Chinese), the master of Tripiṭaka of the country of *Siu-lai-na* (Surāḍa - Surāṣṭra) in India". This notice goes back to the time of the translator himself as the mention of Chinese as the "language of the Han" (so called under the Han dynasty which ended in 220 A. D.) shows.

A few years later, between 184 and 189 A. D., it was apparently an abstract of the same *sūtra* which was translated by an Indo-Scythian monk named Tche Yao under the title *Siao tao ti king* i. e. *Kṣudrakamārgabhūmi-sūtra*[3] (Nanjio 1338; Tokyo XIX, 6, 34a-35b).

In 284 A. D. a third translation[4] of the same work but of a more amplified version was prepared by the Indo-Scythian monk

1 Eliot — *Hinduism and Buddhism* II, p. 64. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri — The *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 296.

2 P. C. Bagchi — *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, I, pp. 14-15. Prof. S. Lévi (*J. As.* 1928. 2, p. 195) has, through an oversight, attributed the work to Saṁghasena.

3 *loc. cit.* p. 52.

4 *loc. cit.* p. 88.

Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa) under the title *Caryāmārgabhūmi-sūtra* (Nanjio 1325 ; Tokyo XIX, 6, 35b-81a). It contains a preface and a colophon which go back to the time of the translator himself. The preface runs thus :— " *Yu-kia-lo* (*sic. Mo-lu-kia*) - *p'u-mi king* i. e. *Mārgabhūmi-sūtrā*, in the language of the Tsin (i. e. Chinese, so called between 265-316 A. D.), *Siu hing tao ti king* (*Caryā°*). It was composed by the Indian monk *Chong hu*, i. e. Protector of the community (= Saṅgharakṣa). After having taken the *pravrajyā* he went to a country[1] which was in war with the Emperor of China. He studied the rules of discipline at an early age and penetrated into the 12 classes of sūtras of the Dharmapiṭaka ". The colophon of the sūtra says that the master of literature, Chu Hieu-cheng, of Ki-pin (Kashmir) brought the original text of this sūtra to Tuen huang. At that time the Indo-Scythian (*Yue-che*) Bodhisattva Śramaṇa Dharmarakṣa was residing there. He knew both Sanskrit and Chinese well and therefore translated the text into Chinese with the collaboration of about 30 men on the 23rd of the 2nd month of the 5th year T'ai kuang (i. e. 284 A. D.). The translation contained about 27 sections distributed in 6 chapters, in all 60,000 words.

A comparison of the translation of Ngan She-kao with that of Dharmarakṣa shows that they were doubtless based on the same original. The former is an incomplete translation (or rather a selection) and contains only 7 sections (*vargas*) forming one chapter, whereas the latter contains 29 sections (the preface + 26 sections + colophon) forming altogether 7 chapters. In fact a notice preserved in the old Chinese catalogues on the translation of Ngan She-kao clearly says that it was a summary studied in " the foreign countries ". The Chinese writers generally distinguished India (*T'ien chu*) from " foreign countries " (*wai kuo*) and it is therefore not too much to suppose that this summary was made in some Iranian dialect from which the Parthian Ngan She-kao was able to prepare his translation easily[2]. The division into chapters seems to be an artificial one whereas that into sections (*vargas*) was evidently the original one. The seven sections of Ngan She-

1 The country, as we shall see from other sources, was Gandhara.

2 P. C. Bagchi, *ibid* p. 14.

kao are found amongst the 29 of Dharmarakṣa. The following is the concordance :—

Ngan°	*Dharma°*
I	I (Chap. 1)
II	II ,,
III	III ,,
IV	IV ,,
V	V ,,
VI	XXII (Chap. V)
VII	XXIV (Chap. VI)

The translation of Dharmarakṣa seems to have been a literal one. In his translation the verse portion can be easily distinguished from the commentary which follows it. But as is usual with Ngan She-kao his translation is a sort of prose abstract and the *gāthas* and the commentary are mixed up in it. Some of the sections of his translation are only prose rendering of the *gāthās* but that does not seem to be true particularly about section VII which corresponds to the commentary portion of the section XXIV of Dharmarakṣa. Therefore it is quite legitimate to conclude that Ngan She-kao had both the commentary and the verse portion before him. In fact an independent tradition clearly says (see *infra*) that while in Gandhara Saṅgharakṣa compiled the *Mārgabhumi-sūtra* and appended a complete commentary to it. It is still to be found out if Saṅgharakṣa himself was the author of the *gathā* portion, or simply collected them from different sources, arranged them in order and appended his commentary. There is however no doubt that the *Mārgabhūmi-sūtra,* which was partly translated between 148–170 A. D. probably summarised between 184–189 A. D., and completely translated in 284 A. D., was an authentic compilation of Saṅgharakṣa.

A second work of Saṅgharakṣa called the *Saṅgharakṣa-saṁcaya-sūtra* (Nanjio 1352 ; Tokyo XXIV, 7, 94) is also preserved in the Chinese Tripitaka. This work was translated by Saṅghabhūti, a Kashmirian monk, in 384 A. D. The ancient Chinese catalogues however say that another translation of the same text was made by Dharmanandī. But as the two monks Dharmanandi and Saṅghabhūti were contemporaries and worked together in the capital of China it is probably through a simple confusion that the same work

has been enumerated under both the names [1]. The Chinese sources agree in saying that the book was complied by Saṅgharakṣa 700 years after the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha. The preface and the colophon [2] of this translation contain some interesting information on Sangharakṣa and his activities.

The three ancient editions of the Tripitaka prepared under the Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties do not give the name of the writer of the preface but the Corean edition which is a more complete and careful one mentions the name of Tao ngan as its author. Tao ngan was a contemporary of Saṅghabhūti, the translator of the text, and collaborated with him on many occasions. The preface runs thus :- "Saṅgharakṣa was a native of the country of *Siu-lai* (Surāṣṭra). He was born in that country 700 years after Buddha and left the house for studying the law. After travelling in many places he came to the country of *Kien-t'o-yue* (sic. *Kien-t'o-lo*=Gandhara) and became the teacher of king *Chen-t'o-Ki-eul* i. e. *Chen t'o* Kaniṣka [3]. It was in this country that he collected the *Siu hing king* (*Caryā-sūtra*) and the *Ta tao ti king* (*Mahāmārgabhūmi-sūtra*). He also added to these sūtras a complete commentary".

The colophon of the text narrates how and when the Chinese translation was made. "On the 30th day of the 11th month of the 20th year *Kien yuan* (385) Saṅghabhūti a monk of *Ki-pin* (Kashmir) brought the original text to Ch'ang ngan. He recited

1 P. C. Bagchi, *ibid* p. 159, no. 4 and p. 161 no. 3.

2 See Tokyo XXIV, 75 ; The preface and the colophon are also preserved in the catalogue of Sen yu (Tokyo XXXVIII, 1, p. 57a) which incorporates the catalogue of Tao ngan, (376-79 A. D.). See also Prof. P. Pelliot, B. E. F. E. O. 1903, p. 63 n. and Prof. S. Lévi —*Encore Aśvaghoṣa*, J. As. 1928, 21 p. 198-199.

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the text; Buddharakṣa, the *Vibhāṣā* teacher, translated it into Chinese and Tao ngan polished the language. The translation was completed on the 9th day of the 2nd month of the 21st year *Kien yuan* (386 A. D.)".

There is still another work of Saṅgharakṣa preserved in Chinese called *Dhyāna-sūtra*,[1] which was translated by Kumārajīva in 402 A. D. and revised in A. D. 407. A preface[2] to this work, written by a Chinese disciple of Kumārajīva, says that it was not completely a work of Saṅgharakṣa. The whole work is a compilation from different authors and only a portion of it is due to the authorship of Saṅgharakṣa. The preface further says that the first 43 gāthās were composed by Kumāralāta and the last 23 by Aśvaghoṣa. The gāthās in the middle portion are the works of Vasumitra, Saṅgharakṣa, Upagupta (*Ngeu po-kiu ?*) and Saṅghasena. Saṅgharakṣa made a selection of the verses from these authors and compiled the present work. Referring to the translation itself we find that there are actually 43 gāthās at the commencement (Tokyo XIX, 6, p. 7b-8a) and a little more than 20 gāthās at the end (20a–20b). These would be therefore works of Kumāralāta and Aśvaghoṣa. In the middle portion we find the following quotations :—

(i) as *Buddhavacana*, 6 gāthās (p. 9b) ;
(ii) from *Dharmapada*, 3 gāthās (15b) ;
(iii) from *Pārāyaṇasūtra* (*Po-lo-yen king*), 1 gāthā (15b);
(iv) from *Avidyālakṣaṇa-varga*, 6 gāthās (9b) ;
(v) from " how to acquire the right view ", 7 gāthās (10a) ;
(vi) from " how to destroy sorrow " (*śoka-nirodhopāya ?*), 8 gāthās (10b) ;
(vii) from " how to destroy hatred " (*dveṣa-nirodhopāya ?*), 8 gāthās (10ab).

1 Nanjio 1350; Tokyo XIX, 8, 7b–20b; P. C. Bagchi, *ibid*, p. 189, nos. 17, 19 and 20 which mention, in fact the same work.

2 The preface was written by Seng jui. It is preserved in the catalogue Seng yu; Tokyo XXXVIII, 1, k 6, 51b. See P. C. Bagchi, *ibid* p. 206 along with note 2. The name Kumārārtha is to be corrected there as Kumāralāta which has been established by Prof. Lüders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumaralāta*, Leipzig, 1926, and Prof. S. Lévi in *La Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti et son auteur*, J. As. 1927, 1, and specially p. 99, where he has drawn attention to the preface of Seng jui.

All the sources therefore agree in saying that Saṅgharakṣa, the author of three different works now preserved in Chinese translation, was a native of the country of Surāṣṭra. He flourished 700 years after Buddha and Kaniṣka is also said to have flourished 700 years after the *nirvāṇa* (S. Lévi, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes*, J. As. 1896, p. 463). Saṅgharakṣa subsequently went to Gandhara which was in war with the Emperor of China at that time, was entertained by King Kaniṣka and became his teacher. The war referred to is most probably the campaign of Pan chao (73-102 A. D.), because we do not hear of any other war between Gandhara and China in that period. Saṅgharakṣa, therefore, came to the court of Kaniṣka towards the end of the first century A. D. It was at Gandhara that Saṅgharakṣa compiled his three works. He was in close touch with Vasumitra, another luminary of the court of Kaniṣka[1].

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1 See the catalogue of Seng yeou, Tokyo XXXVIII, 1, p. 50b and p. 57b, the prefaces of *Madhyamāgama-sūtra* and *Vasumitra-saṁgīti-sūtra*.

NAGAKUMĀRACARITA, A FORGOTTEN WORK OF JAIN MALLIṢEṆA — BY PROF. K. RANGACHARI, M. A., B. L.

Nāgakumāracarita known also as Nāgapañcamīkathā is a kāvya written in Sanskrit by a Jain poet Malliṣeṇa, and a manuscript copy of it was kindly supplied to me by the Curator of the Mysore Oriental Library. The manuscript is not free from mistakes of which some seem to be scribal. In some places the work is so full of mistakes that it is not at all possible to make out correctly the sense.

Mr. Lewis Rice mentioned in his introduction to Nāgavarma's 'Karṇātaka Bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇa' a Nāgakumāracaritra by Bāhu Bali Kavi in Kannaḍa. I could not secure a copy of it as yet and so I cannot say what relation it bears to the present work.

The present work consists of five sargas and they contain respectively 119, 74, 113, 105 and 87 verses. Excepting five verses, one at the end of each canto, the rest are all in Anuṣṭubh metre.

From the colophon at the end of every one of the cantos it is seen that the work is named as Nāgapañcamīkathā while in the first verse the author says that it is the history of Nāgakumāra. In the first four cantos are described the love-adventures of Nāgakumāra and in the fifth canto definitions and details of mūlaguṇas, aṇuvratas, guṇavratas, śikṣāvratas are given. We are told that Nāgakumāra meets a Jain Muni Pihitāśrava who after a religious discourse describes to the Prince the Nāgapañcamīvrata and the merit which those who observe it obtain. Nāgakumāra observed the vrata in a previous birth of his and as a consequence he enjoyed celestial pleasures in Saudharma heaven for many kalpas and was reborn as Nāgakumāra in this world. Thus the Nāgakumāracarita is the Nāgapañcamīkathā.

The author of this work Malliṣeṇa describes himself as 'ubhaya-bhāṣākavi-cakravartin' the two languages referred to perhaps being Sanskrit and Prakrit. The author of Syādvādamañjarī is one Malliṣeṇa. In Catalogus Catalogorum under Malliṣeṇa we are

referred to Hasti Malliṣeṇa and four dramas are attributed to him. Whether these authors are one and the same or are different, I cannot say at present.

Malliṣeṇa refers to Jayadeva and other poets and their works in prose and verse on the same subject. Beyond Bāhu Bali's (Kannaḍa) work, no work in Sanskrit on this subject has been mentioned anywhere. Who this poet Jayadeva was and who the other poets were as also what happened to their works are all unknown.

A (First Canto)

In Bhāratadeśa there was a country known as Magadha. Rājagṛha was its capital and its king was Śreṇika whose wife was Celinī. The King was told one day of the stay of Vardhamāna Jaina on Vipulācala, and going there together with the Queen, he worshipped Him. After listening to a discourse on Dharma the King requested Gotamamuni to tell him the Śrīpañcamī-kathā, and Gotama complying with his request told it in Māgadhabhāṣā. Why the author specially mentions the language in which the story is told by Gotama is not clear. It perhaps indicates that originally this story was written in Māgadhabhāṣā by poets and the author retells the story perhaps in an abridged form in Sanskrit.

In Bhāratakṣetra there was a country full of learned men. It was a country rich in fertile lands, fruitful gardens and contained a large number of grāmas, droṇamukhas, khetas and kharvaṭas, nagaras and paṭṭaṇas. There was a town known as Kanaka in this country beautified with wells, big tanks full of lotuses and gardens. Its king was Jayaṁdhara who was learned, religious and virtuous. His wife was Viśālalocanā. They had a son named Śrīdhara. Nayaṁdhara was the minister.

One day a merchant Vāsava by name visited the king taking with him rubies covered with a cloth. Receiving him with due courtesy the king asked him where he had been all these days, to which the merchant replied that he was sojourning in the Lāṭa country. Taking into his hands the cloth-cover the king saw upon it the picture of a lady of unparalleled beauty and overcome by it the king took Vāsava with him into an inner chamber and asked him in secret as to the original of the picture. Vāsavasena then told

the king that Śrīvarma was the king of Girinagara in the Saurāṣṭra country and that his wife was Śrīmatı. They had a son named Harivarma and a daughter Pṛthvīdevī by name. Śrīvarma sent his son Harivarma in search of a bridegroom for his daughter and the latter arrived there and was awaiting an audience of the king.

The King received Prince Harivarma and hearing from him that Śrīvarma desired to give his daughter in marriage to him he accepted the offer with pleasure and on an auspicious day he sent a śibikā to fetch the bride. He married the princess after her arrival and lived with her in great happiness.

One day a forester of the king informed him of the advent of the spring season and the bloom of the forests. The king went immediately into the forests for sport asking his queens to follow him. The elder queen followed him on an elephant and the younger in her śibikā with conches blowing and kāhalas sounding. On hearing these sounds the elder queen enquired of her attendants as to what they were due to and was told that Pṛthvīdevı was coming towards them. Moved by curiosity and desiring to see the reputed youth and beauty of the younger queen, Viśālalocanā stopped her elephant. Pṛthvīdevī learnt from her servants that the lady seated on the elephant was the elder queen and to avoid saluting her she stopped her śibikā. The elder queen was offended at this conduct of Pṛthvīdevī and gave expression to her anger against her. Observing that

सपत्नी जनयत्येवं रोषं चित्रगतापि सा ।
सपत्नी जनयेत्किं न पश्यन्ती स्वेन चक्षुषा ॥

she departed from there and visited the Jain shrine on Sahasrakūṭa. A Jain Muni Śrīvihita gave her a discourse on dharma and at the end of it informed her that a son would be born to her in due time.

B (Second Canto)

The king questioned the second queen as to the cause of her absence from sport and she told of all that happened in the Jinālaya on Sahasrakūṭa.

Sometime afterwards one night Pṛthvīdevī saw in a dream a bull and the rising sun. She informed her husband of it and they con-

sulted a Jain Muni as to what the dream prognosticated. The Muni told them that the bull indicated that Prthvīdevī would give birth to a son and that the rising sun foretold that their son would become a great sage. The king asked the Muni to let him have some sign by which he could recognise the future greatness of his son after he was born and the Muni told him the following :

(1) In Nandanavana, the Siddhakūṭa Jinālaya where gods always perform pūjā remains closed as nobody could open the door. But it would open when touched by the Prince.

(2) The Prince would fall into a well full of snakes situated in the Nandanavana and the snakes instead of harming him would bear him on their heads.

(3) He would capture the furious elephant Nīlagiri.

(4) He would subjugate without much trouble the horse Duṣṭāśva.

Sometime after Prthvīdevī gave birth to a son on a very auspicious day and festivities were held to celebrate the event. The boy was named Pratāpaṁdhara.

One day the nurse took the royal babe to the Jinālaya in Nandanavana and by the touch of his feet the door of the temple flew open. The nurse went into the shrine and the baby creeping on all fours approached the Nāgakūpa (snake-well) which was near there and fell into it. The snakes that were in the well raised him up and worshipping him supported him on their heads. The nurse finding the boy fallen into the well ran up to Pṛthvīdevī and informed her of the sad accident. The queen rushed to the spot and threw herself into the well. The king on hearing of all this went to the spot and got out the boy and the queen. As the baby was supported on the heads of the snakes he was given the name Nāgakumāra.

When Nāgakumāra was five years old he was handed over to the Jaina teacher to be educated. The boy learnt the art of writing, arithmetic, medicine, astrology and painting.

One day a Gaṇikā Pañcasugandhinī by name approached the king and said "O King, I have two daughters : one by the name

Kumārī and the other by the name of Manoharī. These are proud of their youth and beauty but are expert in the art of playing on Vīṇā. My daughters say that they would marry only him who defeats them in vīṇāvādya or otherwise that they would become ascetics. I pray that you might be pleased to ask Nāgakumāra to test their skill". The King asked the Prince to examine them, which he did. After the examination Pañcasugandhinī gave her two daughters to Nāgakumāra and departed.

At this juncture the king was informed that a furious elephant was running about killing men. The king sent Śrīdhara to capture the elephant but he could not do it. Then ordered by the king Nāgakumāra captured the elephant and mounting upon it went to the king and offered it to him. The king asked the Kumāra to take it as he captured it. On his way home from there he saw servants feeding Duṣṭāśva and the Prince learnt from them that the vicious horse kicked and bit all those that approached him, and so it was that it was being fed with the help of a machine. Hearing these words he got upon the horse and walking it here and there, he went to the king and offered it to him.

About this time, the elder queen told her son Śrīdhara that he was unknown in the town or country but that Nāgakumāra was widely known. She advised him to protect himself properly, and in accordance with her advice Śrīdhara engaged five hundred warriors to act as his body-guard.

One day Nāgakumāra went to bathe in the well situated in the compound of his palace with his two female companions. Pṛthvīdevī also went to the well with unguents, clothes and ornaments. The elder queen saw her going and went and told the king that his lady-love was going astray. Surprised at this news he went out to see for himself what was happening when he saw Nāgakumāra saluting the feet of his mother. The king reprimanded the elder queen for her false accusation and going to Pṛthvīdevī asked her as to where she had been. On her replying that she was with her son who was enjoying a bath in the well, the king ordered her not to permit her son to leave the palace and go out. Nāgakumāra on his return found his mother in tears. She told him the cause of her distress and informed him that all this trouble was due to the machina-

tions of the elder queen who was bent on securing the throne to her son Śrīdhara after the demise of their father. Nāgakumāra then went round the town with conches blowing and kāhalas sounding. On hearing this sound the king grew very angry with Pṛthvīdevī thinking that she instigated her son to set at nought his orders. He took away all her gold and silver and deposited it in the treasury. Nāgakumāra on hearing of the punishment which the king meted out to his mother went to the gambling hall and won from the rājas assembled there much gold. When these rājas waited upon the king, the king asked them why they were without ornaments. They replied that the Prince Nāgakumāra won from them in gambling eight thousand suvarṇas and that was why they were without ornaments. Surprised at this news the king sent for Nāgakumāra and began to play with him with dice. The kumāra won from the king the contents of his treasury as well as jewels on his body. The king desired to continue the game with the kingdom as a stake but the prince stopped the play and went away taking with him his own gold and silver and leaving the rest.

C (Third Canto)

To the north of Madhurāpura there was a country known by the name of Śūrasena ruled by the king Jayavarman whose wife was Jayamatī. They had two sons Vyāla and Mahāvyāla. One day the king went with his sons to pay his respects to Yamadhurāhvaya a Jaina Muni. After listening to the discourse on dharma the king enquired of the Muni whether his sons would remain as chieftains of their own country or become servants of others. The Sage replied that Vyāla would become the servant of the person on seeing whom the eye on his (Vyāla's) forehead disappeared and that Mahāvyāla would become the servant of the husband of the lady who would discard Mahāvyāla even though he was beautiful like Kāma. Jayavarman establishing Vyāla on the throne retired from the world to do penance. Entrusting the kingdom of Duṣṭavākya his minister, Vyāla departed with his brother Mahāvyāla from the town in search of his master and reached Pāṭalīputra. The king of the place was Śrīvarman whose wife was Śrīmatī and they had a daughter whose name was Gaṇikāsundarī. The two princes were seated in the forum and a companion of the princess going that way saw the princes, went to the princess and told her that she

saw in the market place two youths of whom one was like Śiva and the other like Kāma. Then Gaṇikāsundarī saw them through the window and fell in love with Mahāvyāla. Śrīvarman came to know of his daughter's love for Mahāvyala and married her to him. Lalitāsundarī the daughter of the foster mother of the princess was married to Vyāla.

Jitasatru, the king of Vijayapura besieged the town of Pāṭaliputra demanding Gaṇikāsundarī in marriage. Vyāla and Mahāvyāla to do a good turn to the king evolved a plan in accordance with which Mahāvyāla went to king Jitaśatru and demanded from him the immediate raising of the siege and his departure from the place. The king grew angry at this and Mahāvyāla bound him with a pattika and took him to Vyāla who took him to Śrīvarman who threw him into a prison.

Vyāla took leave of Mahāvyāla and went to Kanakapaṭṭana on the outskirts of which he met Nāgakumāra, when the eye on his forehead disappeared. He made obeisance to the Prince and sought service under him. The Prince took him into his service and they returned to the palace when Nāgakumāra went into it leaving Vyāla at the gate. At that juncture the five hundred warriors of Śrīdhara arrived there with drawn swords with intent to kill Nāgakumāra. Vyāla killed all of them. Nāgakumāra on hearing the commotion came out and Śrīdhara on learning that his bodyguard was all killed made preparations to fight immediately with his step-brother. Nāgakumāra mounted upon Nilagiri and was ready for the fray. The king desiring to stop them from fighting sent Nayaṁdhara to the spot. The minister went to the spot where they were assembled to fight with each other and stopped them from fighting. Returning to the king he advised him to banish one of them from the land, as otherwise there would be no peace in the town. The king desired to banish Śrīdhara from the place but Nayaṁdhara advised the king to banish Nāgakumāra alleging that Nāgakumāra would prosper even in a strange land on account of his good and great qualities while Śrīdhara would perish. Asked by the king to do the proper thing Nayaṁdhara told Nāgakumāra as from the king, to leave the country at once. The Prince took leave of Pṛthvīdevī and with his two female companions left

the town mounted on his elephant Nīlagiri. There was a *haratāl* in the town when the Prince was banished from it.

Nāgakumāra departing from his parental home went to Madhurāpurī, and warmly welcomed by Devadattā he took up his residence in her house. When he was leaving the house to go to the market place the lady warned him not to wander aimlessly in the town and gave him the following news of the town: " Jayavarman is the king of Kānyakubja and his wife is Guṇavatī. As the king was about to give in marriage his daughter Suśīlā to Harivarman king of Siṁhapur, Duṣtavākya abducted her and kept her confined. The Princess consequently is lamenting loudly every day in the house of a vandi near the market place." The adventurous Prince immediately went to the market place and hearing the loud lamentations of the Princess killed the guards stationed there by the abductor. On hearing of this occurrence Duṣtavākya went to the place to punish the Prince for his daring interference. While the fight was going on, Vyāla who was returning with Nīlagiri after giving him water, was attracted by the noise and went to the spot. Duṣṭavākya saw his master and stopped fighting begging him to pardon him. Vyāla took him to Jāyaṁdhari and told him his story. The Prince released the Princess from her imprisonment and sent her to Harivarman.

Nāgakumāra saw one day a number of youths going outside the town carrying lyres. On enquiring from them as to the place from which they came and whither they were bound, Kīrtivarman the son of Śaka the king of Supratiṣṭha and his queen Vinayāvatī told him that he was returning from the town to Kāśmīr in the country of the same name after sustaining a defeat in Vīṇāvādya at the hands of Tribhuvanaratī the daughter of Nanda, king of Kāśmīr, and his wife Dhāriṇī. Nāgakumāra sometime afterwards went to Kāśmīr and defeating Tribhuvanaratī by his superior skill in Vīṇāvādya married her. While stopping in that town he heard that in a forest known by the name of Ramyaka some man from Bhūmītilaka was crying everyday. He repaired to the forest and in the Jinālaya there he performed pūjā. When it was finished he heard somebody lamenting loud. On asking him as to who he was and the cause for his lamentation, he was informed that he was a for-

ester known as Ramyaka and that as a demon carried away his wife to Kālaguha he was crying there loud every day in the hope that somebody hearing it would render him help. As the huntsman on account of his fear would not go even near the guha, the Prince went into it all alone and demanded from the Rākṣasa the delivery of the wife of Ramyaka. The Rākṣasa overcome with fear gave the Prince a sword known as Candrahāsa, a cot and a magic box and gave back to Ramyaka his wife.

Ramyaka then pointed out from a distance Kāñcanaguha to the Prince. The Kumāra went into the guha when a beautiful woman washed his feet with water from a golden vessel and offered him four thousand damsels who were within the guha. Asked as to what it was all about the lady told him that the four thousand damsels were vidyās acquired by Jitaśatru the son of Vidyutprabha and his wife Vimalaprabhā of Alakāpurī situated in the southern range of Rūpyādri. Jitaśatru, after acquiring these vidyās and without deriving any benefit from them, took to penance under the influence of a Jain sage Munisuvrata. The vidyās were dissatisfied with Jitaśatru's renunciation and asked him as to what they were to do. He told them that during the time of Nemi Tīrthaṁkara a Prince named Nāgakumāra would go to the Suvarṇaguha whom they could serve. The Prince asked them to stay there and going out met Ramyaka who told him of a treasure-trove guarded by a Vetāla. The Prince went to the spot as directed and catching hold of the feet of the Vetāla he threw him down, when he saw a nidhi and a śāsanam. The Prince read the śāsanam which gave the treasure to him who would overthrow the Vetāla. Keeping a proper guard over it, he left the Ramyaka forest accompanied by his lady-companions and Vyāla and reached Girikūṭapura. On the way he saw a banyan tree and sat under it when shoots suddenly sprung on the tree. Then as he was there swinging from the shoots a guard of the forest approached him and spoke to him thus: " Lord, there is in this country a big town known by the name of Girikūṭa. The ruler of the place is known by the name of Vanarāja and his wife is Vanamālā. Their daughter is Lakṣmīmatī. Vanarāja met a Muni one day and asked him about the person who would be the husband of Lakṣmīmatī. The sage replied that the person on whose going near, shoots would spring on the banyan

tree, would become the husband of his daughter. Ever since I have been kept here ". So saying Dvijahasta the guard went to the king and reported to him the occurrence of the happy event. Vanarāja took the Prince into the town and gave his daughter in marriage to him.

Nāgakumāra met one day two Munis Jaya and Vijaya and asked them the reason of founding Girikūta. Jaya then told him that the paternal grand-father of Somaprabha king of Puṇḍravardhana drove away the grand-father of Vanarāja from the place and so the latter founded the city. He returned home with the Munis and inscribed this information on a stone-pillar. He despatched Vyāla to Somaprabha demanding his relinquishment of Puṇḍravardhanapura on behalf of his father-in-law. Somaprabha insulted Vyāla and spoke disrespectfully of Nāgakumāra. Vyāla made Somaprabha a prisoner and sent the information to the Prince, who on receipt of the news departed to Puṇḍravardhanapura with his wife and father-in-law.

D (Fourth Canto)

Jayavarman was the king of Supratiṣthitapattana and his wife was Jayamatī. They had two sons Acchedya and Abhedya. One day Pihitāśravamuni visited the town and the king asked him whether his sons would remain lords in their own land or seek service under others. The sage replied that the person who expels Somaprabha from Puṇḍravardhanapura would become the master of his sons. The king retired from the world handing over the reigns of government to his eldest son. One day Somaprabha who became an ascetic on his expulsion from his kingdom, visited the town Supratiṣthita and the king asked him why he took up dīkṣā. The king was then informed that it was due to his expulsion from Puṇḍravardhana. The king and his brother felt glad at hearing this news and repaired at once to Puṇḍravardhana and entered into the service of Nāgakumāra. Taking leave of the Prince one day they started for their town and on the way entered the forest known as Jalāntika. There they began to eat the fruit of poisonous trees. Five hundred warriors known by the name of Sahasrabhatas approached them and doing them obeisance requested them to take them into their service. Asked for the cause of this their strange request they

replied that a Sādhu once told them that they would become the servants of those who would eat the fruit of poisonous trees in the forest of Jalāntika. The brothers then entered the town and were welcomed by Siṁharatha lord of the place. While he was seated with them a messenger arrived there with a letter to Siṁharatha. The king read the missile and told them that it was from Harivarman lord of Girinagara in the Saurāṣṭra country. Mṛgalocanā was the wife of Harivarman and they had a daughter named Guṇavatī. Caṇḍapradyotana, lord of Sindhudeśa besieged Girinagara demanding from Harivarman the hand of his daughter in marriage. Harivarman refused to do according to the demand as he had made up his mind to marry his daughter to Nāgakumāra. Siṁharatha desired to go to Girinagara to help his friend and requested his friends to remain in his town till his return. But they accompanied Siṁharatha to Girinagara where they fought with Caṇḍapradyotana and defeating him released Harivarman under instructions of Nāgakumāra from imprisonment. The marriage of Guṇavatī with Nāgakumāra was then celebrated.

Jāyaṁdhari went on a pilgrimage to Nemi-jinālaya. It was near the Vatsadeśa whose capital was Kauśāmbi. Śubhacandra was its king whose wife was Sukhāvatī. They had seven daughters Svayamprabhā, Suprabhā, Kāmaprabhā, Svarṇamālā, Ānandā, Padmaśrī and Nāgadattā. A Khaga known by the name of Meghavāhana expelled Sukaṇṭha from Ratnasambhavapattaṇa situated on the southern range of Rūpyādri. The latter built a town named Alaṅghyapura near Kauśāmbī and begged Śubhacandra to give his daughters in marriage to him. Sukaṇṭha killed Śubhacandra as he refused to comply with his request. The seven sisters then declared that they would marry him who would destroy Sukaṇṭha, the Khaga and not any other. Nāgadattā escaped and the remaining six sisters were then thrown into a prison by the Khaga. Nāgadattā escaped to Nāgapura in Kurujāṅgaṇa. Abhicandra was the lord of the land and Śubhacandra was his brother. At the instance of Nāgadattā a letter was sent to Nāgakumāra informing him of the distressing circumstances in which the seven sisters were situated. On reading this letter Nāgakumāra started for Kauśāmbī and met on the way his uncle Harivarman. He met Abhicandra at Kauśāmbī and sent a letter to Sukaṇṭha demanding from him the release of the daughters

of Śubhacandra. Sukaṇṭha treated his demand with contempt as a consequence of which a combat took place between Nāgakumāra and Sukaṇṭha, in which the Prince killed the Khaga with his sword Candrahāsa. Expelling Meghavāhana from Ratnasambhavapaṭṭana he installed Vajrakaṇṭha the son of Sukaṇṭha on his ancestral throne and lived in happiness with the daughters of Śubhacandra in Hastinākhyapura.

Meghavāhana was ruling at that time the Pāṇḍya country and Madhura was its capital. Meghavāhana's wife was Jayalakṣmī and they had a daughter named Śrīmatī. She declared that she would marry that person alone who would defeat her in 'dancing by playing on the drum'. The daughter of her nurse was Kāmalatā who was averse to marriage. Mahāvyāla who was informed of these strange girls went to Madhura and found Kāmāṅka, Meghavāhana's sister's son carrying away Kāmalatā. She fell in love with Mahāvyāla at the very sight of him and appealed to him to save her from Kāmāṅka. They fought with each other and Mahāvyāla killed his adversary.

Jayasena was the king of Ujjayinī in Avantideśa and Jayaśrī was his wife. They had a daughter of rare beauty named Menakī. Hearing that the lady did not desire a husband, Mahāvyāla went to the place to see the strange maiden. She saw him in the market place. But discarded by her, Mahāvyāla repaired to Hastinākhyapura. Remembering the prophesy about his service after salutation he told his brother the cause of his arrival there. Preparing a portrait of Nāgakumāra he returned to Ujjayinī where he showed the portrait to Menakī. Knowing that she was very much attracted by the picture he returned to Hastinākhyapura and informed Nāgakumāra through Vyāla of Menakī and her love for the Prince. The Kumāra went to Ujjayinī and married Menakī. While he was sojourning there he heard of Śrīmatī's challenge and reaching Madhura he defeated her by his skill in playing on the drum and married her.

While he was residing in Madhura he met a merchant from the North and asked him about the strange things he saw in his travels. The merchant told him that he saw in an island named Bhūmitilaka a golden Jaina temple where every noon five hundred maidens loudly cry, but that he was unaware of the cause of their

distress. With the help of the vidyās and accompanied by Vyāla and others he reached the place and performed pūjā in the shrine. Just at the close of it he heard distressing cries. He learnt from the maidens who were crying, that the son of their maternal uncle Vāyuvega asked their father to give them in marriage to him but being refused he killed him. At their request, he postponed his marriage with them for six months and promised to give them their freedom if within that period they could find a champion who could fight for them and defeat him. These maidens as well as their brothers Rakṣa and Mahārakṣa were thrown into a prison. Nāgakumāra killed the guards and fought with Vāyuvega. With the help of his vidyās he overcame the witchcraft of Vāyuvega and killed him. Giving back the kingdom to the two princes he married the five hundred maidens. Five hundred Daityas known as Sahasrabhujas entered into his service informing him that a Muni once told them that the person who would marry the five hundred maidens would become their master. From there he went to Dantipura in Kaliṅgadeśa passing through Kāñcīpura where the Pallava king treated him with great respect. The lord of Kaliṅga country was Candragupta and his wife was Candramatī. Their daughter was named Madanamañjūṣā who was given in marriage to Nāgakumāra. From there he went to Trilokatilakāpura in Koṅgālaya. The lord of the place was Vijayaṁdhara whose wife was Vijayā. Their daughter was Lakṣmīmatī and at the first sight they fell in love with each other. Their marriage was celebrated in great pomp. While he was staying there Śrīpihitāśrava a Jain Munipati visited the place, whom Jāyaṁdhari worshipped.

E (Fifth Canto)

Śrīpihitāśrava gives a religious discourse to Nāgakumāra explaining to him in detail mūlaguṇas, aṇuvratas, guṇavrata, the śikṣāvrata. Jāyaṁdhari after listening to this discourse enquired of the sage why it was that he loved Lakṣmīmatī at first sight. The Munipati gave the following story.

Towards the North of Meru there was a country known as Airāvata. There was a town in it known as Vītaśokapura the lord of which was Mahendravikrama. In that town lived a Vaṇik known by the name of Dhanadatta whose wife was Dhanaśrī. They had

a son Nāgadatta by name. In the same town there lived a Vaṇik Vasudatta whose wife was a lady named Vasumatī. They had a daughter Nāgavatī. Nāgadatta married Nāgavatī. A Jain Muni named Munigupta visited the place and Nāgadatta after listening to his discourse on dharma took to the observance of upavāsavrata on pañcamī day on account of which he suffered much in the night. The parents of Nāgadatta observing his suffering through pieces of glass placed in the holes made in the walls, asked him to break his fast as it already dawned. The son replied that he knew the duration of night and asked them not to trouble him. So saying he concentrated his mind on Jina and died. He was born in Saudharma heaven. Nāgavatī took to tapas and dying was born in Saudharma heaven and became united with her husband. After their allotted time in that heaven, they were reborn on this earth, he as Pratāpaṁdhara son of Jayaṁdhara and she as Lakṣmīmatī the daughter of Vijayaṁdhara, and that was the reason why they were so powerfully attracted to each-other even at the first sight".

Jayaṁdhara sent Nayaṁdhara to Nāgakumāra to return to Kanakapaṭṭaṇa. The Prince accompanied by Vyāla, Mahāvyāla, Acchedya, Abhedya and his many wives arrived at Kanakapaṭṭaṇa. Viśālalocanā and her son Śrīdhara, on hearing of the Prince's arrival at the place, took to tapas. Jayaṁdhara saw one day, while looking into the looking-glass, gray hairs on his head. He immediately entrusted the kingdom to Nāgakumāra and became an ascetic. Pṛthvīdevī also did the same. Nāgakumāra gave to Vyāla half the kingdom, to Mahāvyāla Gauḍa-Vaidarbha-maṇḍala, to Acchedya and Abhedya Kośala, to the Sahasrabhujas Pūrvadeśa and to the wives villages sufficient for their maintenance. Lakṣmīmatī, Dharaṇīsundarī, Tribhuvanavatī and Guṇavatī were the four wives who were anointed.

Lakṣmīmatī gave birth to a son who was named Devakumāra and was living in great happiness. One day while standing on the seventh story of his palace he saw a white cloud as big as Sahasrakūṭa and fetching a tablet he began to draw in it a representation of the same. But as he turned his eyes in the direction of the cloud after having drawn a line, he did not find the cloud. This moved him profoundly and immediately establishing Devakumāra on the throne he took to tapas.

F

The nāgapañcamīvrata is common to both Brāhmanas and Jains. For the Jains the vrata is to commence on the pañcamī day of the bright fortnight during the months of Kārttika, Aṣāḍha and Phālguna. On the day previous, one who performs the vrata is to bathe and eat and then the proṣada is to be undertaken by him. On the day of fasting he should give up bathing, unguents, ornaments, acts of every day life, sleeping on the cot etc. On the pāranā day he should feed a deserving man and then eat himself. This vrata is to be performed for five years and five months or for five months only. On the completion of the vrata he should establish five idols and placing them with ghantā, dīpa and dhvaja in a Jinālaya, should perform mahābhiṣeka. Then he should give books to five good men and distribute gold, clothes and food amongst all. The performance of this vrata according to Brāhmanas is different and it comes off on the pañcamī day of the bright fortnight of the months of Śrāvana or Bhādrapada. This vrata is to be performed for twelve years and no fasting is prescribed on that day.

G

It is not possible to establish the historicity of Nāgakumāra even though his connection with countries like Pāṇḍya with its capital at Madhura, Pallava land with its capital at Kāñcī, Kalinga with its capital Dantipura, are mentioned.

The innumerable alliances which Nāgakumāra made with royal families spread all over the land of India show that Nāgas were spread all over India at one time. One noticeable feature to be observed in this work is that Nāgakumāra had for his parents an ordinary man and woman and not mythical serpent-man or serpent-woman. The traditional enmity between Khagas and Nāgas is not forgotten in this work, as most of those whom Nāgakumāra killed were Khagas.

IV : Indian Philosophy

ADVAITASYAIVA ŚRUTISAMMATATVAM — BY VEDĀNTA-VĀGĪŚA SHRIDHARASHASTRI PATHAK, DARŚANAŚĀSTRĪ, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA.

॥ श्रीशिवः शरणम् ॥

अद्वैतस्यैव श्रुतिसंमतत्वम् ।

अथ श्रुतिशिरोभूतानां वेदान्तानामत्रैव तात्पर्यमिति प्रतिपादयन्ति श्रीशंकररामानुजमध्ववल्लभाचार्या यथाक्रमम् – अद्वैतम्, विशिष्टाद्वैतम्, द्वैतम्, शुद्धाद्वैतं च । तत्र कतमच्छ्रुतिसंमतमिति विचारयामः । यद्यपि बहुभिरयं विचारः स्वस्वनिबन्धेषु प्रचारितः सविवरणं सिद्धान्तितं च कस्यचिन्मतस्य तत्त्वम्, तथापि मयाप्येतद्विषयकं स्वीयं मतं परीक्षार्थं विद्वद्बुद्धिनिकषमानेतुं प्रयत्यते ।

मम तु बाढं मतिर्यद् 'अद्वैतमतम्' यदनुयायिनः श्रीशंकरभगवत्पूज्यपादास्तदेव श्रुतिसंमतमिति ।

ननु श्रीशंकराचार्याः शिवावतारभूता अतस्तत्संमतं श्रेय इत्येवाङ्गीकर्तव्यमिति चेन्न । सर्वेषामेवाचार्याणां तत्तद्देवतावतारत्वेन वर्णनात् । तथा च श्रीशंकराचार्याणां शंकरावतारत्वम् । रामानुजाचार्याणां शेषावतारत्वम् । मध्वाचार्याणां वाय्ववतारत्वम् । वल्लभाचार्याणां वह्न्यवतारत्वं च तत्तत्पुराणवाक्येषु वर्णितम् । तथैव 'मायावादमसच्छास्त्रम्' इत्यादिवचनैरपि नाद्वैतमतस्य हेयता । मतान्तरनिन्दाबोधकवचनानामप्युपलब्धेः । एवं च सुन्दोपसुन्दन्यायेन तान्युभयविधवचांसि परस्परविघातकानि न कमप्यर्थं साधयितुमलम् । एतादृशपरस्परविरुद्धवचनानि व्यासेन सर्वज्ञेन मुनिना पुराणे ग्रथितानीति वक्तुमशक्यत्वात्केनचित्तत्तन्मतविरोधिना प्रकल्पितानि निर्मूलान्येवेत्यनुमन्तव्यम् । एवं चैतान्निर्गलितं यच्छ्रुत्यादिवचनपरीक्षैवात्र विषये फलसिद्ध्ये नावतारादिकम् ।

यद्यपि श्रीशंकररामानुजमध्ववल्लभाचार्याः श्रुत्यनुयायिनः श्रुतिं बहु मन्वते च, तथाप्यद्वैतमते प्रायः सर्वासामेव श्रुतीनां स्वरसतया समन्वयो भवति तथा नान्याचार्यमते ।

एतत्तु निर्विवादमनलीकं च यदद्वैतमतेऽपि काश्चन द्वैतप्रतिपादिन्यः श्रुतयः औपाधिकत्वादिना लक्षणया वा संलापनीया भवन्ति, तथापि तादृशं लाक्षणिकत्वाद्युररीकरणं सर्वेषामेवावश्यकम् । यतः सर्वैरप्याचार्यैः श्रुतयः स्वमतविरुद्धार्थकास्तथैव स्वीकृता इति दरीदृश्यते तेषां ग्रन्थेषु । यद्यपि वल्लभाचार्यमते शुद्धाद्वैते सर्वेऽपि श्रुतिविरोधाः परिहर्तुं शक्यन्तेऽणुमात्रान्यथाकल्पनेन विनापि केवलं ब्रह्मणो विरुद्धधर्माश्रयत्वं कल्पयित्वा, परमीदृशं ब्रह्मणो विरुद्धधर्माश्रयत्वं न क्वापि श्रुतिवाक्ये कण्ठरवत उक्तम् । किंतु

तस्यैः 'अपाणिपादो जवनो ग्रहीता' (श्वे. ३।१९) इत्यादि परस्परविरुद्धार्थबोधकविशेषणवत्याः श्रुतेः कल्पितम्। एवं च कल्पनं न निर्णयायालं श्रुतिवादिनामिति विद्वदनुभूतचरम्। किंच 'निष्कलं निष्क्रियं' (श्वे. ६।१९) इत्यादीनि ब्रह्मणो निर्गुणत्वप्रतिपादकानि यथा श्रुतिशिरोवचांसि समुपलभ्यन्ते तथा ब्रह्मणो विरुद्धसर्वधर्माश्रयत्वस्य क्वापि वाक्येऽनुपलम्भात्पूर्वोक्तकल्पनस्यापातरमणीयत्वम्। न च मायोपाधिशब्दानामपि वेदान्तेषु निर्देशाभावात् 'ययोरेव समो दोषः परिहारस्तयोः समः' इति न्यायापत्तिरिति वाच्यम्। अग्रिमश्रुतिशिरोवचःसु तथा बहुशो निर्देशात्। तथाहि—

प्रथमं जगत् रामानुजादिमतवन्न नित्यं किंत्वशेषविशेषरहिते ब्रह्मणि कल्पितं तन्मिथ्येति स्वप्रकरणगतश्रुत्यादिद्वारा साधयामः। सदेव सोम्येदमग्र आसीदेकमेवाद्वितीयम् (छा. ६।२।१), अथ परा यया तदक्षरमधिगम्यते यत्तदद्रेश्यमग्राह्यमगोत्रमवर्णमचक्षुःश्रोत्रं तदपाणिपादं नित्यं विभुं सर्वगतं सुसूक्ष्मं तदव्ययं यद्भूतयोनिं परिपश्यन्ति धीराः (मु. १।१।६), सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म (तै. १।१), निष्कलं निष्क्रियं शान्तं निरवद्यं निरञ्जनम् (श्वे. ६।१९), यस्यामतं तस्य मतं मतं यस्य न वेद सः। अविज्ञातं विजानतां विज्ञातमविजानताम् (के. २।३), न दृष्टेर्द्रष्टारं पश्येः (बृ. ५।४।२), आनन्दो ब्रह्म (तै. ३।६), इदं सर्वं यदयमात्मा (बृ. ४।४।६), नेह नानास्ति किंचन। मृत्योः स मृत्युमाप्नोति य इह नानेव पश्यति (बृ. ६।४।१९), यत्र हि द्वैतमिव भवति तदितर इतरं पश्यति यत्र त्वस्य सर्वमात्मैवाभूत्तत्केन कं पश्येत् तत्केन कं विजानीयात् (बृ. ४।४।१४), वाचारम्भणं विकारो नामधेयं मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम् (छा. ६।१।४), यदा ह्येवैष एतस्मिन्नुदरमन्तरं कुरुते अथ तस्य भयं भवति (तै. आ. ७।२)—एतासु प्रसिद्धोपनिषद्गतासु श्रुतिषु प्रत्यक्षतया निर्विशेषब्रह्मणोऽद्वैतं प्रतिपाद्यते द्वैतदर्शननिन्दा च क्रियते। दोषवशात् द्वैतं प्रकल्पितं यथा तथाग्रेतनश्रुतिभिः स्पष्टं भवेत्। एवं चैतन्यस्वरूपे परब्रह्मणि दोषपरिकल्पितमिदं देवतिर्यगादिभेदभिन्नं सर्वं जगत् यथावस्थितब्रह्मस्वरूपज्ञानबाध्यं मिथ्यारूपम्। दोषश्च सदसदनिर्वचनीयानाद्यविद्या सैवानृतमायादिशब्दैः श्रुतिषु प्रतिपाद्यते। मायैव जगतः प्रकल्पिकेति च द्योत्यते। तथा च श्रुतयः—अनृतेन हि प्रत्यूढाः (छा. ८।३।२), तेषां सत्यानां सतामनृतमपिधानम् (छा. ८।३।१), नासदासीन्नो सदासीत्तदानीं तम आसीत्तमसा गूढमग्रे प्रकेतम् (य. २।८।९), मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनं तु महेश्वरम् (श्वे. ४।१०), इन्द्रो मायाभिः पुरुरूप ईयते (बृ. ४।५।१९), एतासु श्रुतिषु प्रत्यक्षं मायाशब्दनिर्देशपूर्वकं जगत्प्रतिभासो बोध्यते। इयमविद्या, माया, अज्ञानं वा ज्ञानेन नश्यति। तथा च श्रुतयः—न पुनर्मृत्यवे। तदेकं पश्यति। न पश्यो मृत्युं पश्यति। (छा. ७।२।२६), यदा ह्येवैष एतस्मिन्नदृश्येऽनात्म्येऽनिरुक्तेऽनिलयनेऽभयं प्रतिष्ठां विन्दते। अथ सोऽभयं गतो भवति। (तै. २।७।१), भिद्यते हृदयग्रन्थिश्छिद्यन्ते सर्वसंशयाः। क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन्दृष्टे परावरे (मुं. २।२।८), ब्रह्म वेद ब्रह्मैव भवति (मुं. ३।२।९), तमेव विदित्वातिमृत्युमेति नान्यः पन्था विद्यतेऽयनाय (श्वे. ३।८)। मृत्युपदेनाज्ञानं ग्राह्यम्। तथा च सनत्सुजातवचनं महाभारते — प्रमादं वै मृत्युमहं ब्रवीमि सदाऽप्रमादममृतत्वं ब्रवीमि (म.भा.सनत्सु.४२।४)। आत्मैक्यज्ञानमेव परं साधनं न मतान्तरवद् भक्तिप्रपत्त्या-

दिकं, श्रुतिविरोधात् । यतो भक्त्यादौ द्वैतमवशिष्यते । तथा च श्रुतिः–तदेव ब्रह्म त्वं विद्धि नेदं यदिदमुपासते (के. १।४), अथ योऽन्यां देवतामुपास्तेऽन्योऽसावन्योऽहमस्मीति (बृ. ३।४।१०) अकृत्स्नो ह्येषः (बृ. ३।४।७), आत्मेत्येवोपासीत (बृ. ३।४।७), तत्त्वमसि (छा. ६।८।७), एवं चैकमेव ब्रह्म स्वयंज्योतिर्निर्धूतनिखिलविशेषमित्युक्तं भवति । ततश्च — तस्मान्मायी सृजते विश्वमेतत् (श्वे. ४।९) इत्यादिश्रुत्या मायावशाद्ब्रह्मणा सृष्ट्यादेर्निर्माणम् ।

अतश्च पूर्वोक्तप्रसिद्धश्रुतिशतवशान्निर्विशेषाद्वैतत्वे ब्रह्मणः सिद्धे द्वैतानुवादिन्यो द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया (श्वे. ४।६) इत्यादिश्रुतयो लाक्षणिकत्वेनौपाधिकतया नेयाः पूर्वोक्तबहुश्रुतिविरोधात्प्रकरणाद्यनुरोधाच्च ।

अद्वैतमतस्वीकार एव — एकेन विज्ञातेन सर्वमिदं विज्ञातं भवति (छा. ६।१।१) इत्यस्य प्रतिज्ञावाक्यस्य संगतिर्भवेन्नान्यथा । जगतः सत्यत्वे तु ब्रह्मविज्ञानेन तद्विज्ञानस्यासंभव एव । जगतोऽसत्यत्वे रज्जौ भुजङ्गवदध्यस्तत्वेनाधिष्ठानभूतरज्जुज्ञानेन यथा सर्पदण्डादीनां ज्ञानं तथा ब्रह्मज्ञानेन विवर्तभूतजगज्ज्ञानस्य सुकरत्वात् । किं च द्वा सुपर्णा (श्वे. ४।६) इति श्रुत्या जीवेश्वरयोर्भासमानं द्वैतमनूद्यते नतु द्वैतस्यास्तित्वं बोध्यते । यतो नेह नानास्ति किंचन (बृ. ६।४।१९) इत्याद्याः श्रुतयो गुणतोऽपि ब्रह्मणः साद्वितयितां न सहन्ते । कस्यामप्यवस्थायां द्वैतं नास्तीति यत्रास्य द्वैतमिव भवति तदितर इतरं पश्यति (बृ. ४।४।१४) इति श्रुतिरिवशब्दानिर्देशेन स्फुटयति । तथाहि—यत्रावस्थायां द्वैतमिव भवति, नाम द्वैतवदवभासते, न तु तत्र वस्तुतो द्वैतमिति यावत् । मायामात्रमिदं द्वैतमद्वैतं परमार्थतः —इति श्रुतित्वेन सर्ववादिसमादृतवचने कण्ठरवतो मायामात्रं द्वैतं वस्तुतोऽद्वैतमित्यर्थस्य कथनाच्च ।

ननु रामानुजादिभिरेताः श्रुतयोऽन्यार्थपरतया लापिता अतो नैतासामद्वैतपरत्वं परमार्थ इति चेन्न । तेषां लापनस्य सारल्याभावेन हठादाकृष्टार्थतया प्रामाण्यकोटचनर्हत्वात् । तथाहि—अथ परा यया तदक्षरमधिगम्यते यत्तद्रेश्यमग्राह्यमगोत्रम् (मु.१।१।६) इत्यादिश्रुतिवचसोऽर्थो रामानुजाचार्यैरेवं प्रादर्शि— अथ परा यया तदक्षरमित्यत्रापि प्राकृतान् हेयगुणान्प्रतिषिध्य नित्यत्वविभुत्वसूक्ष्मत्वसर्वगतत्वाव्ययत्वभूतयोनित्वसार्वज्ञ्यादिकल्याणगुणयोगः परस्य ब्रह्मणः प्रतिपादितः' । तथैव 'न च निर्गुणवाक्यविरोधः, प्राकृतहेयगुणविषयत्वात्तेषाम् 'निर्गुणं, निरञ्जनं, निष्कलं, निष्क्रियं शान्तम्' इत्यादीनाम् । (रा. भा., वेंकटेश्वरकं. ५२-५३ पत्रयोः) । अत्र हेयगुणराहित्यमिति संकोचे मानं नास्ति । किं च हेयगुणराहित्ये कल्याणगुणसत्त्वे च ब्रह्मणीयत्ताप्रसङ्गः । ब्रह्मणि गुणेयत्तापरिच्छेदश्च प्रमाणासहः । ननु केषांचिद्गुणानां श्रुतौ वर्णनाद् रामानुजाचार्यादृतः संकोचः प्रामाणिक इति चेन्न । तेषां गुणानामौपाधिकतया व्यवस्थापयितुं शक्यत्वात् । ननु विनिगमनाविरहाद्रामानुजाचार्यव्यवस्थैव कुतो नाङ्गीक्रियत इति चेन्न । मायोपाधिनिर्देशवच्छ्रुतौ हेयगुणराहित्येत्यादिनिर्देशाभावात् ।

तथैव माध्वमतेऽपि हठादाकृष्टार्थत्वमद्वैतश्रुतीनां प्रदर्श्यते । मध्वाचार्यैः सन्मूलाः सोम्येमाः प्रजाः सदायतनाः सत्प्रतिष्ठा (छा. ६।८।४) इति प्रजानां सदातिरिक्तमूलायतनप्रतिष्ठाभावबोधिनी केवलाद्वैतश्रुतिर्भेदपरत्वेन लाप्यते। तथाहि विष्णुतत्त्वनिर्णये सन्मूलाः सोम्येमाः सर्वाः प्रजाः सदायतनाः सत्प्रतिष्ठाः (छां. ६।८।४) इत्यत्रापि भेद एव प्रतीयते। स्रष्टृत्वादाश्रयत्वाच्च मुक्तानां च प्रति प्रति। स्थापनाच्च विभुर्विष्णुरन्यः संसारिणो मत इति च॥ तथा जीवात्मनोः प्रत्यक्षमैक्यं बोधयन्ती श्रुतिरपि हठादन्यार्थपरतया लाप्यते। तथाहि तत्रैव 'अनेन जीवेनात्मनानुप्रविश्य नामरूपे व्याकरवाणीति, स एष जीवेनात्मनानुप्रभूतः पेपीयमानो मोदमानस्तिष्ठति' (छां. ६।३।२) इत्यत्रापि जीवशब्देन परमात्माभिहित इत्यादि। सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहे पूर्णप्रज्ञदर्शने 'प्रपञ्चो यदि विद्येत निवर्तेत न संशयः। मायामात्रमिदं द्वैतमद्वैतं परमार्थतः॥ इत्यस्य श्रुतिवचनस्यान्यथार्थः प्रदर्शितः। तथाहि प्रपञ्चो यद्युत्पद्येत निवर्तेत न संशयः। तस्मादनादिरेवायं प्रकृष्टः पञ्चविधः प्रपञ्चः। अयं प्रपञ्चो नास्तीति न वक्तव्यम्। यतो मायामात्रमिदं द्वैतम्। इदं द्वैतं मायामात्रम्—माययेश्वरप्रज्ञया मितं त्रातमिति। एतदर्थकरणार्थं तैः परमश्रुतिप्रमाणत्वेन प्रदर्श्यते। परमियं श्रुतिर्न क्वाप्युपलभ्यते। एवं चानुपलब्धश्रुतिप्रमाणोपबृहितश्चिन्त्योऽयमर्थः। एवमप्रसिद्धश्रुत्युदाहरणं वाल्लभभाष्यप्रकाशटीकाकृत्पुरुषोत्तमोऽपि नानुमन्यते। तथाहि-३।१।२७ सूत्रभाष्यव्याख्याने-मध्वाचार्यैस्तु तद्भावापत्तिरित्येवं भेद्यते। तन्मतं तु न मयानूद्यतेऽप्रसिद्धश्रुत्युदाहरणेन भिन्नविधत्वादिति। एतन्मतस्थैः पुरस्कृता बह्व्यः श्रुतयो नोपलभ्यन्ते यथा 'सत्यं भिदा सत्यं भिदा' इति श्रुतिः॥

एवं चैतत्सर्वेषां मतिपथमारूढं स्याद्यदाभ्यां रामानुजमध्वाचार्याभ्यां सारल्येन प्रतीयमानो नेह नानास्ति किंचन (बृ. ४।४।१९) इत्यादिबहुश्रुत्यनुगृहीतोऽद्वैतार्थस्त्यक्तव्यो भवति॥

वल्लभाचार्या यद्यपि यथाभूतं सर्वश्रुत्यर्थमङ्गीकुर्वते, अविकृतपरिणामवादमालम्ब्य मायाराहित्येन कामधेनुकल्पवृक्षादिवत्सृष्टिमनुमन्वते च, तथापि तेषां मायाराहित्येन सृष्टिकरणं 'अस्मान्मायी सृजते विश्वमेतत्' (श्वे.४।९) इत्यादिमायासाहित्यबोधकप्रत्यक्षश्रुतिवचोविरुद्धम्। एवं च मायाप्रकल्पितं द्वैतं जगदादि ब्रह्माद्वैतरूपमित्येव मतं श्रुतिसंमतम्। ननु द्वैतश्रुत्यनुसाराद्द्वैतश्रुतीनामर्थान्तरं स्वीकर्तव्यं तदपि योग्यं स्याद्यथा-चाद्वैतमते तद्बोधकश्रुत्यनुरोधेन द्वैतश्रुतीनामौपाधिकार्थस्वीकार इति चेन्न। बहुश्रुतीनामनुग्रहस्य न्याय्यत्वात्। तथाचाद्वैतश्रुतीनां भूयसीनामनुरोधाच्छ्रुतिगतानृतादिशब्दानां स्पष्टमुपलम्भात् द्वैतश्रुतीनामौपाधिकार्थकरणं न युक्तिविधुरं किंतु विद्वत्संमतमेवेति शम्॥

१ एतद्वचनं गौडपादकारिकासूपलभ्यते तद्वादिनां मते श्रुतिवचनमस्तीति तदुद्धारः।

ZUR ALTINDISCHEN PSYCHOLOGIE—BY DR. E. W. RUBEN, BONN (GERMANY).

Unter den funf Lebensausserungen (prāna · Reden, Gesicht, Gehör, Denken, Atem), sind manas und vāc besonders problematisch. Ihre Bedeutung ist uns ohne weiteres verstandlich an den Stellen, wo ihr gegenseitiges Verhaltnis so ausgedrückt wird, dass das 'Reden' nur kundtut, was das 'Meinen' vorher gedacht hatte (Śat. Br. I,4,5, 8-11; Eggeling vergleicht Taitt. Saṁh. II, 5, 11, 4), und ihm deshalb an Bedeutung nachgestellt wird. Problematisch fur uns —weil nur indisch— ist es aber, wenn das 'Meinen' sich auf die Gestalten (rūpa) bezieht, wahrend das 'Reden' die Namen 'greift' (Śat. Br. XI, 2, 3, 6 : grhnāti ; āpnoti) : da sind die beiden altindischen Aspekte der Welt, Namen und Gestalten, aufgeteilt auf diese beiden Lebensäusserungen, deren Gemeinsamkeit, dass sie namlich geistige Funktionen sind, ist in dieser Denkweise nicht bedacht, genau so wenig, wie die beiden anderen Lebensausserungen Gesicht und Gehor als 'Sinne' zusammengefasst sind. Der Ausdruck 'greifen' kehrt in anderer Bedeutung bei Yājñavalkya wieder (Brh. Up. III, 2), der den Lebensäusserungen als Griff (graha) oder subjektiven Phanomenen die objektiven Phänomene als 'atigraha' gegenuberstellt : das Gesicht wird (passivisch !) durch die Farbe, Gehör durch den Ton ergriffen usw., weil der Sinn das Objekt wahrnimmt (paśyati usw.) ; so steht dem 'Reden' der 'Name' gegenuber, weil man durch das Reden die Namen 'abhivadati' (Deussen : 'ausspricht'). Der Ausdruck 'abhivadati' kehrt Taitt. Ār. III, 12, 16 wieder : der Weltschöpfer (dhātā) dachte im Einzelnen (vicintya) alle Gestalten, der Weise (dhīra ; dhī = manas, s. u.), machte (kṛtvā) die Namen und 'sprach sie aus' (? abhi-vad). Das ist eine kosmogonische Denkweise, die auch z. B. Pañc. Br. 7, 6 vorkommt : Prajāpati begehrte zu schaffen und meditierte schweigend (!) in seinem manas ; da bedachte er : "dies liegt als eine Leibesfrucht in mir, die will ich durch das Reden gebaren ;" da schuf er das Reden ... Der Sinn dieser Stellen wird deutlich, wenn man den Hymns an das Reden (RV. X, 125) heranzieht : hier ist das Reden die Schöpfermacht, die die Vielheit der Dinge schafft ; erst durch ihre Namen werden die vielen Dinge als solche geschaffen. · So begehrt Prajāpati im Pañc. Br. in schweigendem, d. h., nicht die einzelnen Dinge begrifflich (Begriff= Name

= Wort) unterscheidenden Denken zu schaffen, und erst die Rede ermöglicht es, die Schpöfung vielfach zu individuellen Dingen zu gestalten. In dieser Kosmogonie bedeutet manas mehr 'wünschen' als 'denken' (s. u.) ; und danach ist in Taitt. Ār. zu verstehen : der Schöpfer überlegte und wünschte die Vielheit der Dinge, schuf die Namen und legte sie den Dingen bei (abhi-vad), sprach sie ihnen zu (abhi), indem er die vielen Dinge erst mit Hilfe der vielen Worte schuf. So ist ja auch später die Vorstellung, dass die Welt nach der Vielheit der Worte geschaffen wird (Max Müller, Six Systems, S. 90f).

Das Verhältnis von Reden und Namen ist also mehr als ein blosses Aussprechen, im Sinne von Hörbar-machen (abhi-vyaj). Die Worte des Veda sind ewig, aber wirkungslos; erst ausgesprochen haben sie magische Zauberkraft (brahman). Eine Wahrheit tut *nichts ; eine ausgesprochene Wahrheit (satyokti) wird Segen oder* Fluch. Die Gestalt eines Dinges 'meinen' ist nur etwas Vorläufiges, ehe das Reden seinen Namen ergreift (oder von ihm ergriffen wird). Und wenn es von dem Reden (resp. den anderen Lebensäusserungen) heisst (Bṛh. Up. II, 4, 14) : itara (sc. Reden, resp. den Gesicht usw.) itaram (sein objektives Phänomen : Namen, resp. Gestalt usw.) abhivadati (resp. paśyati usw.), so ist hier der Ausdruck unübersetzbar und nur annähernd umschreibbar als : aussprechen, den Namen beilegen und das Ding durch den Namen erst (begrifflich) erkannt machen. So wird es auch zu verstehen sein, dass mit dem Reden die Verwandten, die Veden usw. und alle Wesen erkannt werden (pra-jñā : Bṛh. Up. IV, 1, 2) und das Reden als 'Einigungsweg aller Veden' (Bṛh. Up. II, 4, 11) bestimmt wird, denn das Reden lägst man sich erheben (īrayati) im Gebiet des Namens nāmni : Chāṇḍ. Up. VII, 4, 1 ; 5, 1), und dazu gehören die Veden. Der Name gehört als objektiv existierendes Phänomen zum Gegenstand wie seine Gestalt, und daher ist es berechtigt, wenn das Verhältnis von Reden zu Namen in Parallele gesetzt wird zum Sehen der Gestalt. Das Reden leistet mehr als ein blosses Aussprechen der Worte des Veda und der Namen der Dinge, oder ein Mitteilen an andere, nämlich auch ein begriffliches Erleben, fast ein Erkennen, für den Sprecher selber.

So ungefähr wäre der Inhalt dieses altertümlich komplexen Begriffes für uns zu umschreiben ; verständlicher wird uns der eben-

falls komplexe Begriff des manas, dessen beide Bestandteile sich dank der alten Beschreibung in Brh. Up. I, 5, 3 sondern lassen: manas ist einesteils: kāma, saṁkalpa, vicikitsā, śraddhā, aśraddhā, dhrti, adhrti, hrī, dhī, bhī, d. h. alles 'Erleben' ausser dem sinnlichen (cakṣus, śrotra) und begrifflichen (vāc); andererseits ist es der Intellekt, der sowohl ohne sinnliche Wahrnehmung erkennt (vijānāti: wenn einer z. B. von hinten beruhrt wird) wie auch das Moment der Aufmerksamkeit reprasentiert, wie auch schliesslich erst das Erkennen (resp. Wünschen) auf Grund der Sinnesempfindungen möglich macht. Beiden Bedeutungen lassen sich die in Ait. Up. III, 2 aufgeführten Synonyme fur manas zuordnen: (1) jūti, smrti, saṁkalpa, kratu, kāma, vaśa, dhrti; (2) sam-, ā-, vi-, pra-jñāna, medhā, drṣti, mati, manīṣā (dazu asu). Die erste Bedeutung, vor allem 'Begehren' (Brh. Up. IV, 1, 6), ist besonders in den Kosmogonien häufig (s. o.), wenn es z. B. Taitt. Br. II, 2, 9, 1 heisst: das Nichtseiende tat den Wunsch (manoś'kuruta'): "Ich möge sein." Die zweite Bedeutung wird gesichert durch Stellen wie den Rangstreit der Lebensäusserungen: wenn das manas den Menschen verlasst, ist er wie ein Narr, der ohne Intelligenz sieht usw.

Diese zweite Bedeutung ist wichtig fur die weitere Geschichte des Begriffs: Yājñavalkya identifiziert brahman = ātman mit der Intelligenz (vijñāna) und nimmt damit diese Funktion dem manas fort; fur ihn ist ātman die reine (d. h. objektlose, Brh. Up. IV, 4, 2; 5, 15; nie ermudende, ib. IV, 3, 23ff; nicht erkennbare ib. III,4, 2; 8, 11) Intelligenz (als blosse Potenz), die empirisch in der Vielheit der einzelnen Erlebensakte erscheint; Yājñavalkya erkennt alle Lebensäusserungen (deren er zwölf aufzahlt, s. u.) als gleicherweise geistige Funktionen: der ātman ist tejas, die prāṇa sind tejomātrā (Brh. Up. IV, 4, 1. 7), ohne dass sie zu ihm etwa ausdrucklich im Verhaltnis von Ursache und Wirkung ständen: das tun sie erst bei Pratardana (Kauṣ. Up. III) der aus prajñā = ātman die Lebensausserungen = prajñāmātrā hervorgehen lässt. Das Verhaltnis des einen Subjekts zur Vielheit seine Organe ist damit zum Problem geworden (vgl. Kauṣ. Up. III, 2 mit NS I, 1, 16, Vaiś. S. III, 2, 3), während fruhen die Lebensäusserungen selbstandige Faktoren gewesen waren. Und ausserdem ist mit Yājñavalkyas ātman-Subjekt-Vorstellung das Problem der Arten des Bewusstseins wichtig geworden: seine Verbindung mit

Objekten im Wachen, sein Schaffen von Objekten im Traum und seine Objektslosigkeit im Tiefschlaf.

Bei Yājñavalkya behält demnach manas nur die Funktion des saṁkalpa (Bṛh. Up. II, 4, 11; IV, 5, 12); und dhyāna in Kauṣ. Up. III, 5 (vgl. Chānd. Up. VII, 6) wird demnach als 'begehrendes Denken' (wie in den alten Kosmogonien) zu verstehen sein. Jetzt erlangt (āpnoti, s. o.) der ātman mit seiner Intelligenz durch das Reden die Namen, jetzt lasst das Reden (ihn) den Namen erkennen, wie das Gesicht die Gestalten usw. (Kauṣ. Up. III).

Yājñavalkyas andere Leistung für die Psychologie ist die, dass er die Zahl der Lebensausserungen erhöht: er nennt als erster die fünf buddhīndriya und fünf karmendriya (Bṛh. Up. II, 4, 11; III, 2, 2ff; IV, 3, 23ff; 5, 12; vgl. meine Nyāyasūtra Anm. 200) und stellt neben sie manas und hṛdaya. Sein Tastorgan ist Haut, die die Empfindungen 'fühlt' (vedayate, ib. III, 2, 9); Pratardana nennt statt dessen den Körper (śarīra Kauṣ. Up. III, 5; vgl. Chānd. Up. VIII, 12; aśarīram vāva santam na priyāpriye spṛśataḥ; vgl. Ait. Up. I, 1, 4), und zwar als Sinnesorgan für sukha und duḥkha.

Hier ist der Punkt, wo die buddhistische Psychologie von den Upaniṣaden abzweigt. Buddha leugnet den ātman, und seine fünf 'skandha' ähneln daher den fünf 'Lebensäusserungen' aus der alten Zeit, als sie noch selbständige Grössen waren. Die reine Intelligenz behalt Buddha als vijñāna-skandha bei. Diese Intelligenz tritt begleitet von der jeweiligen Sinnesempfindung empirisch als Sehbewusstsein usw. in Erscheinung, ähnlich wie bei Yājñavalkya und Pratardana, und sie ist ferner das Erleben von Lust und Leid, d. h. das Organ für die Wahrnehmung der skandha: saṁjñā, vedanā, saṁskāra und vijñāna: es ist also das Erleben der Funktionen des alten manas, und daher wird manas im Buddhismus als Synonym von vijñāna verwendet.

Diese Funktionen des manas fasst Buddha mit Hinzufügung anderer unter dem skandha saṁskāra zusammen: hrī, vicikitsā śraddhā und aśraddhā sind mit den selben Funktionen des manas identisch; cetanā ähnelt kāma, kratu usw.; smṛti ist in Ait. Up. (s. o.) aufgeführt; prajñā ist etwa mit dhī, chanda mit saṁkalpa zusammenzustellen (Dhammasaṁgaṇi 62; Stcherbatsky, Central Con-

ception, S. 100 ff). Zu saṁskāra rechnet Buddha auch sparśa, d. h. die Sinnesfunktion der alten prāṇa cakṣus und śrotra, resp. der fünf buddhīndriya Yājñavalkyas.

Der skandha vedanā ist die Empfindung von Lust, Unlust und Gleichgültigkeit. Wenn Pratardana Lust und Unlust dem Tastorgan (Körper) zuwies und auch Yājñavalkya das Tastorgan 'empfinden' lies, so lasst Buddha in der Reihe der nidāna vedanā auf sparśa folgen und nennt das Tastorgan 'Körper' (kāya). Für Buddha waren diese Empfindungen, und vor allem die zu den beiden des Pratardana hinzugefügte dritte : Gleichgültigkeit, der Zentralpunkt seiner weltentsagenden Lehre; Yājñavalkya nennt zwar alles ausser brahman 'ārttam' (Brh. Up. III, 4, 2; 5, 1; 7, 23), aber in seiner und Pratardanas Psychologie spielen diese Begriffe noch keine Rolle.

Der skandha rūpa ist neu : die fünf skandha sollen eben mehr umfassen als die alten fünf prāṇa, namlich nāma (= skandha 2-5) und rūpa, alle empirischen (saṁskṛta) Phanomene. Wenn umgekehrt der prāṇa = Odem in der Reihe der skandha fehlt, so ist das vielleicht damit zu erklären, dass er bei Yājñavalkya (Bṛh. Up. III, 9, 9; IV, 4, 7) und Pratardana mit ātman = prajñā (resp. vijñāna) identifiziert, andererseits als Geruchsorgan umgedeutet war. Man beachte, dass der prāṇa auch im Sāṁkhya kein selbstandiges Organ ist.

Saṁjñā schliesslich ist das begriffliche Erkennen, der Fortsetzer der vāc; und noch in der späteren Vorstellung verrät sich der Zusammenhang mit dem 'Wort' : saṁjñā ist nach Stcherbatsky (Central Conception, S. 100) 'faculty of concepts (capable of coalescing with a word' (vgl. Dasgupta S. 96 und 133; Keith, Buddhist Phil. S. 86).

Die andre buddhistische Klassifizierung der empirischen Phanomene als 'sechs āyatana' zeigt in dieser, schon im Terminus erkennbaren denkbar engen Verbindung subjektiver und objektiver Phänomene den historischen Zusammenhang mit Pratardanas korrelativen prajñā- und bhūta-mātrā. Die dritte buddhistisch Klassifizierung nach 'dhātu' fügt den zwölf Phanomenen der 'āyatana' noch sechs entsprechende vijñāna-Phänomene hinzu, wie Pratardana neben die prajñā- und bhūta-mātrā die prajñā stellt, die durch die jeweiligen prajñāmātrā erkennt.

An Yājñavalkya knüpft andererseits die Psychologie des Sāṁkhya an mit der Lehre, dass der puruṣa reine Intelligenz (citi-śakti) als ewige, nicht empirische, nicht von Objekten affizierte Potenz ist. Dementsprechend ist das ālocanamātra der Sinne (ähnlich dem sparśa Buddhas) blosse, ungeistige Sinnlichkeit wie die prajñāmātrā Pratardanas. Manas gilt im Sāṁkhya wie bei Yājñavalkya als saṁkalpaka und steht wie bei Yājñavalkya und den Buddhisten neben den fünf buddhīndriya. Aber ahaṁkāra und buddhi, die zwischen manas und das eigentliche Subjekt eingeschoben werden, sind eigentümliche Sāṁkhya-Begriffe, dem Dualismus entsprungen, der Lehre, dass die Ich-Vorstellung nur ein Irrtum (abhimāna) der Materie sei. Andererseits spielen die 'Empfindungen' im Sāṁkhya wegen seiner besonderen Erlösungslehre (jñāna-mārga) keine grosse Rolle.

Die andere psychologische Begriffsreihe der kleśa und bhāva, eine sozusagen theologische Psychologie, ist im Yoga der Brahmanen, Buddhisten und Jaina ausgebildet (vgl. Jacobi, Der ursprüngliche Yoga).

Das Vaiśeṣika hat diesem Bestand psychologischer Begriffe in seiner Aufzählung der Eigenschaften der Seele nichts hinzugefügt ausser dem prayatna, der mit dem kriyāvāda des Vaiśeṣika zusammengehört. Es hat aber das Verdienst, das Interesse auf die Erkenntnistheorie gerichtet zu haben, und hat damit ein neues psychologisches Gebiet in der Betrachtung von Zweifel und Irrtum, Erinnerung, Wiedererkennen, Assoziation und Selbstbewusstsein[1] erschlossen; auf diesem Gebiet entdeckte der Sāṁkhya-Yoga den 'saṁkalpa' im Gegensatz zum Begriffsrealismus des Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, das Denken von Begriffen ohne objektives Korrelat.

Neben dieser Psychologie der Philosophen steht schliesslich noch die der Dramatiker und Poetiker: die rasa-bhāva-Lehre.

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1 Ranade, Constructive Survey, S. 273 möchte das Selbstbewusstsein schon als wesentlicher Bestandteil der Yājñavalkya-lehre erweisen. Dafür könnte man nur Bṛh. Up. IV, 3, 20: "aham evédam sarvo-smi" anführen (was R. nicht tut): das ist aber ein mystisches Erlebnis. Ein empirisches Selbstbewusstsein, ein rationales Erkennen des Subjekts, hat Yājñavalkya ausdrücklich geleugnet (II, 4, 14; IV, 5, 15; III, 4, 2; 8, 11,

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"The Vedic Dharma is like a river which has shallows that a child may play in, and depths which the strongest diver cannot fathom."

Svasti na Indro Vrddhaśravāḥ svasti naḥ Pūṣā Viśvavedāḥ, svasti nastārkṣya Ariṣtanemiḥ svasti no Bṛhaspatirdadhātu.

In times out of mind, the truth — every-thing visible or perceptible is but a manifestation of *Brahma*.— was revealed to Indian seers and they with their mind absorbed in that great Being (Brahma) sung — " May Indra, who is invoked by many, make us immortal; May Pūṣā, the omniscient, grant us immortality; may Tārkṣya with unblemished weapons bestow on us immortality; may Brhaspati also lead us to immortality. In that good old age people would take a cheerful view of life. Pessimism was quite unknown to them. Everything visible around them was cheerful and conducive to their health and happiness. They would invoke gods to shower blessings on them and to fulfil their desires. They would not like to come in contact with sorrow. Of sorrows death is the bitterest, so they would try their best to shun it. The motto of their life was to live and not to die [1]. In short, to attain permanent and unblemished joy was the key-note of their life [2]. But how to attain it ? This question occupied their mind and they applied themselves busily to find out its solution.

The mysterious phenomenal world with its beauty and grandeur attracted their notice and led them think there must be some unknown power to create it and it was their endeavour to unfold it. The truth they arrived at was — " The wind brings sweet rewards to them who offer oblations unto fire, the rivers sweet waters and the herbs sweet viands ". Further they implored — " May night

1 Mā na bhūvam, bhūyāsam.

2 Yenāhaṁ nāmṛtaḥ syāṁ kimahaṁ tena kuryām.

and morn be nectarine ; may the regions of earth be full of nectar ; may heaven, our protector, be propitious to us ; may Vanaspati be possessed of sweetness ; may the sun be imbued with nectar and may cattle be nectarine to us [1]. This in the Ṛgveda is followed by— " May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryamā, Indra, Bṛhaspati and Viṣṇu of great might be propitious to us." By virtue of their deep meditation they saw that the three strides of Viṣṇu are full of nectar and that the highest stride is the fountain-head of *madhu* (ṚV. 1. 154. 4-5). This highest region of Viṣṇu the seers saw unopposed with their eyes of Śāstras like eyes ranging over the wide sky [2]. This highest region is known as *Brahmaloka* and is attained to by *karma*. Thus far and no further is the limit of it. *Karma*, no doubt, is the means of three human pursuits. Performance of *Dharma* depends on wealth which is earned by *karma*. Objects of desire too cannot be had without *karma*. But the fourth end of human life, the *mokṣa*, cannot be attained to by men or money or by learning [3]. To give up desires is the only path to salvation. By *Jñananga Upasanā* alone one can go beyond this *loka* and realise his own self.

The Vedic Upāsanās may chiefly be divided into two sections—*Jñānāṅga Upāsanā* and *Karmāṅga Upāsana*. The former may be performed independently or along with actions, such as, sacrifices, worship with offerings etc. The *Udgītha Upāsanā* referred to in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (1. 1-3) is included in *Karmāṅga Upāsanā*. Upaniṣads deal principally with Jñānāṅga Upāsanās and they are commonly known as *Vidyās*, such as, *Pañcāgnī Vidyā*, *Saṁvarga Vidya*, *Śāṇḍilya Vidyā* etc. The subject matter of our present essay is *Madhu Vidyā* or the *Upāsanā* that makes one *Madhu* or immortal. This *vidyā* shows an inter connection between two sorts of *upāsanās* mentioned before and tries to establish the pure Vedāntic doctrine as expounded by Śaṁkara, which is monism pure and simple. In this one has to proceed from the crude to the subtile form. The underlying principle of the *Vidyā* is *the like has tendency for the like.*

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1 Madhu Vātā ṛtāyate etc. ṚV. 1. 90. 6, VS. 13. 27, TS. 4. 2. 9. 3, MS. 2. 7. 16, KS. 39. 33, ŚB. 14, 3. 3. 11, TA. 10. 10. 2, Bṛh. Upa. 6. 3. 11, Mah. Nār. Upa. 9, 8. etc.

2 Tad-Viṣṇoḥ Paramam padam etc. ṚV. 1. 22. 20.

3 Na prajayā na dhanena na bahu śrutena etc. and Amṛtatvasya hi nāśati vittena.

In the Ṛgveda (1. 90. 6) we find the germ of the *vidyā* but the whole matter lies there in a diffused state. Such is the condition of the thing in the *Sama* and the *Yajurvedas*. In the Atharvaveda (9. 1. 1) we find a hymn addressed to *Madhu-Kaśa* (Honey-whip [1]) which explains this *Vidya* in a systematic way. This whip is called the daughter of the *Maruts*, the mother of the *Ādityas*, and life of all creatures. Further it is said that this springs from sky, earth, atmosphere, ocean, fire and wind. It is identified with immortality. It goes on saying "Of it there came to be an all-formed embryo ; this when born and tender its mother fills ; it when born looks abroad on all existences". The same idea is repeated in another way — " Earth is the staff, atmosphere the embryo, sky the whip and lightning the snapper of gold. He who knows the seven honeys of the whip — the Brāhmana, the king, the milch-cow, the draft ox, rice and barley — becomes rich in honey. The whole world is rich in honey. He conquers who knows thus." That this immortality may be attained to through performance of sacrifices is hinted at here as also in the verse 18. 4. 57 of the *Atharva Veda*. " For the living and for the dead, the brook of *ghee*, the honey-streamed, overflows." We find also there in the Atharvaveda (10. 10. 29) that the seed of the cow was quartered ; the waters a quarter, the sacrifice a quarter, the amrta a quarter and the domestic animals a quarter. If this is gone through carefully it will be seen that the hymn tries to explain the relation existing between causes and effects. One unveiling this relation becomes immortal.

An enquiry about this relation gave rise to different philosophical systems. These systems are *Dvaita*, *Dvaitādvaita* or *Advaita* in as much as the cause and effect are different, different and non-different and identical respectively. *Madhuvidyā* aims at proving that the cause and effect are but one and the same thing. They are, in no way, different from each other. This cause, the nature whereof is known by *Madhuvidyā*, is devoid of *Svajātīya*, *Vijātīya* and *Svagata bheda*.

The "Honey-Hymn" of the *Atharvaveda*, I believe, is the source of the *Madhu Brāhmaṇa* of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (II. 5),

1 The *Madhumatī Kaśā* of the *Aśvinī Kumāras* is mentioned in 1. 22. 3 and 1. 157. 1 of the Ṛgveda.

which explains the relation that exists between the phenomenal world and *Brahma*, the ultimate cause. The first *mantra* of the *Brāhmaṇa* runs thus :—

"This visible earth is the effect of the accumulated result of the actions of all creatures in as much as it owes its existence to this. These creatures again are the effect of this earth as they are affected by it. The soul pervading this earth and the soul within the body of creatures are causes and effects reciprocally, as the earth is produced by individual souls [1] and they are in their turn affected by this world [2]. Thus these four — the earth, the creatures, the soul of the earth and the soul of creatures — are mutually related as causes and effects. This proves that they must have sprung out from common properties Because it is seen in this world that things which are reciprocally causes and effects come of a common origin and possess common properties. But this common source of all things, the ultimate cause, which is beyond them all, is not affected by any one of these. Likewise it has been stated that waters, creatures, the soul of waters and the soul of creatures have a common stock and they are related as causes and effects and that *Brahma*, the ultimate cause, is not affected by them. It then proceeds to show that fire, wind, sun, quarters, moon, lightning, cloud, sky, *Dharma*, truth and *Jāti* : all these are effects of creatures and the creatures are the effects of them all. These, their individual souls, the creatures and souls of creatures are reciprocal causes and effects. Thus, as before, all of them must have descended from a common source which is not affected by any one of these. Next it goes on to show that the *Puruṣa* known as *Hiraṇyagarbha* is the effect of all creatures and all creatures in their turn are effects of this *Hiraṇyagarbha*. The soul of this *Puruṣa* and the soul of creatures are mutually cause and effect and so on.

We find elsewhere that the presiding deities of fire, wind, sun, quarters, trees, moon, death and water, appeared rendering the body of *Hiraṇyagarbha*, and they entering into human bodies presided over their speech, breath, sight, ears, hair, mind, *prāṇa* and generating power in order. *Paramātmā* in the form of *Īśvara* entered

1 Jāgradādi vimokṣāntaḥ saṁsāro jīvakalpitaḥ—Pañcadaśī

2 Kaṭha I. 3. 3.

into all created things and gave them their names and shapes [1]. Cosmogony in a slightly modified form is described in the Māṇḍūkya, Taittirīya and other Upaniṣads.

According to the Vedānta Philosophy *Ātmā* is the only reality and every thing else is *Māyā* [2]. The creation is the evolution of this *Māyā*. The *Māyā* with its *āvaraṇa* and *vikṣepa śakti* affects the *Jīvātmā*. Resultant of actions is indeed the prop of *Avidyā*, so it may go up or come down. *Jīva* owing its existence to his *Karma-phala* becomes subject to virtue or vice, happiness or misery and heaven or hell. This is what is known by the bondage of *Jīva*. This the *Jīva* cuts asunder when he realises his identity with *Paramātmā* or *Brahma*. *Paramātmā* lords it over all beings and is the king of them all, as all creatures, all gods (fire etc.), all worlds, and all desires dedicate themselves to Him. This *Ātmā* is called *Apūrva* as it has no cause and it is called *Akārya* as it is not an effect of anything. There is nothing which is excluded from this, so it is called *Anapara*. There is nothing which is beyond this, so it is called *Abāhya*. This *Ātmā* or *Brahma* is to be worshipped and realised as it is the dearest of all [3]. For its realisation there are three and only three means. These are *Śravaṇam*, *Mananam* and *Nididhyāsanam* [4]. One is to hear from Vedic texts, to confirm it with argumentation not contrary to Vedas and after that to meditate upon it, till its realisation [5]. The sage Atharvā preached this *Vidyā* to Aśvins at first and then it got spread over the whole world.

The third chapter of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* is a development of this *Madhu Brāhmaṇa*. Efficacy of sacrifices has been shown in the previous chapter. Now it proceeds to show that the sun is the embodiment of the accumulated result of all sacrifices. Thus he is the resultant of actions of creatures. So with a view to reach a higher step one should worship the sun as *Brahma* when his mind has been purified by the performance of Vedic rites. The first *mantra* of the chapter runs thus :—

1 Aitareya II. 4 ; Muṇḍ. II ; Kaṭha II. 5. 8-13 ; Chānd. III. 14. 1, etc.

2 Ait. I. 1-3 ; Bṛh. 2. 5. 1 ; Taitti. 2. 1 ; etc.

3 Bṛh. 1. 4. 8 ; 2. 4. 5 ; 4. 3. 1.

4 Ātmā va are draṣṭavyaḥ śrotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsitavyaḥ.

5 Śrotavyaḥ śrutivākyebhyo mantavyaścopapattibhiḥ । Matvā sa satataṁ dhyeyaḥ, ete darśanahetavaḥ ॥

"The sun indeed is the honey of the gods. Of this heaven is the cross-beam, the sky is the hive and the rays in the shape of water vapours are the offspring". This certainly reminds us of the text -- oblations thrown into the fire go to the sun. From the sun proceeds rain, from rain come crops and from crops men[1]. The sun is called honey to gods as it gives them pleasure. It has been shown subsequently how the sun is a source of pleasure to *Vasus* and other gods. The eastern rays are the honey-cells on the east. The *Ṛks* produce honey after extracting the flower of the Ṛgveda. Ṛgveda here stands for the actions prescribed by this. The juices are the waters in the form of *Soma* juice, butter and milk, which are poured into fire. These being cooked they turn to be nectar. This nectar is carried to gods by *Agni* and they drink it. The *Ṛks* when employed in actions impressed the flower, the Ṛgveda, and from it proceeds, as essence, fame, resplendence, the senses, strength and health. The essence flowed out and went to the sun and formed the red light of the rising sun. To worship the sun as *Brahma* is indeed for the purpose of drinking this stored up honey in the sun.

The rays pointing to the south are the honey cells to the south. The *yajus* are the bees or honey producers, the Yajurveda is the flower and those waters are the nectar. The *yajus* impressed the Yajurveda and from it proceeded as essence, fame etc. Waters everywhere mean *Soma* juice, butter and milk, as said before. The essence flowed out and went to the sun and appears as the white form of the sun.

Its western rays are honey-cells to the east. The *sāmas* are bees or honey producers and the *Sāma veda* is the flower and these waters are the nectar. The *sāmas* impressed the *Sāma veda* and from it proceeded, as essence, fame etc. The essence flowed out and went by the side of the sun and formed the black form of the sun.

The northern rays are the honey-cells on the north. *Atharvāṅgirasa* is the bees, the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas are the flowers. Those waters are the nectar. The *Ātharvāṇa* and *Āṅgirasa mantras*

1 **Agnau prāstāhutiḥ samyag Ādityam upatiṣṭhate । Ādityāj jāyate vṛṣṭir vṛṣṭer annaṁ tataḥ prajāḥ ॥**

being impressed produced, as essence, fame etc. This essence flowed out and went towards the sun and it is the extremely black form in the sun. It is a patent fact that *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* are employed at sacrifices.

Its upward rays are the honey-cells on the top. The secret instructions — instructions that cannot be disclosed — are the bees and *Brahma* itself is the flower. Those waters are the nectar. *Brahma* being impressed by secret instructions produce as essence, fame etc. This essence flowed out and went to the sun and it is what appears quivering in the centre of the solar disc. Instructions here mean injunctions and various meditations forming parts of actions. The word *Brahma* here does not mean *Paramātmā*, but the syllable " Om ".

It would not be out of place to state here that the germ of the process of *Trivṛtkaraṇa* is found here in these *mantras*. Subsequently it developed in VI. 4. 1-4, which again developed in *Pañcīkaraṇa* in later time.

The forms red and the rest are the essence of the essences : the Vedas are the essences and these are their essence. These indeed are the nectar of the nectars ; the Vedas are the nectars and these are their nectar.

These *mantras* are clearly eulogium to Vedic ceremonials. They speak in unison with the *Mīmāṁsā* philosophy that immortality cannot be attained to without the performance of Vedic sacrifices[1]. But in fact knowledge is the only means to immortality. *Karma* is only subsidiary to knowledge, even without it one may attain salvation. Vedic rituals only help *sattvaguṇa* to have its free play in the mind and makes one's body fit for the attainment of *Brahma*[2]. Besides, *jñāna* and *karma* cannot live together. So it is said in the *Sāṁkhya* philosophy that coldness cannot remove shivering, it rather increases it. It should be borne in mind that *karma*, though contrary to *jñāna*, yet should not be given up, as through purification of the mind it contributes towards salvation. *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, *Rāmāyaṇa* too speaks in the same strain — As the two wings of a bird

1 Āmnāyasya kriyārthatvāt ānarthakyam atadarthānām.

2 Mahāyajñaiśca yajñaiśca brāhmīyam kriyate tanuḥ—Manu.

help it to soar up in the sky, so one may go to the highest region, the abode of *Viṣṇu,* with the help of actions - cum-knowledge. Now let us come to our topic.

The *Vasus* with *Agni* at their head live upon the first nectar in the shape of the red form in the sun. Gods cannot eat or drink, they enjoy this essence by all their sense-organs and thus become satisfied. They retire into the colour and rise from this colour. One who knows this nectar becomes one of the *Vasus* and with *Agni* at his head retires to this colour and rises out of this colour. So long as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west, so long he attains the heavenly kingdom of the *Vasus.*

The *Rudras* live upon the second nectar in the shape of the white form with Indra at their head. Looking upon the nectar they are satisfied. They retire to this colour and rise out of it. One who knows this nectar becomes one of the *Rudras* and retires to this colour and rises out of this. So long as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west, twice as long does it rise to the south and set to the north; and so long does he attain the heavenly kingdom of the *Rudras.*

The *Ādityas* live on the third nectar with *Varuṇa* at their head. Looking upon this nectar they are satisfied. They retire into this colour and rise out of it. One who knows this nectar becomes one of the *Ādityas* and with *Varuṇa* at his head retires into this colour and rises out of it. So long as the sun rises in the south and sets in the north and twice as long does it rise in the west and set in the east, so long does he attain the heavenly kingdom of the *Ādityas.*

On the fourth nectar live the *Maruts* with *Soma* at their head. Looking upon this nectar they are satisfied. They retire into this colour and rise out of this. One who knows this nectar becomes one of the *Maruts* and *Soma* at his head retires into this colour and rises out of it. So long as the sun rises in the west and sets in the east, twice as long, does it rise in the north and set in the south, and so long does he attain the heavenly kingdom of the *Maruts.*

The *Sādhyas* live on the fifth nectar with *Brahma* at their head. Looking upon this they are satisfied. They retire into this colour

and rise from this. One who knows this nectar becomes one of the *Sādhyas* and with *Brahma* at his head, retires to this colour and rises from this colour. So long as the sun rises in the north and sets in the south, twice as long does it rise over head and set down below ; so long does he attain the heavenly kingdom of the *Sādhyas*.

Rising from thence upward he neither rises nor sets. He stands alone in the middle. After the creatures have experienced the effects of their sections they are taken with the sun himself. Meditating upon the sun, says *Yoga Sūtra*, one is furnished with the knowledge of the universe[1] and becomes conversant with the relation existing between himself, the world and *Brahma*. This is the severance of the bondage of *Māyā*.

The fifth and the sixth chapters of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* explain this very thing in a different way. The object of the Upaniṣad is to prove the fundamental proposition — Everything visible is Brahma indeed.

The third chapter of the *Brahma Sūtra* dealing with various *Upāsanās* is a digest of the Upāsanās lying scattered in the *Upaniṣads*.

From the time of *Upaniṣad* this passed to the Tāntric age and *Yaugic Upāsanā* took a different shape. *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra,* the chief of the *Tantras,* preaches pure Vedāntic doctrine. The principle underlying the *Tantras* may thus be described.

The solar rays, though pure themselves, appear to be black or blue as they come in contact with a black or a blue thing, or owing to defective eye-sight etc.; so individual souls owing to their contact with dirty *Vāsanās,* appear to be dirty though they themselves are pure like the bright rays of the sun. Individual souls, though confined to bodies, are in reality one with *Paramātmā.* So they are all-pervading, bright, incorporeal, pure and devoid of sins. They are eternal, subtile, imperishable and self-born. They are neither killers nor are they killed. They can neither be described by speech, nor are they perceptible by sense organs[2]. It is they

1 Sūryasaṁyamād bhuvanajñānam.

2 Yato vāco nivartante aprāpya manasā saha ; and also, avāṅmanasagocaraḥ etc.

from whom emanate all beings, on whom rest all beings and to whom enter all beings during the time of dissolution[1]. When *Jīvātmās* are free from bondage, the internal sense organs, talent, desire, patience etc. become instruments for their recognition. But Absolute Soul can in no way be indicated by anything. When getting the state of *Jīva* it is thus described in the *Upaniṣad*—Know *Ātmā* as the lord of the chariot, the body as the chariot, the *sattva* as the charioteer and the mind as the reins. The senses are said to be the horses, the objects of senses the path and *Ātmā*, the senses and the mind combined, the enjoyer (Kaṭha III. 3-4). There are five *kośas* (covers) in the body — Annamaya, manomaya, vijñānamaya, jñānamaya and ānandamaya. Of these each preceding one rests on each succeeding one. The *Sūtrātmā Jīva*, measuring a thumb, lives in the Ānandamaya kośa. It goes under five different stages. Firstly, it assumes the form of *Vaiśvānara* and lives in the gross body and guides it. This is the awakening state of *Jīva*. At this stage the *Jīva* enjoys temporal objects with 19 organs[2]. Secondly, it assumes the form of *Taijasa*. This is the dreaming state of *Jīva*. Now he, living in the subtile body, enjoys subtile objects of senses. In its third stage it is known as *Prājña*. This is the state of sound sleep. In this state *Jīva* confined to subtile body feels beatitude. 'A', 'U', 'M' and 'Om' are the indicators of these four different stages. As *Vaiśvānara* he lives in the right eye, as *Taijasa* in the mind, and as *Prājña* in the internal space. From within this space there arise a hundred veins each having 72000 branches[3]. So the total number of veins 7200,000. The principal airs blowing through these veins are styled *Prāṇa*, *Apāna*, *Samāna*, *Udāna* and *Vyāna* in accordance with their special functions. The five fires — *Gārhapatya*, *Dakṣiṇa*, *Āhavanīya*, *Sabhya* and *Āvasathya* are kept kindled by these five airs. The prime vein *Suṣumna* lying in the middle of the system reaches the centre of the cranium. The soul entering into this vein lives in a house of lotus called *Sahasrāra* with

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1 Yato vā imāni bhūtāni jāyante yena jātāni jīvanti yat prayantyabhisaṁviśanti tad vijijñāsasva tad Brahma.

2 Five organs of action, five organs of sense, five airs, manas, buddhi, ahaṁkāra and citta.

3 Praśna 3. 6 and Bṛh. 1. 19. For a fuller description of this see Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa and Dattātreya Ṣaṭcakraveda.

downward tips of petals. All the regions (Bhuḥ, Bhuvaḥ etc.), and all the gods (*Agni*, *Vāyu* etc.) are permanent dwellers there. One cognisant of this gets salvation.

Jīvatmā in accordance with his desires and actions undergoes a series of rebirth. Actions cannot stop them and vedic rites also are of no avail. It is stopped by true knowledge and to acquire this one should have recourse to Madhuvidyā. That self-knowledge cannot be attained to by *aparā vidyā* is illustrated by the anecdote of *Nārada* and *Sanatkumāra* in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (7. 1. 1-3). *Nārada* read carefully all the four *Vedas*, *Itihāsas*, *Purāṇas*, Arithmetic and Algebra, Physics, Chronology, Logic and Polity, Technology, Articulation, Ceremonials and Prosody, Science of Spirits, Archery, Astronomy and Astrology, Science of Antidotes, Fine Arts etc., and still he could not achieve peace of mind. So he came to *Sanatkumāra* to learn *Ātmavidya* that leads one beyond misery and makes him immortal. *Sanatkumāra* explained to him clearly how from speech proceeds mind, from mind resolution, from resolution *citta*, from *citta* meditation, from meditation intellect, from intellect power, from power food, from food water, from water light, from light sky, from sky remembrance, from remembrance hope, and from hope *Prāṇa*. One knowing this *Prāṇa* through meditation becomes Ativādī and can have the knowledge of *Brahma*, the source of all happiness.

Result of actions can only lead one to a higher or lower region but cannot bring about salvation. As an illustration of this, *Pañcāgni vidyā* shows how one, in consequence of his action, goes to heaven or hell and becomes eligible for final emancipation.

It has been said heretofore that though actions cannot bring about salvation still one should not give them up. Śaṁkara too says in his commentary that sacrifice, gift and penance should never be forsaken as they help one towards the purification of his mind. Madhuvidyā, we have shown before, establishes this fact clearly and satisfactorily. Purity of Soul may be achieved by men in all orders of their life. A house-holder is not barred from attaining true knowledge. Any one remaining in his own *āśrama* and doing actions prescribed for him in that order is eligible to realise his own

self. A particular person or caste cannot have monopoly of self-knowledge. Everyone has right of dealing in this in his own way.

The Vedic text — Vācārambhaṇaṁ vikāro nāmadheyam etc. — says Śaṁkara, is the real meaning of Madhu mantras in brief. One understanding it attains the state of *Amṛta* or Madhu. In other words, one becomes *Brahma* itself.

'All love is self-love'— is at the root of this *Vidyā* and this one realises when individual consciousness merges into universal consciousness. This is all, this is Brahma, this is the *Summum bonum* of life.

Pūrṇamidam pūrṇamadaḥ pūrṇāt pūrṇam udacyate ।

Pūrṇasya pūrṇam ādāya pūrṇam evāvaśiṣyate ॥

Om Śāntiḥ, Om Śāntiḥ, Om Śāntiḥ !

AVIDYĀ-PSYCHOLOGY — BY DR. R. SHAMASASTRY, B. A., Ph. D. MYSORE

BY DR. R. SHAMASASTRY, B. A., Ph. D. MYSORE

It is known to all that the theory of Advaita or non-dualism is based upon Avidyā or nescience. Māyā and Mūlāvidyā are its other names. The stock-examples by which its appearance and disappearance are explained in Vedāntic works are, to name only a few, the rope-serpent, the shell-silver, and mirage-water. It is within the experience of all that a rope is mistaken for a serpent, a shell for a piece of silver, and mirage for water. A man suddenly coming across a rope or a shell mistakes it either for a snake or a piece of silver respectively. He sees only a rope and only a shell. Still the sensation that occurs to him is that of a snake or that of a piece of silver. Where did the notion of snake or silver come from to him ? The philosophers of Advaita say that his sensation itself has taken the form of a snake or a piece of silver. Just as sensation takes various material forms in dream, so in waking state, too, it can take the form of a snake, a piece of silver, and various other things which affect men in diverse ways. These notions are called errors of sensation or of judgment. The Advaitins go a step farther and say that like the sensations of rope-serpent and shell-silver all our worldly notions and judgments which we are proud to regard as accurate sciences or historical judgments are erroneous and not at all true in the real sense of the word. Love and hatred, fear and courage, happiness and misery and all such opposites are all sensations affecting the physical and intellectual conditions of our constitution and having nothing to do with true and pure consciousness. Just as the rope is the basis of snake-sensation, so our pleasant and fearful things are material aspects of consciousness or sentiency. It is consciousness that appears in various material and immaterial forms of the world. In short the whole world is the creation of consciousness itself.

Our sensations are two-fold, objective and subjective. In objective sensations we have things corresponding to our sensations. In dream and reverie there are no things corresponding to our mental images. Objective sensations and judgments are termed

Vyāvahārika or explicable in terms of objects and their relations in a coherent way. Sensation in pure dream or waking dream are purely imaginary. In their origin both are the phenomena of consciousness itself. The difference between the two sensations lies in that the objective sensations last longer than dream-sensations. The reason for this difference is that the absence of things corresponding to dream and reverie sensations is cognised sooner than the objective sensations. Objective sensations are also two-fold: Vyāvahārika and Prātibhāsika. The sensation of a snake on seeing a rope is called Prātibhāsika, or merely sensational, inasmuch as there is no snake corresponding to its sensation. This erroneous sensation is set right either by examination of the thing mistaken or by correct information got from some reliable source. As contrasted from this erroneous sensation there are objective sensations which have things corresponding to them. These sensations of tangible things are termed Vyāvahārika, or sensations having things corresponding to them. They are more lasting than Prātibhāsika sensations and are productive of tangible effects. Unlike a rope-snake a real snake can bite and produce a deadly effect. Still the Advaitins look upon these Vyāvahārika sensations as no more real than Prātibhāsika sensations of rope-snake or shell-silver. Just as a rope is the basis for the sensation of a snake, so the basis for the sensations of all our objective things is consciousness itself called Brahma. Just as a rope is mistaken for a snake, so Brahma or eternal consciousness is mistaken for the world. If an individual thing is mistaken for something else, it is called erroneous sensation. In the case of the world, Brahma is mistaken for the world. This mistake is called Avidyā or Mūlāvidyā, primordial ignorance. In other words the world is as much a phenomenon of consciousnes as rope-snake or shell-silver. If a rope can appear as a snake, there is no reason to hold that some permanent entity does not appear as the world. It is as much a sensation as rope-snake. Regarding the momentary nature of the world the Buddhists say as follows :—

Yatprātastanna madhyāhne yan madhyāhne na tan niśi |
Nirīkṣyate bhave'smin hi padārthānām anityatā ||

What appears in the morning is not seen in the noon; what appears at noon is not seen at night; hence in the world things are not

permanent. Regarding their sensational nature they also say as follows :—

Sahopalambhaniyamād abhedo vastu-taddhiyoḥ ।

There is no difference between a thing and its perception since they are inseparably mixed in sensation. There is no proof either intrinsic or extrinsic to prove the existence of the thing in itself. The Buddhists say as follows :—

Na svato nāpi parato na dvābhyām nāpyahetutaḥ ।
Utpannā jātu vidyante bhāvāḥ kvacana kecana ॥

Things are not born of themselves, nor are they come into existence due to some external cause ; nor are they products of themselves combined with some external cause ; nor can it be said that they come of no cause whatever. Hence there is nothing whatever here or anywhere.

Then if there is nothing real and if everything is mere sensation, why do men feel pleased with their wives and sons and why do they weep for their death ? In answer to this question they say as follows :—

Utpādavyayabuddhiśca bhrāntānandādikāraṇam ।
Kumāryāḥ svapnavad jñeyā putrajanmādibuddhivat ॥

The idea of birth and death is an erroneous sensation like the dream of conjugal happiness of a maiden and like the sensation of happiness on the false information of the birth of a son and the like. According to the Buddhists there are two kinds of sensations ; they are called loka-saṁvṛti and tattva-saṁvṛti ; the former is a momentary sensation like rope-snake or shell-silver ; the latter is the sensation of objective things lasting for a greater duration than the former. The wrong sensations like those of a rope-snake and of shell-silver are momentary, because they are immediately followed by their correctives. In the case of the objective things of the world, however, their correctives are not known and learnt till a thorough study of logic and philosophy is made. Hence the sensation of the world lasts longer and appears to be more real than erroneous or dream sensations. It follows therefore that the world is merely a sensation and the serviceable aspect of objective things of the world

as contrasted from the unserviceable nature of Bhrama, or erroneous sensations, is like the conjugal happiness of a man with a maiden in dream. Except Vijñāna or sensation there is nothing in the world and that sensation also is momentary and no permanent entity. Accordingly the so-called world is nothing but a void, Śūnya. Birth and death of man is due to the persistence of impressions left behind by the chain of sensations. Thus there are two things conceived by the Buddhists, Vijñāna and its Vāsanā or impression. When Vijñāna itself takes the form of things, it is called Avidyā and it is not got rid of till philosophical inquiry is made. Vāsanā or the impression made and left behind by Avidyā gives rise not only to such erroneous sensations as rope-snake, shell-silver, and the like, but also to dream sensations. Both Avidyā and its Vāsanā remain as long as passions such as love, hatred, anger, greed, and the like are entertained. When these passions are got rid of by ascetic practice, the basis of Avidyā and its vāsanā is shattered, and with their disappearance nirvāṇa or extinction is attained with no seed of rebirth.

While criticising this Vijñānavāda of the Buddhists in his Ātmatattvaviveka, Udayana leads the way to Advaita as follows :—

Na grāhyabhedamavadhūya dhiyo'sti vṛttiḥ
Tadbādhake balini vedanaye jayaśrīḥ ।
No cedasatyamidamīdṛśameva viśvaṁ
Tathyaṁ Tathāgatamatasya tu ko'vakāśaḥ ॥

If there can be no sensation without the existence of differentiated things, then victory can be assigned to the powerful Vedānta philosophy which refutes the existence of differentiated things, of the objective world. If it is not so and if the world is true, as it is and as it appears to us, then where is room for the Buddhistic philosophy to accommodate itself ?

With a view to point out the victory of Advaita over Buddhism, he criticises the Vijñānavāda so as to lead the way to Advaita as follows :—

Astu tarhi śūnyataiva paramanirvāṇam iti cenna. Sā yadyasiddhā kathaṁ tadavaśeṣam viśvam ? Parataścet siddhā, paro'pyabhyupagan-

tavyaḥ. Sa ca paro yadi samvṛtireva, viśvaśūnyatayor na kaścid viśeṣaḥ. Katham tadapyavaśiṣyeta? Asaṁvṛtiścet paraḥ, parata eva siddhā, anavasthā. Svayamasiddhā cet, kathaṁ śūnyatvamapi sādhayet? Svatassiddhā cet, āyāto'si mārgena. Tathā hi Svatassiddhatayā tadanubhavarūpam. Śūnyatvādeva na tasya kālāvaccheda iti nityam. Ata eva na tasya deśavaccheda iti vyāpakam. Ata eva nirdharmakamiti vicāraspaṣṭam. Tasya dharmidharmabhāvamupādāya pravṛtteḥ. Ata eva tasya viśeṣābhāva iti advaitam. Prapañcasya apāramārthikatvādeva niṣpratiyogikamiti vidhirūpam. Avicāritaprapañcākṣepāttu śunyamiti vyavahāraḥ. Tathāpi prapañcaśūnyasya anubhavamātrasya prapañcena kassambandhaḥ, yenāyam prakāśate — iti cet, vastuto na kascit, samvṛtyā tu gaganagandharvanagarayorādhārādheyabhāva iva viṣayaviṣayibhāvaḥ. Sa ca yathā naiyāikaiḥ samarthayiṣyate tathaiva vedyaniṣṭhastvasāvasmin darśane iti viśeṣaḥ. Avidyaiva hi tathā tathā vivartate yathānubhavīyatayā vyavahryate tattanmāyopanītopādhibhedācca anubhūtirapi bhinneva vyavahārapathamavatarati gaganamiva svapnadṛṣṭaghatakatāhakotarakutīkotibhiḥ. Tadāstām tāvat kimārdrakavaṇijo vahitracintayeti.

It can not be that nothingness is the end. If nothingness is not proved, how can the ultimate end of the world be nothingness or empty void? If it can be proved by something else, then the existence of that something else must be accepted. If it be not accepted and if it be false, then there could be no difference between the world and its ultimate nothingness. It would be hard to understand the final aspect of it. If it be not false, then something that could prove it would have to be accepted. In support of that something some other thing would have to be accepted, and so on infinitely, which is absurd. If something else in support of the ultimate nothingness of the world could not be proved, then how could it prove the nothingness of the world? If that something is self-evident, then the Buddhist is caught in the Vedāntic trap. For that something must necessarily be experience which is self-evident. Since by hypothesis that experience is pure and unqualified, it must be unlimited by time and place, and accordingly it must be all-pervading. Hence it must be free from qualities and conditions and unanalysable. For it is from conditioned and qualified experience that activity comes into being. As pure experience is however unconditioned and unqualified, it is Advaita or non-dualistic.

Since the world is merely a phenomenon of that pure Experience and is therefore not real in itself, it (Experience) is the only positive whole. But when it is however questioned, with belief in the existence of the world and without any investigation, that Experience seems to be nothing or empty (śūnya). The question however is what is the connection between the world and that unalloyed and unblemished Experience, in virtue of which the world becomes perceptible ? In reality there is no real relation whatever between them. But owing to error of sensation and judgment (bhrama) there is objective and subjective relation between them, just as the sky is imagined to be the seat of an imaginary city. It is in this way that the logicians presume a connection between them and make them both real. But in the Advaita philosophy that relation is only in the knowable and not in the knower. Avidyā or primordial ignorance itself appears in as many forms as are spoken ot as experienced. Owing to the various conditions and forms in which Avidyā-sensation transposes itself, that undifferentiated experience becomes differentiated and expressible, just as the sky becomes the seat of a pot, a tank, a hole, a shed, and the like. Enough of this digression. What has a pedlar (like himself) dealing in ginger (Tarka) in a basket to do with shiploads of the same merchandise (Vedānta) ?

It is not without reason that the expounders of Advaita regard the world as a phenomenon of sentiency or consciousness. They support it by adducing proofs such as perception, inference, and implication (pratyakṣa, anumāna, and arthāpatti). The dualists say that the world is real, because it is perceptible. But perception is not in all cases trustworthy. For it represents the sky as blue, whereas it is not at all blue, if closely examined. Again it represents the moon to be a span in diametre, whereas it is many times larger than a span. It follows therefore that the eye and other senses represent things as being possessed of colour, length, and other qualities which they do not actually possess. Then what are the things in themselves apart from their qualities ? The qualities must necessarily be such as are imposed by the senses upon the things. This superimposition is called Adhyāsa. It is the eye that superimposes a snake on a rope, a piece of silver on a shell. These minor superimpositions are sooner or later got rid of because the

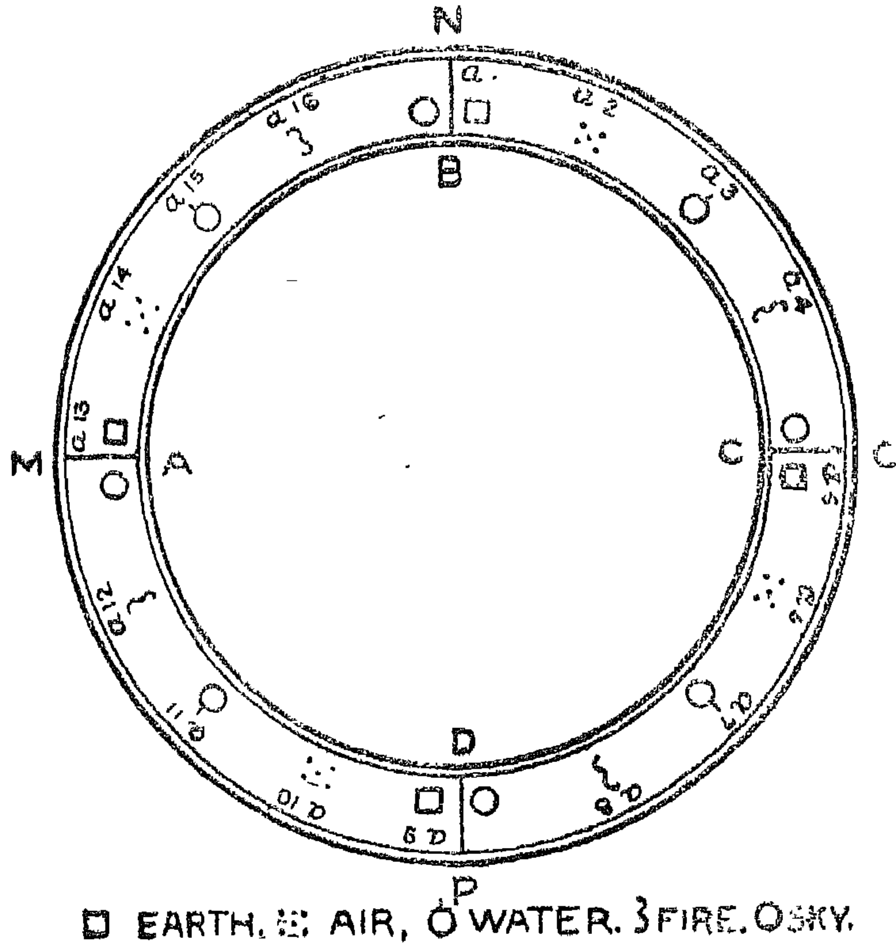
senses themselves have inference and other correctives to set right the error. In the case of the world however there are no correctives readily available without inquiry and investigation. This is supplied by the Śāstras which contain the results of the investigation conducted by ancient experts. Their conclusion is that as it appears the world is not real. This is an agreement with the conclusion arrived at by Kant that things in themselves are not known. According to him the senses superimpose upon the things categorical qualities and represent them as limited by time, place, and causality.

Likewise the unreality of the world can also be proved by syllogistic reasoning :—The world is unreal, because it is visible; whatever is visible is unreal. All visible things are ever changing and do not retain the same form long. Every perception consists of three factors : 1 the knower, 2 the knowable, and 3 the organ of knowing. The Advaitins are of opinion that only the knower is real and the other two are products of nescience and are therefore unreal. All visible things are as unreal as rope-snake and shell-silver; and are likewise products of nescience. Again the world is unreal, because it is unintelligent. Whatever is unintelligent is unreal like shell-silver. Intelligence is the only real thing. Similarly the world is unreal, because it is limited by time, place, and causality; what is thus limited is unreal like shell-silver or rope-snake.

Now if the world is as much a wrong sensation as rope-snake and shell-silver, what is it and where has it come from? Right sensation and wrong sensation are two aspects of consciousness. Both are psychological in their origin. In the view of the Dvaitins rope-snake and shell-silver and the like are wrong sensations, while the knowledge of the world and of sciences are classed under right sensations. In the view of the Advaitins however all objective knowledge is as unreal as the sensation of a rope-snake. In short sensation is all unreal, no matter whether it lasts for a long time or for a short time. Pure consciousness is self-sufficient and all-pervading; it can not be aware of any thing else, because there is no other thing. It is however enveloped by nescience, which, though without a beginning, has an end. With a view to make clear the conception of Avidya or nescience the Advaitins have pro-

pounded a theory of reflection or Bimba-pratibimba-bhāva. Brahma or pure Consciousness is a reflectible entity. Avidyā which surrounds it without affecting it is a pure reflector. The reflections of Consciousness on the surface of Avidyā are Jīvas or living souls. The blemishes of the reflector affect only the reflected Jīvas and not the reflectible Consciousness. Another reflection of Consciousness so large as to embrace within it all the Jīvas and other things is Iśvara or Lord of the World. The illustrative diagram drawn on the accompanying page will make the theory clear. ABCD is a circle representing Brahma or pure Consciousness. MNOP is another circle representing Avidyā enveloping it. The area between the two circles is the field whereon Māyā or Avidyā acts. Dots marked a^1, a^2, a^3, a^4, &c. are Jīvas, being the reflections of Brahma-Consciousness; the other figures in the area are life-less or inert objects, the products of the wonderful Avidyā. The Jīvas and the objects constitute the world. This whole world is pervaded by Iśvara who is represented by the area itself. Evidently Īśvara has all things and Jīvas within him and can thus see the whole as well as pure Consciousness itself. Unlike our worldly reflections, such as the reflections of the sun, moon, trees, mountains and the like in water, the reflections of Pure Consciousness have the power of thinking and doing due to the power of Māyā or Avidyā, the reflecting medium. Just as a man looking through a coloured mirror mistakes his face for the coloured reflection and thinks that his face is green or blue, so the reflection of Pure Consciousness called Jīva thinks that his body is short or long and that he can do this or that. He also looks upon other Avidyā-products as real and as being created for his own good or bad. If however he gives up his objective tendency which is entirely due to Avidyā, he can understand his own real nature and merging himself in the eternal Pure Consciousness can extricate himself from the Māyā trap. The difference between so many Jīvas is due to the medium of reflection and is not therefore real. Being himself a product of Avidyā, each Jīva regards the other Jīvas and things as different from himself and thus is a mass of erroneous sensations.

Just as a man coming across a piece of shell mistakes it for a piece of silver, so this Jīva mistakes Brahma for a man or a beast or a stone etc. If however he comes to know the true nature of him-



self, then he can understand that the other Jīvas and things are really Brahma-consciousness appearing as Jīvas and things like a rope appearing as a snake ; and thus free himself from the bondage of Māyā or Avidyā.

The definition of truth according to the Advaitin is knowledge or sensation that is not negatived or contradicted by any other knowledge or sensation at any time. Jñānābādhyaṁ jñānam pramā. Let us apply this definition to the sensasion of shell-silver. The first sensation is "this is silver". On close examination it is negatived or contradicted by later thought that it is not silver or

that it is merely a shell. Hence the first sensation is not true. Let us apply the definition to the sensation of a pot. On analysis the pot in question is resolved into the elementary things composing the clay of which the pot is made. By farther analysis following the Pañcīkaraṇa process those elements are reduced to Ākāśa or ether. Finally it is reduced to Brahma-Consciousness or mind-stuff. That final Consciousness is susceptible of no negation or contradiction. For sensation originating from Consciousness can not negative or contradict itself, provided it is not differentiated by any objective relation. Pure sensation can not be negatived or contradicted.

Again the Advaitins are of opinion that there are no two things as knowledge and knower. Knowledge and knowledge alone is the sole Being, as knower and knowledge can not be consistently explained. Knowledge or sensation is self-luminous. When Avidyā or the aspect of wrong sensation rising from consciousness creates a second thing like a rope-snake, then there appears the difference of knower and knowledge or sensation and possessor of sensation. It follows therefore that when undifferentiated, knowledge or consciousness remains single and has nothing to see or to show. Hence pure sentiency or consciousness does not admit of negation or contradiction concerning itself. All objective knowledge is a compound of many sensations and therefore admits of negation or contradiction. Pure consciousness is simple and consists of no subject, object, and predicative ideas. t is only objective knowledge that is made of subject, object and predicate and other ideas, and is therefore susceptible of negation or contradiction. Hence most of our sciences and histories are all liable to negation and contradiction. Hence they are the products of Avidyā.

Avidyā or Ajñāna is not a hypothetical assumption, but a positive psychological fact like adharma or immoral act. An adharmiṣṭha or immoral man does not mean a being devoid of moral sense or conduct. It signifies a man of bad conduct. Likewise Ajñāna means not a stone devoid of all sensation, but wrong sensation opposed to true sensation. For ajñāna is an aspect of consciousness and cannot therefore mean negation or absence of

sensation. In support of the existence of Ajñāna or wrong sensation along with right sensation the Advaitins adduce three kinds of evidence :— 1 perception, 2 syllogistic reasoning, and 3 Arthāpatti or implication. "I know nothing; I do not know myself; I slept happily, and I was aware of nothing." These and other expressions do not mean that the man uttering such expressions was devoid of consciousness like a stone. All that the expressions mean is that the man had consciousness, but was not aware of any particular sensations. This is the proof of perception called aparokṣa. The syllogistic proof in support of Ajñāna is as follows :— Right sensation is always preceded by wrong or doubtful sensation. Hence Ajñāna is followed by Jñāna or right sensation. It is known to every student of science that in the history of sciences right theories are preceded by wrong theories. As everything in the world has an efficient cause, wrong sensations like those of a snake on a rope and a piece of silver on a shell must necessarily have an efficient cause. The only efficient or material cause of wrong sensations is Ajñāna or ignorance. This is called the Arthāpatti evidence of wrong sensations being caused by Ajñāna. In the case of the world the efficient or material cause that gives rise to it is Mūlāvidyā or primordial ignorance.

From the above it is clear that the world consisting of animate and inanimate things is a mere sensation caused by man's ignorance of the nature of Brahma. Just as a rope is mistaken for a snake, so Brahma or Eternal Being, identical with pure Consciousness, is mistaken for the varied world. The world-sensation is due to Ajñāna called Avidyā, bearing Māyā and other names. With a view to distinguish between Īśvara, the Omniscient Lord of the world, and Jīva, the soul of limited knowledge, Māyā and Avidyā are distinguished. The former is regarded pure knowledge of causality, and Avidyā as confusion worse confounded. Still both are wrong aspects of Ajñāna-consciousness, in virtue of which both Īśvara and Jīva are full of egotism, Ahaṁkāra. But Īśvara knows both himself and the Jīva, while the latter is sunk in utter ignorance. Both are however reflections of Brahma-consciousness on the pure and impure surfaces of Avidyā or Ajñāna called Māyā and Mūlāvidyā respectively.

All our worldly knowledge, whether scientific or unscientific is all based upon the false identification of Pure Consciousness with the physical body and the intellect in order to satisfy the cravings of the latter. Pure and Eternal Consciousness called Sat-cit-ānanda can not have cravings or need.

This Ajñāna is as it were an envelope to Brahma and being covered over with it as fire with smoke or as the Sun or Moon with halo, Brahma becomes invisible to Jīva, if not to Īśvara. The halo-like Ajñāna is the nature of Consciousness itself, inasmuch as Jñāna and Ajñāna are two aspects of Consciousness itself. Hence Ajñāna aspect is as anādi or beginning-less as the Jñāna aspect, like heat and light of fire. Just as heat and light radiate outwards and not inwards, so the Jñāna and Ajñāna aspects of Consciousness are directed outwards. Pure Consciousness is like fire without radiating heat and light.

Thus the Jñāna and Ajñāna aspects of Pure Consciousness are capable of taking the form of the material world and thereby deluding the Jīva or Jīvas. There are not many Jīvas. The Jīva principle is one and the difference between one Jīva and another is due to the physical environment, which is also a product of Avidyā or Ajñāna.

FRAGMENTS FROM BRAHMA-NANDIN

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It is proposed to bring together here the few quotations from Brahma-nandin[1] which are traceable in Sanskrit philosophical works. B. is known to have commented upon the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* ; and his commentary, styled *Vākya*, seems to have been explained by Dramiḍācārya[2]. The two thinkers are consequently often found referred to respectively as *Vākya-kara and Bhaṣya-kāra*. B. was otherwise called Taṅka[3] and Atreya and Atri-vaṁśya-muni[4], the last title indicating that he was an ascetic. Nothing is known as regards where or when he lived. All that can be stated definitely is that he was long anterior to Śaṁkara ; for, according to Ānanda-jñāna[5], he refers to Dramiḍacārya in his commentary on the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. For the rest, B. is ' like one of the fixed stars in the Indian literary firmaments — a mere point of light wherein we can detect nothing that belongs to our earth or material existence '. The fact that he is styled a *Vākya-kāra* and his commentator, a *Bhāṣya-kāra* raises an interesting question : Had B's *vākyas* a direct reference to the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* ? Or were they intended only to supplement a *Sūtra*

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1 Hereafter referred to as B. The following are the other abbreviations used in this Paper :— BB. = Bhāskara's *Bhāṣya* on *Vedānta-sūtras* ; KT. = *Kalpa-taru* on *Bhāmatī*, Vācaspati's com. on Śaṁkara's *Śārīraka-bhāṣya* ; ŚB. = *Śrī-bhāṣya* of Rāmānuja (First Four Sūtras) Nir. Sag. Press ; ŚP. = *Śruta-prakāśikā* on the *Śrī-bhāṣya* (First Four Sūtras), Nir. Sag. Press ; SŚ. = *Saṁkṣepa-Śārīraka* ; TD. = *Tātparya-dīpikā*, com. on Rāmānuja's *Vedārtha-saṁgraha* (Benares Edn., 1914) ; TT. = *Tattva-ṭīkā*, Vedānta Deśika's com. on the *Śrī-bhāṣya* (Conjeeveram Edn.) ; VAS. = *Vedārtha-saṁgraha* of Rāmānuja (Benares Edn., 1914) ; and VS = *Vedānta-sūtras*.

2 See, e. g., SŚ. iii. 217 & 221 ; cf. also TT. p. 138. As regards Dramiḍācārya, see Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri's Paper in the Report of the Third Oriental Conference, pp. 468–73.

3 See TD. p. 148.

4 SŚ. iii, 217 & 218.

5 III, viii–x. See also Ānanda-jñāna's Gloss on Śaṁkara's Introduction to the Upaniṣad.

already existing on the Upaniṣad ? The analogy of *Vyākaraṇa* which reckons a *Sūtra-kāra* in addition to a *Vākya-kāra* and a *Bhāṣya-kāra* would suggest the existence of such a *Sūtra* ; but there is nothing to enable us to reach a final decision in the matter[1].

As regards the particular shade of Vedānta which B. advocated, there is the same uncertainty. Each of three different schools—those of Śaṁkara, Bhāskara and Rāmānuja — claims, as we shall see, his support for what is distinctive of its teaching. The Advaitins cite him in support of *vivarta-vāda* ; Bhāskara, of *pariṇāma-vāda* ; and Rāmānuja, of the doctrine of *bhakti* as he conceives of it. The *vākyas* of B. that we have are so few and so cryptic that nothing definite can be made out from them. We shall accordingly arrange the Fragments in three groups, interpreting each according to the school that quotes it and without attempting to reconcile or criticize those interpretations. We shall begin with the group found in Viśiṣṭādvaita works, they being the largest in number. Where a Fragment consists of more *vākyas* than one, they are regarded as being continuous owing to the manner in which they have been interpreted; but it is possible that they are not so in some cases —

A[2]

Fragment I — वेदनमुपासनं स्यात् तद्विषये श्रवणात् । सकृत्प्रत्ययं कुर्यात् शब्दार्थस्य कृतत्वात्प्रयाजादिवत् । सिद्धं तूपासनशब्दात् । उपासनं स्यात् ध्रुवानुस्मृतिः दर्शनान्निर्वचनाच्च ॥ (ŚB. p. 34)

Translation — 'The word *vedana* should stand for "meditation", for it is used in that sense. (But it may be objected that Brahman) is to be thought of (only) once, since that would suffice for accomplishing what is taught in the scripture as in the case of the *prayajas* and the like.

1 ŚP. throughout assumes B. to have come after a *Sūtra-kāra*, but obviously it has only Bādarāyaṇa in view. See in this connection Dr. Belvalkar's interesting discussion in the 'Indian Philosophical Review', Vol. ii, pp. 152-4 and in his more recent book on Vedānta Philosophy (Shree Gopal Basu Mallik Lectures) · Part I, pp. 139ff.

2 The Nirnaya Sag. Edn. throughout wrongly identifies B.'s *Vākya* with Bodhāyana's *Vṛtti*.

(No ; *vedana*) does mean (meditation)[1] owing to the (use of the) term *upāsana* (in the same context).[2] By *upāsana* is meant " firm recollection ", since there is the authority of the *Śruti* as well as that of the *Smṛti* for it '.[3]

Note — The reference here is to the means of attaining release. The word which the Upaniṣad uses in this connection is *veda* which is taken as equivalent to ' should meditate upon'. This is the *siddhānta*. It is suggested as a *prima facie* view that the word might not mean *repeated* thinking but only thinking *once*. What the Veda prescribes, it is added, is to be done only once, as e. g. in the case of the *prayāja* or ' fore-sacrifice '. This objection is met by the statement that that is only a general rule which does not apply to the present case[4], for the word *upāsana*, about whose significance there is no such doubt, is used as an alternative to it. The word *upāsana* is next taken as meaning ' firm recollection ', the difference between the two being that while the former signifies ' discontinuous meditation ' (*pratyayāntara-vyavahita*), the latter is continuous (*pratyayāntarāvyavahita*). At this specification of the means, B's statement stops; but two other features—vividness and love—should characterize the means of release if it should be *bhakti* as understood by Rāmānuja.[5] So it is presumed that they

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already existing on the Upaniṣad ? The analogy of *Vyākaraṇa* which reckons a *Sūtra-kāra* in addition to a *Vākya-kāra* and a *Bhāṣya-kāra* would suggest the existence of such a *Sūtra* ; but there is nothing to enable us to reach a final decision in the matter[1].

As regards the particular shade of Vedānta which B. advocated, there is the same uncertainty. Each of three different schools— those of Śaṁkara, Bhāskara and Rāmānuja — claims, as we shall see, his support for what is distinctive of its teaching. The Advaitins cite him in support of *vivarta-vāda* ; Bhāskara, of *pariṇāma-vāda* ; and Rāmānuja, of the doctrine of *bhakti* as he conceives of it. The *vākyas* of B. that we have are so few and so cryptic that nothing definite can be made out from them. We shall accordingly arrange the Fragments in three groups, interpreting each according to the school that quotes it and without attempting to reconcile or criticize those interpretations. We shall begin with the group found in Viśiṣṭādvaita works, they being the largest in number. Where a Fragment consists of more *vākyas* than one, they are regarded as being continuous owing to the manner in which they have been interpreted ; but it is possible that they are not so in some cases —

A[2]

Fragment I — वेदनमुपासनं स्यात् तद्विषये श्रवणात् । सकृत्प्रत्ययं कुर्यात् शब्दार्थस्य कृतत्वात्प्रयाजादिवत् । सिद्धं तूपासनशब्दात् । उपासनं स्यात् ध्रुवानुस्मृतिः दर्शनान्निर्वचनाच्च ॥ (ŚB. p. 34)

Translation — "The word *vedana* should stand for "meditation", for it is used in that sense. (But it may be objected that Brahman) is to be thought of (only) once, since that would suffice for accomplishing what is taught in the scripture as in the case of the *prayājas* and the like.

1 ŚP. throughout assumes B. to have come after a *Sūtra-kāra*, but obviously it has only Bādarāyaṇa in view. See in this connection Dr. Belvalkar's interesting discussion in the 'Indian Philosophical Review', Vol. ii, pp. 152-4 and in his more recent book on Vedānta Philosophy (Shree Gopal Basu Mallik Lectures) · Part I, pp. 139ff.

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Note — The reference here is to the means of attaining release. The word which the Upaniṣad uses in this connection is *veda* which is taken as equivalent to 'should meditate upon'. This is the *siddhānta*. It is suggested as a *prima facie* view that the word might not mean *repeated* thinking but only thinking *once*. What the Veda prescribes, it is added, is to be done only once, as e. g. in the case of the *prayāja* or 'fore-sacrifice'. This objection is met by the statement that that is only a general rule which does not apply to the present case[4], for the word *upāsana*, about whose significance there is no such doubt, is used as an alternative to it. The word *upāsana* is next taken as meaning 'firm recollection', the difference between the two being that while the former signifies 'discontinuous meditation' (*pratyayāntara-vyavahita*), the latter is continuous (*pratyayāntarāvyavahita*). At this specification of the means, B's statement stops; but two other features—vividness and love—should characterize the means of release if it should be *bhakti* as understood by Rāmānuja.[5] So it is presumed that they

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also were acceptable to B., particularly as the scriptures, it is said, recognize them. Rāmānuja refers to the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* and the *Gītā* to substantiate the last statement.[1] This way of interpreting *vedana* is set forth briefly in the following stanza quoted by Vedānta Deśika—[2]

वेदनं ध्यानविश्रान्तं ध्यानं श्रान्तं ध्रुवस्मृतौ ।
सा च दृष्टित्वमभ्येति दृष्टिर्भक्तित्वमृच्छति ॥

In the result, the means of release is neither *bhāvanā-janya-pratyakṣa* advocated by the generality of Vedāntins, nor *śābdāparokṣya* recognized by many among the followers of Śaṁkara[3], but *vivid memory resembling direct knowledge.*

Fragment II — तल्लब्धिर्विवेकविमोकाभ्यासक्रियाकल्याणानवसादानुद्धर्षेभ्यः संभवान्निर्वचनाच्च । जात्याश्रयनिमित्तादुष्टादन्नात्कायशुद्धिर्विवेकः । विमोकः कामानभिष्वङ्गः । आरम्भणसंशीलनं पुनःपुनरभ्यासः । पञ्चमहायज्ञाद्यनुष्ठानं शक्तितः क्रिया । सत्यार्जवदयादानाहिंसानभिध्याः कल्याणानि । देशकालवैगुण्याच्छोकवस्त्वाद्यनुस्मृतेश्च[4] तज्जं दैन्यमभास्वरत्वं मनसोऽवसादः । तद्विपर्ययजा तुष्टिरुद्धर्षः ॥
(ŚB. pp. 37-8)

Translation — 'Its (i. e. of firm recollection) attainment is through *viveka*, *vimoka*, *abhyāsa*, *kriyā*, *kalyāṇa*, *anavasāda* and *anuddharṣa*, for that is feasible and has also scriptural authority. *Viveka* is purity of the body due to food which is not impure by reason of its nature, its owner or other circumstances; *vimoka* is non-attachment to objects of desire; *abhyāsa* is frequent dwelling upon the form (chosen for meditation); *kriyā* is the performance, according to one's capacity, of rites such as the five great sacrifices; *kalyāṇa* is kindness, sincerity, disinterested compassion, absence

1 ŚB. pp. 35-36.

2 *Śata-dūṣaṇī* p. 136 (Conjeeveram Edn.).

3 Cf. ŚB. (p. 255) — ब्रह्मध्याननियोगेन तत्साक्षात्कारफलेन— and *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi*; iii. 63 ff., 90 ff.

4 *Vaiguṇya*, not *vaiṣamya*, is the correct reading. See ŚP.

of greed, 'absolute non-injury and overcoming idle thoughts'[1]; *avasāda* is faint-heartedness arising from a sense of helplessness due to adverse place, time, recollection of sorrowful things and so forth, and from (witnessing) such (helplessness in others ; *anavasāda* is the reverse of it) ; and *uddharsa* is elation arising from the opposite of the above (i. e. propitious place, time, recollection of dear things and so forth ; *anuddharṣa* is the reverse of it)'.

Note — These are the seven aids to secure *dhruvānusmṛti* or 'firm recollection' — all equally necessary. The discipline recommends activity as well as abstention from it which may seem contradictory. What is meant is that the disciple should perform certain deeds—prescribed acts, but abstain from selfish and prohibited deeds or such as are a hindrance to the practice of meditation.

Fragment III— युक्तं तद्गुणकोपासनात् ॥ (ŚB. p. 163 .

Translation — '(It is) the qualified (Brahman that is to be reached), because of the meditation referring to the qualities'.

Note — This refers to the well-known controversy about the ultimate Reality being *saguṇa* or *nirguṇa*. According to Rāmānuja, B. thought that it was *saguṇa*.

Fragment IV— आत्मेत्येव तु गृह्णीयात् सर्वस्य तन्निष्पत्तेः ॥ (VAS. p. 176. See also ŚP. IV. i. 3).

Translation — 'One should meditate (upon Brahman) as identical with oneself, since everything is effected by it.'

Note — This passage is cited in ŚB. also (pp. 50 and 210). There, however, it appears in the *resumé* of Śaṁkara's view and is consequently interpreted in accordance with his doctrine.[2] *Tanniṣpatteḥ* : *tatra kalpitatvā-*

1 This is according to ŚP. It gives two other meanings of *anabhidhyā*.

2 This, by the way, implies that the Advaita school also utilized the present statement of B., though the allusion to it is not traceable.

dityarthaḥ (ŚP.). Rāmānuja also accepts what is known as *ahaṁ-grahopāsana*; but the identity between the *jīva* and Brahman which it signifies should be understood not directly as in Advaita but mediately. Brahman is not the same as the *jīva* but is only immanent in it, the relation between the two being that of soul and body[1].

Fragment V — तस्मिन् यदन्तरिति कामव्यपदेशः ॥ (VAŚ. p. 172)

Translation — 'By "what is in it" is designated (God's) auspicious qualities.'

Note — This *vākya* interprets a phrase in the Upaniṣad (VIII. i. 1) where what is known as the *dahara-vidyā* is taught. The import of the whole passage is that the object of meditation here is not the pure Absolute but that with its eight auspicious qualities such as transcendence of evil[2]. The allusion in TD. to a rival doctrine—a form of Śaivism known as *Vyomātīta-vāda* — is noteworthy. According to it, Nārāyaṇa is the *upādāna-kāraṇa* and Śiva is the *nimitta-kāraṇa*,[3] unlike Viśiṣṭādvaita where both alike are Brahman or Nārāyaṇa. The object of meditation in this view is not the *dahara* but what is behind and beyond it (*tasmin yadantaḥ*).

Fragment VI—हिरण्मयः पुरुषो दृश्यत इति प्राज्ञस्सर्वान्तरस्स्यात् लोककामेशोपदेशात्। तथोदयात्पाप्मनाम्। स्यात्तद्रूपं कृतकमनुग्रहार्थं तच्चेतनानामैश्वर्यात्। रूपं वा अतीन्द्रियमन्तःकरणप्रत्यक्षं तन्निर्देशात्। हिरण्मय इति रूपसामान्याच्चन्द्रमुखवत् ॥ (VAS. pp 238-40)

Translation — 'By the expression "the golden person is seen" should be (understood) the all-wise, inner self of all, because lordship over the worlds and desires[4] is mentioned (in reference to it); also because it transcends evil. (It may be urged that) such a form is temporal, being

1 See TD. p. 176.

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what the Lord assumes for favouring his creatures, (or) because of his omnipotence. (But that is not right), since the word *rūpa* here (does not mean what the eye can apprehend, but) supersensuous brilliance knowable by the internal organ since that is what is taught. The word "golden" (does not connote "made of gold", but) only 'that it is resplendent, as in the case of "moon-faced" '.

Note — This explains another passage in the Upaniṣad (I. vi. 6). The 'form' here taught is a limited and concrete one -- not the infinite Brahman. But it is of the same essence so that it is not *anitya*. Obviously, it is the divine as conceived in Vaiṣṇavism whose influence on Rāmānuja is well known.

Fragment VII —आदित्यक्षिप्तं वा श्रीमत्त्वात् ॥ (TD. p. 235)

Translation — ' (Or the expression means) "(like a lotus) opened by the sun ", because of its splendour '.

Note — This gives the meaning of *kapyāsa* occurring in the Upaniṣad (I. vi. 7) which is differently explained by different commentators. Compare Śaṁkara's *bhāṣya* on the passage, for instance.

Fragment VIII —उपनिषण्णत्वाद्वा उपनिषत् ॥ (ŚP. p. 4)

Translation— ' (It is designated an) *upaniṣad*, for it is devoted to (an elucidation of the mystery of Brahman)'.

Note — :Śaṁkara seems to have had this in view in the beginning of his commentary on the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* where he derives the same word. In explaining this *vākya*, ŚP. quotes from *Vāmana-ṭīkā*, a commentary on Dramiḍācārya's *bhāṣya*. This appears to be the only place where it is mentioned.

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Translation — ' (Or the expression means) "(like a lotus) opened by the sun ", because of its splendour '.

Note — This gives the meaning of *kapyāsa* occurring in the Upaniṣad (I. vi. 7) which is differently explained by different commentators. Compare Śaṁkara's *bhāṣya* on the passage, for instance.

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Translation — ' It (i e. the effect) could not be non-existent, for in that case it would not originate. (Nor could it pre-exist), for then the effort to bring it into being would be vain — since it was already characterized by being. No; for (the term " effect ") is merely conventional '.

Note — This explains the notion of ' effect ' according to *vivarta-vāda*. The commentary *Subodhinī* on SŚ. (iii. 217) also quotes these *vākyas* and seems to include one or two more of them. But the passage is not very clear.

C

Fragment X — परिणामस्तु स्यात् दध्यादिवत् ॥ (BB. p. 85)

Translation — ' (The effect) is, however, a transformation (of the cause) like curds and the like '.

Note — The topic here is the same as the above, though the conclusion drawn by Bhāskara is different. A portion of this *vākya* is found cited in KT. in connection with the discussion referred to under Fragment IX.

AN INTERPRETATION OF ŚAṀKARA'S DOCTRINE OF MĀYĀ—BY PROF. KOKILESHWAR SASTRI, VIDYARATNA, M.A., CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

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With a view to maintain the unreality or the illusory character of the universe, a celebrated passage from the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad is generally adduced, and Deussen's view is that we have here the first open assertion of the doctrine condemning the reality of change. The passage declares that just as all that is made of clay, copper or iron is only a modification, a verbal expression (वाचारम्भणम्), a mere name ; — the reality being clay, copper or iron ; so all things being mere modifications etc. are reducible to one Reality only. This at least is Deussen's interpretation and he sees here in this celebrated passage the germ of the illusion-theory which has become the basis, through its adoption by Śaṁkara, of the orthodox Vedānta system. We propose in this paper to discuss, among others, if this interpretation is consistent with Śaṁkara's conception of the illusory nature of empirical reality, and to indicate here some of the most prominent features of Śaṁkara's doctrine of Māyā.

The sentence we are speaking of runs in the original Chāndogya Upaniṣad as follows :—" वाचारम्भणं विकारो, नामधेयं, मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम् । "

Here, in this sentence, there occur two terms which arrest our attention ; viz. the terms वाक् and नामधेय । The term vāk (वाक्) refers evidently to the specific words which we apply to the objects of the world ; and the term nāma-dheya (नामधेय) refers to नामसामान्य—the class name. The affix dheya (धेय), being in स्वार्थ, must necessarily mean नाममात्रम् i. e. नामसामान्यम् । Now, we must carefully bring to our mind how Śaṁkara has elsewhere explained the relation that subsists between the universal (a सामान्य) and its particular individuals (विशेषs). Śaṁkara, in his commentary on the Bṛhadāraṇyaka I. 6. I., remarks that the different *specific* words are but the differentiations of one नामसामान्य. It is the शब्द-सामान्य—the class-name — which has divided itself into, differentiated into, specific individual words—

"नामसामान्यात् सर्वाणि नामानि यज्ञदत्तो देवदत्त इत्येवमादिप्रविभागानि . . .
. . उत्तिष्ठन्ति प्रविभज्यन्ते ।"

The specific words cannot exist *separately*, in as much as it is the generic name (शब्दसामान्य) which has taken these forms, which exists in them, which has divided itself into these specific words. These are therefore not separate, but in reality only नामसामान्य—

" यः कश्चन शब्दो वागेव सा, शब्दसामान्यमात्रम् "।

Śaṁkara has taken particular care to observe that these particulars (विशेषs) cannot be taken out of, separated from (निर्भिद्य), the नामसामान्य, and treated as self-sufficient independent entities —

" न तत एव निर्भिद्य ग्रहीतुं शक्यन्ते ।" —

Why? Because they were all *included within* the सामान्य, and they were mere phases, shapes, disguises— of that सामान्य which finds manifestation in them. " विशेषाणां च सामान्ये अन्तर्भावात् ।" He concludes therefore that when the सामान्य is taken, all the विशेषs are taken along with it; for it includes them within it. " सामान्यस्य ग्रहणेनैव तद्गताः (incorporated in it) विशेषाः गृहीता भवन्ति" (बृ० भा०, 2. 4. 7.).

(1) Now, in the light of this expansion of the relation between the universal (सामान्य) and its particulars (विशेषाः), the sentence— 'वाचारम्भणं विकारो, नामधेयं,—मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम्'—means that all विकारs — all modifications, such as मृच्चूर्ण, कपाल, घट etc. etc., to which *different words* (वाक् i. e. शब्दविशेषाः) are applied, which are dependent on वाक्(वागालम्बनं), —are, properly speaking, only नामधेय i. e. नामसामान्य. And this सामान्यांश is real (सत्य) in them, as मृत्तिका i. e. मृत्-सामान्य is *real* in the specific differences viz. मृच्चूर्ण, कपाल, घट etc. Hence, according to Śaṁkara, the विकारs, the modifications, cannot be *taken out* of their सामान्य, cannot be *separated* from it, and regarded as so many self-sufficient entities as we do ordinarily in our dealings with the things of the world. In that case they would be unreal— असत्य. Yet in our व्यवहारिक-state we regard them so- " आविर्यां 'अन्यत्' 'वस्त्वन्तर' मिव पश्यतः (प्र० भा०, 4. 5). But from the पारमार्थिक-view, they are not such independent (अन्य, विभक्त) things, but are only सामान्य. For, it is the सामान्य which sustains them, सामान्य which includes them within itself, " यद्व घटादि-दृष्टिः, मृदादि-

दृश्यत्वनुगतैव सा" (छा० भा०, 2. 1. 1). This explanation, it will be seen, does not make the विकारs, the modifications, unreal or असत्य. Thus, Śaṁkara wants us to regard विकारs to be taken always *in connection with* their सामान्य,— and not as *separated* from it. We have no right to *sever their connection* or relation with their underlying सामान्य. Thus the world ought not to be taken as separated from the underlying Brahman and regarded as self-sufficient and independent, as if there is nothing — no Brahman beyond it — as its sustaining ground.—

"बाह्यपरिच्छिन्नानात्मदर्शिनस्तद्भक्ताश्चेतराः अविद्या . . . .
अनात्मभ्यो ह्यन्योऽस्मीत्यभिमन्यते "(तै० भा० 2. 1).

This, to us, is the real sense of the celebrated sentence quoted before. Hence to call the world as unreal would directly go against those weighty remarks of Śaṁkarācārya and would land us in great difficulties.

In the Śāṁkara-Vedānta, the world of nāma rūpa is called as inexpressible—अनिर्वचनीय; for it is both real as well as unreal; i. e. neither absolutely real (as Brahman), nor absolutely unreal or false. So long as it is regarded as existing *in* Brahman in undifferentiated condition (prior to its manifestation), it is *identical* with Brahman— not separated or विभक्त or अन्य; and so long it is real or सत्. But as soon as it is differentiated, there now arises some difference, some वैलक्षण्य (vide Vedāntabhāṣya, II. 1. 6). But this difference— this वैलक्षण्य is not *absolute* difference. Śaṁkara has repeatedly declared that the universal, the सत्, in passing out to its other, in appearing as जगत्, — has not really *lost* its nature and *become something else* (अन्य) ।—

न हि विशेषदर्शनमात्रेण वस्त्वन्यत्वं भवति . . . . न हि देवदत्तः
प्रसारितहस्तपादः संकोचितहस्तपादः विशेषेण दृश्यमानः वस्त्वन्तरं भवति,
स एवेति प्रत्यभिज्ञानात्" (Ved. bhāṣ. II. 1. 18).

We have therefore no right to look upon the differences of nāma-rūpa as something *separated* from Brahman, as something अन्य. For, in reality they are nothing but Brahman itself; in passing out into its opposite, in assuming विशेष--forms, it remains *identical with*

itself (स एवेति प्रत्यभिज्ञानात्). For, the difference, the कार्य, is in reality, no other but the mere form, the guise, the shape which the कारण *itself has assumed* for its own manifestation. It is in reality *only itself*—" न कार्यं नाम कारणात् ' व्यतिरिक्त 'मस्ति किंचित " (छा॰ भा॰, I. 6. I). And—

" कार्याकारोपि कारणस्य ' आत्मभूत ' एव " (वे॰ भा॰)

(2) In the Taittirīya-bhāṣya, it is clearly stated that before its actual production, the world was called as आत्मा—" आत्मभूते इति कृत्वा 'आत्मा' ते (i. e. नामरूपे) उच्येते " । But as soon as it is differentiated, is produced or manifested, it is now called as· मूर्तामूर्ते—" मूर्तामूर्ते ते उच्येते " । i. e. previously it (the nāma-rūpa) was the same, i. e. identical, अनन्य with Brahman, and hence सत्; because *unseparated* from Brahman. But as soon as it came out of Brahman in the form of कार्य, there arose some वैलक्षण्य—some difference, and we began to look upon it as something अन्य, as something self-sufficient and independent and hence *as separated* from Brahman; and regarded in this way, it is unreal—असत्. This is, says Śaṁkara, due to our Avidyā. Thus the world of nāma-rūpa is both real and unreal. But from the पारमार्थिक- standpoint, even the कार्यावस्था or the modifications of nāma-rūpa is—"कारणस्य आत्मभूत एव" (Ved. Bhā., II. I. 18). Hence, in reality it cannot be *separated* from Brahman and looked upon as something अन्य. As the Taittirīya declares — " न तत्- " प्रविभक्त "-देशकाले . . . . .वस्तु विद्यते " ।

We, in our अविद्यावस्था, always *separate* the particulars of nāma-rūpa, the विशेषs, from the underlying universal or the सामान्य (कारण) । This is Śamkara's व्यवहारिक-view. But it must be observed that even in our Vyāvahārika-state, the विकारs really stand *connected with* their सामान्य—the underlying reality ; for the underlying reality is finding the expression for its nature or realised through them. It is not possible therefore to separate them from that which sustains them, without which they cannot for a moment stand. " न कारणोपलम्भमन्तरेण कार्यं . . . . .स्थातुमुत्सहते " । For, it is the underlying सामान्य which sustains its विशेष s — " सामान्यमात्मस्वरूपप्रदानेन विशेषान् बिभर्ति " । This is Śaṁkara's पारमार्थिक view. By this, the विकारs, as such, do not become unreal ; only they are not to be looked upon as something *separated* or अन्य from the reality, as self-existing and independent.

In appearing as जगत्, Brahman has not really become something अन्य; for, it really stands unaffected by the जगत् as its underlying reality, it is the same Brahman still. "न हि स्थितावपि हि कार्यं कारणात्मानमन्तरेण स्वतन्त्रमस्ति" (Ved. bhā. II. 1. 9). Under no circumstances, have we any right to *separate* the world of nāma-rūpa from the underlying Brahman, and treat it as something *outside* Brahman, as स्वतन्त्र from It. The famous illustration of the juggler and his tricks, as described in the commentary on the Brahma-Sūtra (I. 1. 17)[1], unmistakably shows this. Thus the Māyā is two-fold: In its undifferentiated state i. e. in its कारणावस्था, it is undivided in Brahman (अविभक्त). It is सत्—real, in this state. Because it is not now regarded as अन्य or *separated* from Brahman. This is its सामान्यावस्था. But when it becomes differentiated in the form of कार्य (modifications or विकारs), it is unreal or असत; for, it *is now regarded as separated or* अन्य *or* स्वतन्त्र from Brahman—"अणु महत् वा यदस्ति लोके वस्तु ...... तत् आत्मना विनिर्मुक्त 'असत्' संपद्यते" (कठ० ii. 20). This is its विशेषावस्था. This is our व्यवहारिकदृष्टि. But *even now*, from the Pāramārthika stand-point, it cannot be *separated* from Brahman as its underlying reality, and regarded as something अन्य or independent. Hence Śaṁkara has remarked—सूत्रकारोपि परमार्थाभिप्रायेण तदनन्यत्वमाह (Ved. II. 1. 14)[2]. Thus Śaṁkara has not anywhere declared the world as such to be unreal. Only when *separated* from Brahman, it is unreal. But under no circumstances, can it be *separated* from underlying ब्रह्म.

How can these be separated? Because, the successive विकार s are invariably *accompanied* by the causal reality of which they are manifestations. It is ignorant, ordinary people who look upon only the विकारs, utterly ignoring the reality which *underlies* each of these विकारs. Śaṁkara has pointed out that it is the *nature* of मृत्तिका which runs behind the successive changing effects, viz. मृच्चूर्ण, कपाल, घट etc. which is their real cause and upon which they exist. It is only our व्यवहारिक--view which keeps itself fixed upon the successive विकारs alone, imagining a sort of causal relation among them—

1 This illustration also occurs in the commentary on Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad.

2 In the description of a Mukta, Śaṁkara has emphasised this अनन्यत्व—"अहमन्नमहमन्नादमिति ... सर्वानन्यत्वं गम्यते ॥ ...... (तै०)

" नासाद्युपमृद्यमाना पूर्वावस्था उत्तरावस्थायाः कारणमभ्युपगम्यते, अनुपमृद्यमानानामेव अनुयायिनां ...... कारणभावाभ्युपगमात् " (वे० भा०, 2. 2. 26).

It follows therefore that there is no real conflict between the Pāramārthika view and the Vyāvahārika view of the world, and no necessity arises to declare the falsity of, and thus abolish, the विकारs of the world. Even in our Vyāvahārika state, we must try to cultivate the Pāramārthika view and look upon the विकारs not as so many *separate* entities (which we ordinarily do), but in *connection* with the underlying reality of which they are mere manifestations. No necessity arises therefore to abolish the things of the world and to declare their falsity.

(3) To declare the world of nāma-rūpa as *unreal* is to make it *separated* from Brahman, to make it something अन्य, to put it *outside* of Brhaman. In this case, the infinite would become simply as not-finite. This is false infinite. Hegel has called it as spurious infinite. But Śaṁkara nowhere says that the infinite *excludes* the finite. For, in that case, the *opposition* between the world in time and space and the eternal Brahman would be ultimate or absolute, and the finite would make the infinite *limited* or finitised. Śaṁkara has pointed this out very clearly in Vedānta-bhāṣya, III. 2. 37. " अन्यप्रतिषेधे असति, वस्तु वस्त्वन्तरात् व्यावर्तत इति परिच्छेद एव आत्मनः प्रसज्येत etc. etc. " To guard against this difficulty, Śaṁkara has said everywhere that Brahman does not exclude, but *include* nāma-rūpa *in* It. Cf : " ते यदन्तरा तद् ब्रह्म " (Chā. bhā). As soon as you declare nāma-rūpa to be unreal, Brahman itself would become an empty *abstraction*, as unreal. For this reason, Śaṁkara has shown that—

" कारणं हि लोके कार्याद्भूयो दृष्टं ..... यच्च यस्य अन्तर्वर्ति, तदल्पं, भूय इतरत् (Chān. bhāṣya, 7. 12. 1) and also— " सामान्ये हि विशेषः अन्तर्भवति " (7. 4. 1). In this way, in the Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya, कार्यसत्ता has been shown to be *included within* कारणसत्ता. The कार्यs existed *in* Brahman both *before* their production, as well as *after* production. Not like the Naiyāyikas who hold the प्रागभाव of the कार्यs in the कारण-सत्ता before production (Ved. Bhāṣya, 2. 1. 7. etc.). Now, if you declare जगत् to be unreal, how would you obviate this difficulty and how would you explain these passages in Śaṁkara ? It

is for these reasons that the world of nāma-rūpa cannot be held to be unreal. Hence to *separate* जगत् from Brahman under any circumstances is not possible at all. Śaṁkara always regarded nāma-rūpa *in connection with* Brahman, the underlying reality. —"न पृथगनुभवः किंतु तत्-साहचर्यात् "(Śaṁkara's शतश्लोकी ; vide also दुन्दुभि-दृष्टान्त in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka.) We erroneously *separate* it and look upon Brahman as becoming something *else* (अन्य), as soon as नामरूप appears. This is due to Avidyā or Māyā. " विशेषसंज्ञा . . . . अन्यत्वलक्षणा . . . . . अविद्या " (बृ० भा० II. 4. 13) । " मायामात्रमेतत् यत् स्थानत्रयात्मना अवभासनम् (वे० भा० II. 1. 9)[1].

1 When this erroneous idea of अन्यत्व would disappear, this is मुक्ति । "यदन्यग्रहणं ...तदविद्याकृतम् " (तै० 2. 8). "अविद्याकृतं अन्यत्वावभासं तिरस्कृत्य" (बृ० भा०. 5. 1, 1). " अन्यात्मभावनिवृत्तौ ... आत्मभावः स्वाभाविकः भवति " (बृ० 4. 4. 20). "द्रष्टुरन्यत्वेन सर्वेषां अभावात् ... मुक्तस्यापि समानो द्वितीयाभावः " (छा० भा० 8. 12. 3). There is no *abolition* of the objects of the world meant.

THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHY ON THE REALISTIC SIDE

BY S. SUBBA RAU, M. A.

The term "Indian Philosophy" cannot be taken to denote any one particular system propounded by a particular Indian Philosopher and developed by his disciples. It has only a collective or a general and vague significance like the term 'Hindus', and may denote any one or all the codified systems of thought evolved in ancient India. At this day the several systems may fall into two groups, the Vedic and non-Vedic. The first group may comprise all those that claim their recognition in the Vedas, or derive from that source their authority for their fundamental positions or assumptions. These are generally spoken of as the Six Systems of Indian Philosophy. The Non-Vedic group includes the well-known Cārvāka Theory, the Nihilistc Theory of Buddhism and the like.

The Six Systems are, as popularly enumerated, the Sāṁkhya Yoga, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta. Here it is needless to explain or examine the scope of any of these or of all. It may be noted that the order in this enumeration has no reference chronologically to their origin and development. The extant literature in each of these systems bears distinct and abundant evidence of its comparative lateness, while the high antiquity of the Vedas, especially of the Ṛgveda, is admitted by critics.

The origin of the Indian Philosophy must, if properly conceived, be traceable to the oldest literature extant, i. e., the Ṛgveda. If this does not present a systematic exposition of the Philosophy underlying the facts it deals with, the philosophical view must at least be warranted by the facts and the course of thought it records. Starting with this idea the Vedic followers have looked upon the Sāṁkhya and Yoga, Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya systems as Non-Vedic. Jaimini's Mīmāṁsā too is spoken of by some as Atheistic, though it apparently deals with a particular use of the Vedas. No doubt the Sāṁkhya, Yoga and others do claim allegiance to the Vedas; but their claim is of no intrinsic value.

Now Bādarāyaṇa's system as codified in his Sūtras is the one that has the properest claim to be called the Indian Philosophy. Accordingly, the one tenor that pervades his Sūtras and the Ṛgveda, i. e., the realistic view they convey of both the fundamental cause or causes and of the phenomena (i. e., all that are produced out of those causes), cannot but impress the reader, if he has not already subscribed to some other theory.

If the Sāṁkhya, Yoga etc., are considered as systems that have had their origin in the Vedic thoughts and in the habits and customs of Vedic followers— a view of high probability — the enquirer may find it evident that the same realistic view pervades them all and that they are only schisms allowing but a partial value to their source, the Vedas. If these systems had attained some systematic development before the appearance of Gautama Buddha, the realistic view so pronounced in them affords enormous strength to that view in relation to the Vedas. On the other hand, the idealistic or monistic views may be easily conceived as the offshoots of the Nihilistic thought that was developed from the teachings of Buddha.

However Jaimini's Mīmāṁsā is admissible into the Vedic fold: for, it is evolved in determining the use of the Vedic texts and the performance of the Vedic rites, which is auxiliary to the acquisition of mental powers and greater light for realising the cause or the causes. On taking this view it is possible to understand the mutual references to Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa in their systems as evidencing their agreement towards the final goal of all Vedic thought and investigation.

Independent researches have shown that the Brahma Sūtras do not contain a single syllable that might go against the realistic view on the part of their author or in the Vedas which he has restored to the world.

Philosophy in general is a highly generalised reading into the things or facts within the range of the human mind. They by nature furnish thinkers with various aspects and points of view. Each thinker is concerned with discovering the permanent and lasting essence lying under the phenomena or the sphere of his

obscrvation and with the grasping and enunciating of the general laws affecting the particular aspect which has engaged his attention.

All the aforesaid systems set up one goal of final beatitude and investigate into various facts for inculcating the knowledge necessary for attaining that goal.

The first four distinctly start with the basic ideas of (1) an entity of Intelligent nature, (2) an entity devoid of Intelligence and capable of being modified and moulded, (3) an intimate association of the first with the second and (4) the possibility of their being absolutely separated. The association of the first two is sooner or later found to be undesirable : therefore in the Yoga and Sāmkhya works an elaborate process is evolved and taught for effecting the final separation of the two, while Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika seem contented with the full knowledge alone of the principles.

The question why and how the first two came to be associated with each other is not to be be raised at all : perhaps it should be set aside as impertinent. However, while the relation lasts or while the efforts are being made to put an end to it, the Law of Causation irresistibly asserts itself and it has a real bearing on every step forwards or backwards. Indeed, with the conception of the associaton is bound up the idea of their acting and reacting on each other : and this relation is the only material for explaining the innumerable experiences on both the physical and moral aspects of existence. Again in the course of working out the separation the same two entities have to be made to act and react on each other, but in a different manner. Originally they appear to be endowed with the force of attracting each other and now they have to be overcharged with a force to repel each other without any possibility of a relapse of the original force. Thus the whole process compels us to recognise and admit the reality of the agents at work and of their powers and properties. In the wake of this observation it would be understandable to say or to hold that both the entities are absolutely real, so long as they are perceived to be invariably connected with the several phenomena in intensifying or destroying the association.

Next it may be considered whether any one of the two or both might become absolutely reduced to nothing. Perhaps the annihi-

lation of both was propounded by the Śūnyavādin. His theory confronts the thinker with the absurdity of granting and denying an existence in one breath. Another thinker would have but one entity either the Intelligent or the Non-Intelligent, and temporarily grant the other which he would allow to be finally annihilated. Perhaps this thinker considers that one real entity at the bottom is quite sufficient to respect and satisfy the demands of the Law of Causation. Whatever be the excellence or the defect of this theory, it proves all the same the necessity for admitting at least one entity as real. Thus the root of the realistic view is very deeply and firmly laid. On the other hand all the efforts of the human mind to find an explanation without being marred by contradiction and inconsistencies—the two flaws not edifying to the human mind—require the admission of not only two or more real entities, but also many real properties in each. Further the psychological principles and the Laws of Thought forbid the assumption or rather the conception of an entity called 'Knowledge' or 'Consciousness' which is absolutely bereft of all relation to the knower and the known, and the view of annihilation of the mind which is at the root of all these efforts. This point is felt to be really so strong as to compel Prof. Huxley to remark, "The more confirmed materialists we are the more confirmed idealists we become": for, the materialist has after all to express his positions in terms of ideas which distinctly point to the firm ground, that is, the mental faculty, an essential and most edifying privilege of human existence.

Some thinkers may set at naught such glaring objections and difficulties and feel charmed to claim a dignity for Philosophy in general by recognising and granting but one existence destitute of all attributes or properties : and according to them the justification of this position consists in that it does not involve the assumption of many entities, which, they say, is unphilososophical: but when they go forward to explain the phenomena, they are forced to bring in the temporary entity and its properties only to be denied at the end.

To illustrate the necessity for adopting the realistic view, let us take for instance the Chemical Science. It demands the recognition of some properties over and above the vague notion of existence or substance in the thing which must be accepted as the

cause of a particular effect. The effect in its turn presents some properties or aspects inherent in it and these cannot be explained except in terms of the cause and its properties. Similarly in every branch of science the relation between various things or facts forces at every stage upon our attention the supremacy of the Law of Causation. Only by offending this fundamental law could we speak of the cause or the effect as unreal, whether it is the root-cause in the very beginning or grossest phenomenon in the final stage of developement.

The human mind cannot generally be brought to despise the law evolved out of itself: for its very aspirations and achievements are of value only when there is the possibility of an intelligent grasp of both the cause and the effect and of reaping the joy of such a grasp. If on the other hand both such a grasp and the joy of it were denied, all the efforts of the human mind would have to be admitted as quite devoid of purpose either in their inception or in their conclusion: and all this is very briefly indicated in the remark — यदि चेद्दृशुपास्यतेऽस्य रूपं तिमिरत्वेन विभाति पारिशेष्यात् । फलमप्यथ मुक्तिरीदृशी स्यादिति नो नैव धियोऽस्तुपारितोषा ॥ Madhva Vijaya, Canto 13 śloka 59.

The purport of the verse just quoted is that when the characteristic attributes of an intelligent existence are totally denied of it in the final stage, the idea of final beatitude is indeed reduced to a state of absolute darkness or unconscious state. However, the attraction for the theory has been incalculably vast and powerful: and perhaps that is due to the fear of miseries which seem to be constant and invariable associates of consciousness generally in human life. Indeed so charming an aspect is lent to the theory by the promise it holds out of absolute freedom from that fear. Thus the point worthy of investgation is the nature of consciousness itself. Here the issues are whether it is an absolute and proved law that, in the ordinary acceptation, consciousness coexists with misery or whether consciousness may exist exempt from miseries from eternity to eternity or only at some advanced stage. Now, in differing from the aforesaid school of thinkers, the stern realistic thinker has first to take the boldest step of stating that Consciousness does not at all imply or connote the sense of misery: on the other hand it is comparable to the nature of a mirror which faithfully bears the image of a beautiful,

or an ugly face according as this or that is opposed to it. Here both the beautiful and ugly faces, besides the mirror, are two real existences, the latter being fit to be shunned and the former fit to be sought after as a lasting purpose. The next step is to find out how to shun this and secure that. On this analogy it is easy to see how the conscious being may have its attribute of consciousness without being assailed by misery through eternity. This position naturally leads to granting more than one entity as real. For, relativity of knowledge is an absolute law and makes it inconceivable how there could be knowledge that does not obey it. If for argument's sake any knowledge could be supposed to exist without implying the relative positions of the knower and the known, it must remain an eternal problem without solution why such an existence should at all be called consciousness. When we speak of that existence, we do express it in terms of *knowledge* (ideas) which obeys the law. If this medium of relative knowledge be supposed to vanish into nothing at any stage, we are left without the possibility of realising the attainment sought after. Thus all the efforts would end in complete frustration of the object with which we start. Comparing then the dull existences with human life, the former, we must admit, are more fortunate than human beings; for, they do not evidently start on any activity with a purpose and they have no disappointment at the end. Such considerations lie at the very foundation of all philosophy on the metaphysical side : and they are evidently given their value by the realistic thinker Śrī Bādarāyana or Śrī Madhva, and their view finds support in the main body of the Vedas whose sense is determined by the Brahma Sūtras, the genuine Purānas, Itihāsas and Tantras, which Bādarāyana has given to the world. It is of interest to note here that Śrī Vyāsa's system is treated as one different from that advocated by Śrī Śaṁkara in a work called SARVA-SIDDHĀNTA SAMGRAHA attributed to himself and published by the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras. Agreeably to these authorities and the fundamental principles of Logic and Psychology Śrī Madhva lays down the most fundamental dictum of Bādarāyana's system, to be "There could be no knowledge or consciousness, be it a substance, or an attribute or property inherent in any substance, which is not related to the knower and the known."

The next law he recognises as equally important is that of Consistency. It is in satisfaction of this grand Law that the principles of logic are in operation and become valuable. The two Laws thus enunciated form the ground-work of the science of Logic and he does not claim originality and only draws our attention to an old work, (perhaps not recoverable now), called Brahma Tarka, from which he makes quotations (vide-Tattva Nirnaya Pariccheda I). The first Law operates so as to furnish us with the facts of both the physical and mental world and the second Law operates in deciding the relations between those facts and in testing the validity of the results attained by the conscious being at every stage.

As already stated the law of causation is still more fundamental as lying at the root of the aforesaid two laws and its operation is evident in all the mental and physical phenomena and in their mutual relations. The recognition of this point is compulsory so long as the aforesaid definition and scope of knowledge cannot be denied or set aside.

These positions of vital importance in his realistic point of view are expounded in almost every work of the Ācārya; for the purpose of this short paper his Bhāṣya of the Aitareya Upaniṣad may be referred to, as this portion of the Ṛgvedic collection deserves to be considered first in discovering the germs of the philosophical view of the early Āryans. As generally admitted the Āranyakas, and especially the portions marked out as Upaniṣads contain the philosophical cogitations of those, or of eternal, thinkers.

Scholars must have already noted that the Māyā theory does not find any shadow of admission into the Bādarāyaṇa's philosophy as codified in the Brahma-Sūtras. This view is very much strengthened by his introducing the word MĀYĀ twice in his Sūtras altogether in a different sense. Even according to those that believe that the Sūtras deal only with the Upaniṣads, it is clear, from the very use of the word MĀYĀ in the Sūtras, that he does not countenance the theory of illusion read by some into the Upaniṣads, and it must be conceded that Śrī Bādarāyaṇa must have, more than anybody else, been very familiar with the meaning and force of that term in the range of Vedic literature.

The course of creation or evolution so elaborately dealt with in this Upaniṣad would be quite unmeaning and a worthless infliction if all the phenomena are baseless and unaccountable appearances. According to modern scholars the Vedic Literature, especially the Ṛgveda in its various sections, are records of Aryan thinking of the highest antiquity. Consequently the explanation of creation given here is seen to be quite different from what the Sāṁkhya works offer. The foremost of the distinguishing features in the description of this Āraṇyaka consists in speaking as interpreted by Śrī Madhva, how the spiritual and physical principles are both brought together in a natural manner and how they are related to one another. The whole exposition appears to follow the course of evolution of the gross effect from subtler essence. In Khaṇḍa iii of Adhyāya III the use of the term Retas is most significant (the same idea may be taken to be conveyed in English by the word seed) and it means the highly concentrated essence and vital principle in a thing, which reproduces the like of the thing out of which it is evolved. Such elaborate exposition is naturally intended to show how enduring the causes are, how real the laws of operation are, and how the things are related in the beginning as well as at the end. And this exposition cannot be said to savour of the theory of Illusion : thus the serious character of this Upaniṣad would then appear to offer a robust opposition to that theory.

In Khaṇḍa v there is a further explanation how the spiritual principle is at work through the instrument of the physical substance. . Whether it is a sage who, according to the moderns, speaks through these passages, or it is an eternal testimony, the ardent adherence to truth and truthfulness is emphatically expressed towards the close of this Khaṇḍa. Similarly numerous are the passages in this Upaniṣad itself, not to say anything of other Upaniṣads, that do afford strong support to the realistic view espoused by Śrī Madhva.

Popularly, the changes in the things or the disappearances of things in their phenomenal or gross form are taken to be the proof or support of the theory that all phenomena are unreal and their cause is also unreal, though the back-ground alone on which they are projected is admitted to be an absolute reality. Particularly against

this position the Ācārya has pointed out in various connections that it is not possible to hold the theory of illusion without granting two realities and no illusion could arise if there were but one absolute reality "अतो न कुत्रापि सदृशसत्यवस्तुद्वयं विना भ्रमः" vide (Tattva Nirṇaya). Thus the realistic view is forced upon us by the very ground which should be taken up for the explanation of misapprehension; and the Theory of Illusion offends not only the law of knowledge, but also the grandest law of Consistency.

When the main grounds for holding the realistic view are so clear from the indirect proof afforded by the examination of the opposite theory, it may also be positively described as follows: The positive and concrete principles that exist from eternity cannot be reduced to nothing. The mere appearance and disappearance of gross things cannot support the view that the roots of phenomena are unreal and that mere changes cannot constitute unreality. On the other hand when the root is real, the phenomena too must have inherent in them the attribute of reality belonging to the cause. The changes and the forms as prescribed under proper conditions are facts in the given time and place. The truth of this view is a matter of common and simple principle of the Chemical Science, that a product definitely represents the material causes, though the form is different and very often its properties, too: further the product cannot be unreal in so far as it can produce some other effect in its turn. This character of every phenomenon cannot but imply the reality underlying it: for facts are facts in the given form and in the given time and place, unless one fact is mistaken for another.

Again the realistic theory held by the Ācārya is not open to the objection urged aginst the Prabhākara who holds that there is no misapprehension. In the Ācārya's system, misapprehension has a place: it is a mental phenomenon and on the mental side it is a reality so far as it is a psychic act, though the validity of the apprehension is questioned only with reference to the object it refers to. For, the psychic phenomenon by itself is a reality as proved by the law of causation. The very term misapprehension implies that the thing or the aspect apprehended does not at all exist in the range of the senses, while the apprehension indicates the relation of the sense or senses to some other realities with which they have previously

been associated and now connected. Indeed, the mind and the senses do contribute many more aspects than what is contributed by the thing with which the sense comes into contact at the time of an act of misapprehension. And it is not always that the mind and the senses are liable to the abuse of their powers or previous experience, and they do so only under particular disadvantageous conditions. Standing on this firm ground the Ācārya draws a clear distinction between the function of the senses in proper conditions and that under other conditions. Whatever is invariably observed to *be* through the medium of sound senses, examined if necessary with proper tests, cannot be denied to exist or set aside as unreal. Such is the well defined realistic view which Śrī Madhva has vouchsafed to the thinking world.

The philosophical dignity of a system supposed to arise from recognising but one absolute entity without a second is seriously questioned by the Ācārya for the patent reasons that the theory is not by itself sufficient but demands many other assumptions by the way for maintaining that position and that these sooner or later land the thinker into the continent of inconsistencies, nay, into that of contradiction when he finally goes on to deny the very assumptions he made at the outset. That supposed dignity is indeed said to arise from the view that all variety is evolved out of one simple thing. This is the point which is stoutly contended against by the realistic thinker. The Acārya makes it clear that the real philosophical dignity of thought rests on granting the fewest principles with which the explanation of the whole phenomenal Universe can be completely furnished without running into contradiction or inconsistencies. Therefore the Acārya states that the fundamental entities cannot be less than Three — a position which is admitted and adopted by some other schools as well. For instance, the pure Śaivites also grant three entities under different names.

However the idealist might appear to advance a very strong argument against this realistic view of the subject and the object, when he says that the mind cannot perceive anything outside itself and that therefore all the phenomena are nothing but the various

that that implication is to be rejected as of no value. This objection is, very strong as it might seem, shown by the Ācārya to be of no real force : for it undermines the very ground on which it must stand. When the mental phenomena fall into two groups as apprehensions of facts and misapprehensions, there is no reason to set aside as false what the former implicate. It is this last position which ensures the purpose and usefulness of all the Pramāṇas or means of knowing the truth. When all the means available are set aside as untrustworthy, there is no escaping the charge of contradiction.

In conclusion the inquirer may profitably note how the Ācārya defines Pramāṇa. This term is by most thinkers taken to mean only 'the *instrument* or the *means*' of correct apprehension of a thing ; whereas the Ācārya goes a step farther in laying down that the primary evidence, in the sphere of consciousness, of anything is the knowledge of the thing itself and it is only in the next step the channel comes up for consideration : for when the perception has arisen it does not again require or imply the help of the medium for its reference or going on to the thing. On the strength of this observed character of perception or knowledge the term Pramāṇa is taken to denote both the perception and the means thereof so far as they refer only to truth invariably under all tests. The whole strength of the realistic thought thus rests on the recognition of the inviolable nature of the Pramāṇas as distinguished from the means of misapprehension (प्रमाणाभासाः).

In the light of these Pramāṇas, a natural interpretation of the Ṛgveda in all its branches is seen to furnish absolute support for the realistic view and in that light the contents of the Veda may be said to be very briefly and effectively condensed into the chapters of Aitareya Āraṇyaka on which Śrī Madhva has written his Bhāṣya.

SMṚTI THEORY ACCORDING TO NYĀYA-VAIŚEṢIKA

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I

It is a fact that nothing is lost in the universe. It is only a change of form that takes place ;while the essentials remain the same. Each and every form that appears before us retains its individuality and retires in the same form in some other corner of the mental world after giving rise to another form in succession. This is not only true of the material substances but also of the mental things, such as, cognition, desire, will, etc. Thus when a man perceives something, no doubt, that actual perception vanishes from the sight in the next moment giving place to another cognition but nevertheless, it is retained in the same form somewhere else. In other words, it can be said with certain confidence that everything, whether mental or extra-mental, that comes to exist once, does remain in the same form although new forms spring up out of it in succession. It is, therefore, true to say that everything and anything of the past experience, either of this life or of the previous life, can very well be recalled in almost the same form in which it had been experienced before. This is a fact which cannot be gainsaid. If the experience had changed or lost it would not have been possible to *re-cognise* it even after a short interval and express it as ' I had cognised it as such before '. So has been said— ' नासतो विद्यते भावो नाभावो विद्यते सतः '.

The mental faculty which is responsible for the above statement is *Smṛti*. About the definition of this term no clear idea is found in either the *Nyāya* works or the *Vaiśeṣika* works. The little that we know of it is that *Smṛti* is an attribute of the *Ātman*,[1] and that it cannot be anything else.[2] This being a fact, Smrti can be included in the *Buddhi* or *Jñāna* only. In other words, we can define *Smṛti* as a form of *Buddhi* which inheres in the *Ātman* by *Samavāya* relation.

1. Nyāya-Sūtra, 3. 1. 14 ; 3. 2. 40.

2. Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya on *Ibid.*

It is that faculty of living beings upon which worldly *Vyavahāra* (usage) entirely depends.[1] It is generally expressed in the following forms of judgment : (a) I knew that thing ; (b) I had cognised that thing ; (c) That thing had been cognised by me ; and (d) I had a cognition in regard to that thing.[2] From all these it is clear that the act of *Smaraṇa* is a *recognition* of what had been already cognised.

Similar idea is found in the *Vaiśeṣika* works also.[3] *Praśastapāda* makes it more clear and says that *Buddhi* is of two kinds — *Vidyā* and *Avidyā*. *Smṛti* is one of the four sub-divisions of the former.[4] *Vidyā* has been characterised as a cognition which is free from doubts and contradictions and is decisive ; hence, *Smṛti* is also of the same nature.[5]

Almost all the later writers on *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* hold a similar view about the meaning and classification of *Smṛti*. The only difference is that they differ from *Praśastapāda* in subdividing *Buddhi*. They hold that *Buddhi* is sub-divided into *Anubhava* and *Smṛti* ; and the former is again sub-divided into *Pratyakṣa*, *Anumāna*, *Upamāna*, and *Śabda*, while the latter is left alone. In other words, *Smṛti* is not classified under the same head along with *Pratyakṣa* etc. by the later writers, as has been done by *Prasastapāda*.[6] This shows that according to *Praśastapāda*, *Smṛti* is a separate means of right cognition like *Pratyakṣa* etc. This view has found its support in the *Nyāya-līlāvatī*. *Vallabhācārya* says that its being a separate means of cognition should not be denied on the ground that it is not used as *Pramā* ; for, when it tallies with the actual past experience, it is clear that there is the use of *Pramā* as regards *Smṛti*. *Gautama* and *Kaṇāda* and their followers do not hold this view.[7] Later on, the author of *Kandalī* refutes it.[8] The position of *Vallabhācārya* is

1. *Ibid* 3. 1. 14, p. 455, Dr. Jha's Edition.
2. *Ibid* on Nyāya-Sūtra, 3. 1. 14 ; p. 456.
3. Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra, 9. 2. 6.
4. Padārthadharmasaṁgraha, pp. 172 and 186, Vizianagaram Series Ed.
5. Kandalī on *Ibid*, p. 172.
6. Padārthadharmasaṁgraha, p. 186.
7. Nyāyalīlāvatī, pp. 67–68, Nirnayasagara Ed. 1915.
8. Kandalī, p. 257.

clear; for, according to him, it appears, *Pramā* is that which corresponds with the reality.

2

After the usual process of cognition when the result is obtained a kind of impression (Saṁskāra) is left behind by that resultant cognition which itself vanishes afterwards. Such an impression, which is the exact copy of that cognition, has got the *Ātman* as its substratum. Every piece of cognition leaves behind it an impression. But those which are due to (a) intensified (*Paṭu*) cognitions, (b) repeated cognitions, and (c) impressive (*ādara*) cognitions produced by special efforts are more vivid and are easily recalled.[1] This has been explained by *Śrīdhara*,[2] as :—

(a) *Paṭupratyayaja* — We find that a *forcible mental impression* is produced when the *Ātma-Manas-contact* is influenced by the *intensified cognition* of an object that excites the wonder of the observer ; as for instance, the man of the South having never seen a camel finds it a wonderful object ; hence, when he perceives it, his cognition of it is so intensified that it leaves behind it a lasting impression on his *Ātman* ; and thus it makes him vividly remember it later on.

(2) *Abhyāsapratyayaja*— In regard to such things, as (a) *study* : learning of the *Śāstras* and *Āgama* etc.; (b) *arts* : painting of pictures etc., and (c) *physical exercise* : practice of the use of the weapons etc. we find that these are regularly practised with reference to one and the same object, and the impression produced on the *Ātman* remains for a long time and thus the *Smṛti*, due to this, is extremely vivid.

(3) *Ādarapratyayaja* — When a man puts forth special efforts to perceive an object never seen before, the cognition that he has is as impressive as the perception of the flash of lightning ; and it is such a cognition that is meant by the term *ādarapratyaya*, and when the *Ātma-Manas--contact* is aided by such a cognition, there appers a peculiarly intensified impression on the *Ātman* ; this character is indi-

1. Padārthadharmasaṁgraha, p. 267 ; Dr. Jha's Trans. pp. 573-74.
2. Kandalī, pp. 267-268.

-cated by the fact of its not disappearing even after the interval of a long time. For example, on the full moon day of the month *Caitra*, which has come in contact with the spica star (*Citrā-nakṣatra*), at mid-night are seen silver and golden lotuses in the *Devahrada*. Having heard this many people gather on that day on the banks of the lake, with a view to witness the phenomenon and when the middle of the night is about to arrive, they fix their eyes and their *Manas* intently on the lake. The lotuses actually appear and even though they are perceived but for a moment, the sight is so impressive that the impression created on the *Ātman* is very keen and tends to the fact being remembered very distinctly even after a lapse of time.

Such an impression is left behind, by the cognition, on the *Ātman*. After the cognition and the impression of that cognition being stamped on the *Ātman*, the man who had that cognition forgets altogether that act of cognition. He is also not aware of the fact that any impression has been produced and left behind on the *Ātman*, for the impression is not perceptible to our external sense-organs.

After this when the same man, who had the cognition and on whose *Ātman* the impression was stamped, desires to recollect his particular cognition of the past he makes an effort by directing his *Manas*[1] towards it and with the help of the following causes *Praṇidhāna* etc. the impressions are aroused and through the *Law of Association* and the resemblance of the characteristic of the particular thing to be remembered, recollection of the desired object takes place.

The following are some of the causes by which *Smṛti* takes place[2] :—

1. *Praṇidhāna* — when we desire to remember anything, we withdraw our *Manas* from all other things and direct it towards that very thing which we want to recollect or towards the attributes of that very thing which will finally lead us to the desired object. This act of concentrating the *Manas* is called *Praṇidhāna*.

1. Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya on Nyāya-Sūtra, 3. 2. 30, p. 582. Dr. Jha's Ed.
2. Nyāya-Sūtra and Bhāṣya, 3. 2. 41.

2. *Nibandha* — when a number of topics are treated in one book, those topics become mutually related so much so that when one of these is seen others are also remembered. Foı instance, says Vācaspati Miśra,[1] in this very *Bhāṣya* of *Vātsyayana*, the *Pramāna* and *Prameya* etc. are arranged in one connection so that when a man cognises *Pramāṇa* he also remembers *Prameya* and *Vice Versa*.

3. *Abhyāsa* — an attribute of the *Ātman* produced by the repetitions of the same object.[2]

4. *Liṅga* — is of four kinds — (a) *Saṁyogi*, as for instance, smoke is the *Saṁyogi-Liṅga* of fire ; (b) *Samavāyi*, as for instance, the horn is the *Samavāyi-Liṅga* of the cow; (c) *Ekārtha-Samavāyi* (co-inherence in one substratum), for instance (1) the hand is the *Ekārtha-Samavāyi-Liṅga* of the feet[3] ; (2) and the colour is the *Ekārtha-Samavāyi-Liṅga* of touch[4] ; and (d) *Viı odhi* — foı example, non-*bhūtas* are the *Virodhi (contıadictory)-Liṅga* of the *Bhutas*.

5. *Lakṣaṇa* — as the limb of an animal reminds us of the class of that animal.

6. *Sādṛśya* — the resemblances of *Devadatta* seen in the picture remind us of *Devadatta*.

7. *Paıigraha* — ownership — as the servant reminds us of the master and *Vice Versa*.

8-9. *Āśraya* and *Āśrita* — as the sight of the leader reminds us of his subordinates and *Vice Versa*.

10. *Sambandha*[5] — the pupil reminds us of the teacher and the priest of the *Yajamāna*.

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1. Tātparya-ṭikā, p. 574, Kashi-Sanskrit Series, Benares, Ed.
2. This *Abhyāsa* produces *Saṁskāra* which when aroused produces *Smṛti*.
3. This illustration is possible when the *Samāsa* of the term is as — एकस्यावयविनोऽर्थस्य समवायोऽत्र ।
4. In this case the *Samāsa* would be — एकस्मिन्नर्थे समवायो यस्य ।
5. Some sort of relationship is involved in all that is enumerated here. Hence *Sambandha* here stands for other than that which is specially enumerated — Tātparya, p. 575.

11. *Ānantarya* — sequence - - where the first act reminds us of the consequent acts.

12. *Viyoga* — separation — when a man is separated from another and feels the separation, he remembers the other and *Vice Versa*.

13. *Ekakārya* — co-profession, as for instance, one cutter reminds us of another cutter.

14. *Virodha* — of two rivals. The sight of one reminds us of the other.

15. *Atiśaya*[1] — Greatness reminds us of that which produced it.

16. *Prāpti* — when one has either acquired a thing, or wishes to acquire it, he is frequently reminded of the thing to be acquired.

17. *Vyavadhāna* — Cover reminds us of that which is hidden in it ; as the sheath reminds us of the sword.

18-19. *Sukha* and *Duḥkha* — Pleasure and pain remind us of their causes.

20-21. *Iccha* and *Dveṣa* — Desire and Aversion remind us of that which is desired or hated.

22. *Bhaya* — Fear reminds us of its cause.

23. *Arthitva* — reminds us of the objects which are required.

24. *Kriyā* — The action of a man reminds us of that man; as a chariot reminds us of its maker.

25. *Rāga* — Love reminds us of the beloved.

26. *Dharma* — Merit reminds us of our previous castes of previous births.

27. *Adharma* — Demerit reminds us of the causes of pain experienced before.

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1. It also means *Saṁskāra*. In that case the *Upanayana-Saṁskāra* reminds us of the *Ācarya*.

These are some of the causes which according to the *Nyāya-Sutra* lead to *Smṛti*. A careful study of these shows that all these are so many phases of one and the same general law - the *Law of Association* which is stated as - "एकसंबन्धिज्ञानमपरसंबन्धिनं स्मारयति."

Thus the directed *Manas* comes in contact with the *Ātman* which possesses that impression of particular cognition which is to be remembered; and through the *Ātman* the *Manas* comes in contact with the particular impression by the relation of *Saṁyukta-Samavāya* and then that impression is revived and the past experience is recalled. Sometimes recollection takes place very soon while in some cases, it takes time. In the former case, it is due to the intensity and the vividness of the impression. In the latter case, there are two reasons : (a) a very simple reason is that the impression is very dull due to the unforcible nature of the cognition ; (b) the *Ātman* is *Vibhu*. It extends even outside the limitations of our body. Impressions find their place on the *Ātman* both in and out of the organism; for, no two impressions can exist together in the same place. In case the impression, for the revival of which an effort is being made, be on the *Ātman* which is not within the limitation of the organism, the *Manas* has to go out of the organism, to come in contact with the *Ātman* on which that impression is stamped; and it is, therefore, that the *Smṛti* takes place after a long lapse of time.[1]

This view has been refuted by *Gautama* and his followers. They hold that (a) the *Manas* cannot go out of the organism as long as the particular man who is to remember is living. If the *Manas* goes out, the body will fall down. (b) If at all, the *Manas* goes out, the *Ātma-Manas-contact* thus brought about cannot produce any cognition ; for, cognition being a form of *Bhoga* must take place and be felt in the *Bhogāyatana*, that is, the organism.[2]

The opponent holds against the above that the organism will not fall down ; for, the *Manas*, being very swift in moving, can go out of the organism. With the revival of the impressions it returns and gives rise to that *Prayatna* which will allow the organism not to fall

1. Nyāya-Sūtra and Bhāṣya, 3. 2. 25. and 29.

2. *Ibid*, 3. 2, 26-28. pp. 578-81 ; Tātparya, p. 567.

down. It may be just the otherwise also. That is, the *Manas* after producing the *Prayatna*, goes out and returns very swiftly. Hence the *Manas* can arouse the impressions outside the organism as well as can cause the organism to be retained.[1]

This has been also rejected.[2] *Vātsyāyana* gives his own explanation for the delay in recollecting. Thus he says the *Manas* is held concentrated with a desire to remember and there appears a series of thoughts; and when of those thoughts, there appears the thought of object which serves to be the specific characteristic of the thing to be remembered, then *Smṛti* takes place.[3] This whole process takes some time which causes delay in *Smṛti*.

As to the question of simultaneity of *Smṛti*, we know that the *Ātma-Manas-contact* is an essential factor of a cognition. *Manas*, being atomic, cannot come in contact with more than one point at a time. Thus there is no possibility of simultaneity of any cognition. But this does not put an end to our query; for, even this being a fact, the seat of *Smṛti*, which is the *Ātman*, is not a material substance and hence, we cannot speak of there being points (*Pradeśas*) on the *Ātman*, and also of the fact that impressions occupy separate place on the *Ātman*. That is, all the impressions may co-inhere in the same substratum without there being any overlapping.

This being the fact, when the *Manas* comes in contact with the *Ātman* and through it with the impressions, why does not the *Manas* come in contact with all the impressions inherent there and cause the *Smṛti* of all the impressions simultaneously ?

The answer is that no doubt the *Manas* can come in contact with all the impressions but that is not the only cause of cognition. There are other auxiliary causes which being absent do not make the simultaneity of cognition possible. It is, therefore, that the word *Pratyāsatti* has been explained by *Uddyotakara* as meaning "the presence of auxiliary causes." The case is the same as that of sound. It is this : all the several sounds appearing in a series inhere in *Ākāśa*,

1. *Ibid*, 3. 2, 29, pp. 581-2.
2. *Ibid*, 3. 2. 30.
3. *Ibid*.

a common substratum, yet only those of them are actually heard the auxiliary causes of whose cognition are present, and others are not heard. Similarly, in the present case, those impressions alone lead to *Smṛti* which have for their revival their auxiliary causes present.[1] Hence, like all other cognitions, *Smṛti* also does not happen simultaneously.

Smṛti and *Anubhava* have been separated under two distinct heads by the later *Naiyāyikas*. But *Anubhava*, used in its widest sense, meaning cognition, can include the former under it. This is clear from the treatment of it by *Praśastapāda*.

Pratyabhijñā and Smṛti :- These are two different processes of our mental faculty. In the case of *Smṛti* it is not at all necessary that the thing which is to be rememberd should be present before our sense organs, while in the case of *Pratyabhijñā* it is essential that the thing which is to be recognised shold be perceived by the external sense-organ at the time of its recognition. When a man, for instance, who has seen a tree with a monkey on it, sees either the tree or the monkey alone, he at once remembers the other one, through the *Law of Association*. This is a case of *Smṛti*. In the case of *Pratyabhijñā*, the object which is recognised is actually present before the external sense organs. Thus in *Pratyabhijñā* the impression as well as the actual perception of the thing perceived before are equally important. As for instance, on seeing *Devadatta* who had been seen before, one recognises that he is the same *Devadatta* whom one had seen before.

Some are of opinion that impression is the direct cause of *Smṛti*, while in *Pratyabhijña* *Smṛti* produces remembrance of identity, which in its turn is the direct cause of *Pratyabhijñā*. Truly speaking, *Pratyabhijñā* depends upon *Smṛti* for its existence.

Smṛti and Svapna :- Some identify these two terms. The reason is that there is some resemblance between the two, as some of their causes are, in several respects, common.[2] But they are two different

1. Nyāyavārttika, p. 427, Benares edition.

2. Nyāya-Sūtra and Bhāṣya, 4. 2. 34 ; Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra, 9. 2. 6-7 ; Umesha Mishra — Dream Theory in Indian Thought, pp. 273-85, Allahabad University Studies, Vol. 5.

things of our mental world. *Smṛti*, which tallies with the actual occurrence, is not included under *avidyā* — false knowledge — while *Svapna*[1] is generally false except in some case of *"Prophetic dreams"* which always refers to the future. *Smṛti* is only a *reproduction* of the past experience without any addition of novelty. There is no *displacement* in it. In the case of *Svapna*, the displacement and novelty are always found.

Smṛti and Anuvyavasāya :- These are also two different processes. According to *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* when any cognition takes place, there is a desire in the mind of the cogniser to know whether the cognition has really taken place. Hence, just after the cognition the cogniser has to direct his *Manas* towards that cognition and then he perceives through his *Manas* the previous cognition and expresses himself in the form "I possess the knowledge of a jar". This *Mānasika* perception of the previous cognition is called a *anuvyavasāya*. It should be treated as different from *Smṛti* for following *reasons*: (a) there is no lapse of time ; and (b) there is no necessity of the revival of the impression. The common points are : (a) both are objects of our *Mānasika* perception ; and (b) a desire to direct the *Manas* towards the bringing up of the previous cognition is also common.

1, For further details *vide* — Umesha Mishra — Dream Theory in Indian Thought, Allahabad University Studies, Vol. 5.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE VEDĀNTA PHILOSOPHY ON THE GUJRATI LITERATURE OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY — BY PRAHLAD C. DIWANJI, M. A., LL. M., BALSAR.

1. The nineteenth century of the Christian era holds a unique place in the history of the Gujrati Literature as it does in that of the other Vernacular literatures of India because in the first quarter of the last century when Dayaram the last of the classical poets of Gujrat was regaling the minds of the people of the towns on the banks of the Narmadā and Viśvāmitrī with his Garbis and Padas, and the Government of Bombay initiated at their new seat on the Arabian Sea an educational policy which, to speak in the language of Diwan Bahadur K. M. Javeri " has revolutionized the literature of Gujrat as it has done elsewhere in India." [1] In course of time this policy was extended to the principal towns of Gujrat and soon the old institutions which depended on the patronage of the people crumbled down under the heavy weight of the modern primary schools patronized by Government. In the second quarter it founded English schools in some of the principal towns and so moulded the courses of the primary schools upto the 4th standard as to make the latter in many respects subservient to the former and in the third, it founded Colleges at Bombay and Ahmedabad and an examining body called the Bombay University at Bombay. Dayaram, the last poet of the old school died in that quarter and Narmadashankar, the poet of the new school, also rose to eminence therein. Another great innovation that was introduced in the second quarter was the printing press. In that quarter it was largely utilized for polemical writings of an ephemeral nature against the apostles of orthodoxy in religious and social matters but in the next, useful books began to be written on those subjects by those amongst the orthodox who, though not disdaining to imbibe what was good in the Western civilization and to slough off pernicious habits, were too patriotic and pious to take to foolish mimicry of the Westerners in all matters. Any literature worth its name therefore commenced to appear in

1. Milestones of Gujrati Literature, Chapter VI, page 174.

that quarter only. The Gujrati literature of the second half of this century consequently differs materially both in quantity and quality from that of the four centuries ending with the first half of that century. This is as much true of that dealing with philosophy as of that with any subject of worldly interest.

2. When we cast a glance at the philosophical literature in Gujrati during the four centuries from the middle of the fifteenth to that of the nineteenth century, we find that the Gujrati writers of that period knew no other except the orthodox systems of philosophy, that of the six systems it was only the Vedānta that the Gujrati bards took to kindly, that of the four schools which interpreted the principles of that system, those which attracted their attention were two, namely the Bhāgavata, (from which latterly sprang the Vallabha) and the Śaṁkara schools, and, that of those two it was the former which was more popular amongst them. This is as it should be because the large majority of even the highly educated people of to-day find it difficult to grasp and if they grasp then to realize the correctness of the Advaitism of Śaṁkara, so subtle it is. It also appears that till the time of Dayaram, whose activity was in full swing at the time when the new educational policy was started and prose literature on various subjects of educational and other interests began to appear in a large quantity in the forms of journals, pamphlets and books under the auspices of educational institutions and social reform associations, all philosophical compositions had, in pursuance of the traditional method, been made exclusively in poetry and that no attempt was made by any author to depart from that method of handling the subject. Lastly, it appears that the number of the poets who have left works of outstanding merit during this long period is indeed very limited, there being Narsinh Mehta and Bhima in the 15th, Akhobhakta, Premanand, Narahari and Ratneshvara in the 17th, Pritamdas in the 18th and Dhiro, Nirant, Brahmananda, Muktananda, Gauribai and Dayaram in the first half of the 19th eentury.

3. On the other hand the second half of that century presents a remarkable difference in all respects. The first batch of Gujrati writers who emerged as the result of the new educational policy of the British Government was so much inebriated with the fresh wine

of the material Western culture that it began to condemn everything Indian, from the religion down to the manners of living and eating and spent all its energy in trying to reform Indian society and bring it up to the level of the Western, which they could not believe could have any fault. Within a few years however the first flush of enthusiasm died out as experience increased and sober thoughts began to prevail, and the Gujrati writer who was the first to be disillusioned was the one who in the prime of life was one of the most powerful writers in favour of the imitation of the Westerners in everything, and was one of the two great poets of the new era and the father of modern prose, namely Narmadashankar (1833-86). He explains that this somersault in his mental outlook came about when he studied the other ancient civilizations, namely the Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Greek and Roman, and thereafter turned his thoughts to the indigenous civilization of India and studied the Sanskrit works on religion and philosophy (Vedānta only). He having assimilated the principles underlying them has composed a number of poems on Jñāna, Vairāgya and Bhakti which are embodied in the Narmakavitā, a collection of his poems published by himself about the middle of his life, and a book entitled Dharmavicāra published a year before his death. They show that when he turned his attention to those subjects he did not leave them till he had thoroughly grasped the truth as embodied therein, that he was as passionate in his attachment to the serious side of life as in that to its lighter side and that he did not adhere to any particular school of the Vedānta but was willing to absorb whatever was good in the teachings of Śaṁkara and Vallabha which alone had till his time reached Gujrat.

4. The next great writer on religious subjects was Bholanath Sarabhai (1823-86), the most prominent of the few illustrious inhabitants of Ahmedabad who pioneered the movement of the Prarthana Samaj, a replica, so to say, of the Brahmo Samaj of Bengal. His most notable work is the Īśvara Prārthanāmālā. Being a passionate reformer he did not adhere to the doctrine of one particular school of the Vedānta philosophy though he studied that philosophy from the original works in Sanskrit and made a copious use in the prose portion of that work, of several agreeable ideas contained therein. The cult of Prarthana Samaj, as of its prototype in Bengal, being to

wean people from image-worship, to acquaint them with the true conception of God, the Almighty and the Merciful, and put them on the path of true devotion, which according to them consisted not in making offerings of flowers, fruits and perfumery in order to appease God as if He were a human being, but in knowing His true nature and so conducting oneself in life as to make the least possible departure from the path of truth and virtue, his poems show that he never lost sight of the distinction between the Supreme Soul and the individual souls.

5. The man who made the realization of the absence of that distinction the *summum bonum* and the propagation of that doctrine from various view-points for the benefit of the educated youths the sole aim of his life was Manilal N. Dwivedi, an inhabitant of Nadiad (1858-98). During the short space of 14 years for which his human frame served him after the completion of his University education, he studied almost all the most important works in Sanskrit on the Vedānta philosophy and composed and published a fairly large number of books on that subject and over and besides that tried indirectly to weave it into the life of our growing nation by advocating reforms calculated to make it fit for the reception of the knowledge of the Self through articles on various topics connected with it in his journal which originally called ' Priyaṁvadā ' was latterly styled ' Sudarśana '. His principal writings, besides those in English which were published in order to appeal to the educated Indians who were blindly running after the Western ideas in philosophy, religion, politics, literature and social organization, are ' Premajīvan with Commentaries ', ' Miśradhvani ', ' Bhagavadgītā ', 'Abhedormi', 'Vṛttiprabhākara', 'Pañcaśatī', 'Catuḥ-sūtrī', 'Ānubhava-pradīpikā' 'Saddarśanasamuccya' 'Śruti-sāra-samuddharana and about 60 articles in the 'Priyaṁvadā' and 'Sudarśana'. Although the doctrine propounded in them is that of the absolute identity of the individual with the Supreme Soul, which was first taught in a systematic form by Śaṁkarācārya, he takes care to mention that he holds it out as the true doctrine not because the founder of the Advaita school has propounded it but because he is convinced that it is the only true one. Nor does he agree with Śaṁkara in holding that this ideal is attainable only by renunciation i. e. the complete severance of one's connection with one's relations and the things of the

objective world. About 17 years before Mr. B. G. Tilak published his 'Bhagavadgītā-rahasya' or 'Karmayoga-śāstra' this literary hero of Gujrat had the boldness to interpret the Bhagavadgītā without the help of any commentaries and to proclaim the view that the ideal which that work was intended to hold out to the aspirant was not that of physical but mental renunciation and that even after knowing the Self one was expected to do such acts as one was capable of for the good of mankind. The reason for this view lies according to him in the fact that it is not by flying at a distance from the objects of sense that one can overcome the natural tendency of the human mind to run after them, to try to have them and to feel miserable if they are not secured or to hanker after others if they are secured. In support of this view he brought to his aid the third visible aspect of Brahma, namely Ānanda, i. e. joy or love, and preached the doctrine of universal love in his poems 'Premajīvan', 'Abhedormi' and others. He has also carefully warned his readers against confusing this love with the flickering sentiment that binds together persons of the opposite sexes through selfish motives, it being according to him "the least of that love which is the gospel of this philosophy," and likely to lead to that goal only if the hearts of the parties are so pure as to enable them to thoroughly grasp the real nature of the Self which attracts the one party towards the other. And being thoroughly alive to the mischief that may be wrought by an unwise use of this doctrine which knows no distinction of caste, creed, race or sex he has forewarned his readers against believing that what a Vedāntin is required to do in order to befit him for this divine knowledge is only to understand this doctrine intellectually, for in this philosophy "Knowing is being" and emphasized the fact that even according to Śaṁkara, he alone is fit for the reception of this knowledge of Brahma, who has acquired the four qualifications, namely, discrimination of the Self from the non-selfs, (2) the six virtues namely, restraint &c., (3) indifference towards the objective world and (4) a strong desire to be liberated from bondage of transmigration. Lastly, having had the benefit of a liberal education in English at a modern university and having studied the philosophical writings of English and other European authors in prose and verse, he had not remained so short-sighted as to believe that the truth as he understood it could have revealed itself only to

the sons of India who followed the Hindu religion, and having met with views similar to those formulated by him, in the monumental works of Europeans such as Milton, Goethe, Schopenhauer, Max Mlüler and others, had made a free use of excerpts from them in strengthening his views in order to impress them the more effectively on the minds of the educated youth of the country, who in his opinion had been carried away by the materialistic views of some other European writers such as Mill, Spencer and others. Lastly, in his Siddhāntasāra he has reviewed all the systems of philosophy and established the fact that the Advaita school of the Vedānta philosophy teaches the highest truth that it is possible for a human being to conceive.

6. One of the few contemporary literary men who were the admirers and worshippers of Manilal Dwivedi was Sursinhji Takhtasinhji, a ruling chief of Lathi, a fourth class state in Kathiawad, who is more known by his nom-de-plume Kalāpī. He had developed a taste for literature at an early age and had studied the works of the famous poets of Gujrat and England. Although he wrote articles for the Sudarśana edited by Manilal Dwivedi and the Chandra edited by Dr. Hari Harshad Dhruva, he was pre-eminently a poet and has written some of the finest pieces of lyric poetry in the Gujrati language in which the erotic sentiment predominates. On coming into contact with Manilal Dwivedi he became acquainted with the principles of the Vedānta philosophy and seems to have attempted to realize the universal love of which Manilal was a powerful exponent. But he had evidently turned to philosophy owing to some adverse strokes of fortune in his love adventure, and could never give up his passionate longing for the object of his love.[1] This passion was so strong that he was willing to sacrifice his all for it.[2] He tried at times to appease his mind with thoughts based on the Vedānta philosophy, rose at times from the insignificant objects to thoughts about the primordial matter and the All-pervading Essence, but his flights of imagination did not carry him beyond the veil of primeval ignorance which is the root-cause of the

1. *Vide* ' Hamāri Gunehgāri ', ' Kahone Kahewun ', ' Eklo Hun '— Kalāpī no Kekārav, pp. 95-101, 345–47, 366–67.

2. Letter to Manibhai dated 6-11-97 — Kalāpī no Kekārav, Introduction pp. 14–21 and ' Masta Iśka ' — *Ibid* p. 13.

sense of duality.[1] On the other hand we find him misusing the Vedānta phraseology for expressing his dualistic ideals for love and joy.[2] In "Hamārā Rāh"[3] he says that his way is that by which Narsinh and Miran went, and in "É Murti"[4] he yearns to be one with the Universal Mind, but although he was at times inclined to go that way he could not make much progress in that direction because he lacked a firm determination. He was thus far below his Guru Manilal Dwivedi in the philosophical scale.

7. Another contemporary and close friend and admirer of the latter was Balashankar Ullasram. He had made a thorough study of the Persian language and literature. He has composed some of the best Gazals in the Gujrati language giving expressions to his love for the Divine Essence, and a complete work called 'Hariprema-pañcaśī' which was highly praised by those who could appreciate it.

8. Govardhanram M. Tripathi was also a contemporary and fellow-citizen of Manilal. He was a Sanskrit and English scholar of no mean order. His master-piece "Sarasvatīcandra," though a novel in name, is an encyclopædia of knowledge on several topics of interest, namely social, political, religious and philosophical; and each topic as it arises in the course of the development of the main theme is treated therein very exhaustively. Chapters I, V and VI of Part III are devoted to the enunciation of a new philosophy based on an interpretation of the Upaniṣad texts, the Yogavāsiṣṭha, Śrīmad Bhāgavata Purāṇa and other works of the Vedānta philosophy. He calls it "a new phase of the Śāṁkara doctrine of Advaitism modified by the influence of the Jain doctrine, and the doctrine of Bhakti" and the personality of Śrī Kṛṣṇa is therein the visible symbol of the Alakṣya (Invisible Essence). The hero of the fiction, Sarasvatīcandra, who had by chance gone into a camp of Sādhus who followed the ideal, exclaims on hearing a song

1. 'Kamalinī', 'Mṛtyu', 'Kudrat' and 'Manuṣya'—*Ibid* pp. 22-27, 30-32 and 47.

2. 'Eka Prema', Mahārun Kabutar', 'Samudra thi Chhantatun Bālak'—*Ibid* pp. 5-7, 35-37 and 37-41.

3. *Ibid* pp. 45-47.

4. *Ibid* pp. 361-63.

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in which the ideal of their sect is expounded sung by one Sādhu named Alakhpurī :— "This is true. Those are not apathetic to the world that show their right to live in it by being useful to their fellowmen *in some form*, and the ascetic that deluges the world with his poetry and philosophy, without destroying it, does a duty, and if he does that he is not bound to confine himself within the rooms where his father has left his hoards of money and where his wife wants him to provide for her children. *Duty* in the best form is the motto of these men and they are not bound to be home-keeping youths with homely wits. The *Point* is *Duty*. In their case at least asceticism does not murder *Duty*. Beautiful ! "[1] Part IV and particularly Chapters I, II, XVIII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV and XXVIII illustrate the practical application of that doctrine. In it the author has through his hero given expression to his own ideas as to what ideal should be kept in view in bringing about an assimilation of the Western education with Eastern culture. It is replete with quotations on the one hand from the works of Wordsworth, Shelley, Longfellow, Goldsmith and other English authors and on the other from the Vedic Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, Smṛtis, the Bhagvadgītā and the later works of the Advaita school of the Vedānta philosophy and the poems and plays of Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Māgha, Bhartṛhari and other classical Sanskrit writers. At many places again the characters speak in the very words of the ancient and modern authors. The ideal put forth in this volume is primarily based upon the notion that a cultured and rich man need not waste his precious life in vain attempts to find happiness in the objects of sense but should attempt to realize the true nature of the Self, and after that object is achieved to devote the rest of his life to the good of humanity. Sarasvatīcandra though inspired with this noble ideal was groping in the dark and felt perplexed at seeing several uncontrollable forces around him but on coming into contact with Sādhu Viṣṇudāsa and his disciples, both male and female, he got a new light and was inspired with a fresh hope and many of his doubts and difficulties being solved during his stay with them he emerges from their Math full of optimism and with new and more practicable plans for the uplift of his countrymen. Although the recluses see no objection in his remarrying Kumud, the object of his

1. 'Sarasvatīcandra' Part III p. 105.

love and purposely bring and keep them together in solitude for five days they resolve to marry only spiritually and remain aloof physically. Subsequently, the hero who had decided to remain a bachelor is pursuaded to marry Kumud's sister Kusum who had resolved to remain a spinster unless he agreed to marry her and they agreeing to lead a celibate life and devote all their time to the good of humanity become joined in lawful wedlock.

9. The above are the only litterateurs who had made their marks on the literature of Gujrat till the end of the nineteenth century. One special common feature of their works was that all of them felt dissatisfied with merely repeating the abstract principles of the Vedānta philosophy but thought out, each in his own way, the new problems that had arisen before the society of their age, and in the light of those principles and in that received by them from their study of the English and Sanskrit or Persian literatures, and while not departing from the fundamental ones from amongst those principles, modified some of them in order that they may suit the new circumstances in which they found themselves. Thus, while accepting without reserve the Advaita doctrine of 'The One in the Many' they rejected the orthodox view of the Śaṁkara school that outward renunciation was absolutely necessary for those who aspired to the realization of the Self and the other one allied to it, namely that its realisation is to be sought in the mental region only, and instead stressed the importance of a change in the angle of vision, preached the doctrine of universal love and proclaimed the dignity of self-less social service. The other special feature common to all of them was that they studied not only the human society but also the objects of nature around them and tried to realise the Vedānta doctrine that the various forms of nature are but the different aspects in which the Self, the real Essence presents itself.

10. As distinguished from the above, there was a fairly large number of other writers who made attempts to spread a knowledge of the Vedānta philosophy by writing independent books with materials gathered from the original Sanskrit works, making adaptations or translations from them and publishing articles on stray topics in periodicals. The most prominent writer of this class was (1) Mansukhram Suryaram Tripathi, a Nagar Brahman of Nadiad who attracted the attention of scholars not so much by the originality of his

thoughts as by that of the way in which he expressed them and which he wished all scholars to adopt. His two notable independant works are, "Sūjña Gokulji Zālā and Vedānta" and "Vedānta-vicāra" and his one notable translation is that of the "Vicāra-sāgara" of Sādhu Niścaladāsa. It was not again by his writings alone that he influenced the views of many a learned man. He was the agent at Bombay of several first class states in Kathiawad and of Cutch and having a dominating personality wielded much power there. Naturally therefore people of diverse capacities clustered around him for one purpose or another and he never missed an opportunity to impress upon them the necessity of trying to realize in their daily life the truth of this Advaita philosophy. One of them was his nephew Govardhanram Tripathi about whom enough has already been said. (2) The second was Ichharam Suryaram Desai a Bania of Surat who started the weekly paper called "The Gujrati" which is still conducted by one of his sons. Partly from a business point of view and partly out of love for the religious loie of India, he busied himself with the publication of almost all the important post-Vedic religious and philosophical works and the translations of most of them. His principal publications till the end of the nineteenth century weie Gujrati translations of the 'Jñāneśvarī' and the 'Bhagavadgītā' with the commentary of Cidghanānanda, 'Pañcadaśī' and 'Vivekānanda Vicāramālā. His masterpiece, so to say, is however an independent work called 'Candrakānta' wherein he has, in the form of a narrative, tried to explain the doctrine of the Vedānta philosophy of the Śaṁkara school. The public thought that he had got the first two parts of that work composed by a Brahman of Unjah near Patan in North Gujrat and palmed them off as his own compositions and flung volleys of questions at him. So in the preface to the third part he explained that the work was the outcome of the notes that he had made of the teachings of certain Saṁnyāsins at Broach and Surat and of his reflections thereon and naively admitted that personally he was not competent enough to solve the doubts of other people. Although the subject is not treated by him in a scientfic manner and there is no logical connection between the three parts, the Paurānic style adopted therein caught the imagination of the strictly orthodox people and it is widely read even to this day by those who have no access to the original works in Sanskrit. (3) The third great personality to be rec-

koned with in this connection is that of Pandit Nathuram Sharma who gave up all wordly pursuits at an early age and devoted his time exclusively to a preparation for the realization of the Self and rendering such help as he could to others in doing so. He has his Āśrama at Bilkhā in Kathiawad and from there he has been editing works on the Advaita philosophy from time to time even to this day.[1] (4) The fourth is Śrīman Nṛsiṁhācārya, a Visnagara Nagar Brahman who founded at Baroda an association called 'Śreyassādhaka Adhikārivarga' (lit. a class of qualified men striving for the attainment of the highest bliss). This association was joined *inter alia* by such men of marked ability as Kausikram V. Metha, Narmadashankar D. Mehta, Chhotalal Kevalram, Nagindas P. Sanghvi and others. They had under his guidance started two monthlies called 'Mahākāla' and 'Prātaḥkāla' and each according to his attainments contributed articles thereto on subjects calculated to elevate the human soul, including philosophy. The Ācārya himself also composed devotional songs intended to be sung at their periodical meetings and published books and palmphlets for the spiritual uplift of his followers so that they may be the better prepared for the realization of the highest ideal of the Advaita philosophy *e. g.* 'Siddhānta Sindhu,' 'Bhāminī Bhūṣaṇa' &c. (5) Kahanji Dharamji, a Bhatia gentleman of Bombay and (6) Bhagubhai Phatehchand Karbhari, a Bania gentleman of Ahmedabad have also made substantial additions to the literature of this period by publishing several books on topics connected with the Vedānta philosophy of the Śaṁkara school. (7) Narayana Hemachandra had also done his little bit for the cause by publishing small brochures on such topics and lastly, the Sanātanadharmapracāriṇī Sabhā, the Veda Dharma Sabhā, Adhyātma Jñānaprasāraka Maṇḍala, Saddharmasādhaka Maṇḍala, Jñānaprasāraka Sabhā, Valod Dharmahita Sabhā, Jñānagrāhaka Sabhā, Vedokta Dharmaśravaṇa Sabhā and other minor associations have done the work of popularizing the principles of the Vedānta philosophy by editing periodicals and books which were mostly translations of original Sanskrit works such as the 'Yoga Vāsiṣṭha' 'Pañcadaśī' and others. There were of course a host of other minor authors and translators but it is not possible to refer to them individually within the limits of this short article.

1. This saint died in 1931.

11. Reviewing the work of this class of writers on the whole one finds that the followers of the Advaita school were the first to take advantage of the increasing literacy of the masses, that with a few exceptions they selected only such of the Sanskrit works for translation or wrote only such treatises as would be appreciated by people in whom faith rather than intelligence predominated and who were therefore likely to be satisfied with a knowledge of only the principles of the Advaita philosophy, that those who selected the more critical works like the 'Saddharma Samuccaya' and 'Sarvadarśana Saṁgraha' for translation were men who could not command respect from the scholars of the day and that unlike the authors of the by-gone age the majority of them preferred the newly-introduced prose style which did not require much effort on the part of the reader to grasp the author's meaning and thus enable him to concentrate his sole attention on the subject itself.

12. It will have been observed from what has preceded that whereas there were only a few persons till the end of the first half of the nineteenth century who having studied the original works on the Advaita philosophy thought over the subject and gave the benefit of their study and reflection to their comparatively illiterate brethren, there was a large number of persons who did that in the second half of that century; that this was due to two causes, namely (1) the spread of literacy amongst the inhabitants of the province through organized schools run by the Department of Public Instruction and (2) the increased facilities of giving publicity to one's work afforded by the printing press and periodicals, that there was a gulf of difference between the calibres and the lines of activity of the writers who had received higher education through the English language and those who had received primary education only through the Vernacular; that the former class of writers was busy bringing out such works as would create in the minds of the members of their own class a reverence for their own ancestors and a sense of appreciation of the legacy left by them, and hold out before them a variety of ideals which was the result of an assimilation of their past heritage with the present acquisition from their Western masters; and that therefore the original works on the Vedānta philosophy and translations of some of the ancient works thereon, which were brought out in that century were of an inferior order. It is

gratifying to note that their successors in the first quarter of the present century have bridged that gulf by bringing out several excellent translations of standard works and several original works calculated to train up the Gujrati readers to follow the critical method employed by the founders of the Śaṁkara, Rāmānuja and Vallabha schools. Thus (1) R. B. Kamalashankar P. Trivedi, an eminent Oriental scholar of a very high order, published his literal translation of 'Śaṁkarabhāṣya' between A. D. 1907 and 1910; (2) Acharya Anandshankara B. Dhruva, an equally eminent scholar, published his translation of 'Śrībhāṣya' in 1913; (3) Kavi Nanalal Dalpatram published a poetical translation of the Bhagavadgītā in 1910; (4) Ranchhoddas Vrindavandas brought out his 'Puṣṭimārgīya Siddhānta' in the same year; (5) Manilal Chhabaram put before the public his translation of the 'Atmapurāṇa' in 1907; and (6) Ichharam Suryaram, proprietor of the Gujrati Press and (7) Bhikhsu Akhandanand, Secretary of the Sastu Sahitya Pracharaka Mandala, brought out during this period several important works and translations, having got them prepared by able hands.

13. It should not however be believed that there are no more standard works to be brought to the knowledge of the Gujrati reading public. Thus a translation of the principal Upaniṣads together with notes as to the interpretations put upon some of the oft-quoted texts by the Ācāryas, critical translations of several learned treatises in Sanskrit such as the Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad with the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda, Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya-Vārttika by Sureśvara, the 'Saṁkṣepa Śārīraka' of Sarvajña Muni, the 'Aṇubhāṣya' of Vallabhācārya, 'Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha' of Madhva, 'Siddhāntaleśa' of Appaya Dīkṣit, 'Advaitasiddhi' and 'Siddhāntabindu' of Madhusūdana and other independent works, based upon a comparative study of the Vedānta doctrine and those of European philosophers like Plato, Hegel, Schlegel, Schopenhauer and others would be very useful in enlightening the philosophically-minded amongst the Gujratis, and if some of the capable Gujrati graduates who fortunately are many in this age, gird up their loins to supply this want they would be earning honorable places for themselves in the galaxy of the eminent Vedāntins of Gujrat, for they would thereby be rendering very valuable services to their province and their mother-tongue.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF JĪVA GOSVĀMIN — BY PROF. UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJI, M. A.

INTRODUCTION

This paper attempts to present in brief outline some of the leading concepts of Jīva Gosvāmin's philosophy. Jīva belongs to the Bengal School of Vaiṣṇava philosophy — and he is so important here that we might even call him the founder of the school. He was no doubt preceded by Rūpa and Sanātana and the writings of these no doubt prepared the ground and even inspired him in his efforts (cf. तत्त्वसंदर्भ, *Introduction*) ; still, so far as philosophy proper is concerned, we find more of it in Jīva Gosvāmin's writings than in those of his predecessors.

Jīva belongs to a well-known group of writers from whom, however, he can be easily distinguished. He is not a mere commentator who has no importance apart from the original author on whom he comments. He has sufficient originality, it seems, to entitle him to independent consideration.

Jīva's predecessors in thought were not confined to Bengal. The two Bengali writers, Rūpa and Sanātana, not only preceded him in life and thought but were also related to him. Besides, there were others, even outside Bengal, who influenced his thought. (See *Tattva-saṁdarbha*, 4). As a matter of fact the whole heritage of Vaiṣṇava thought was his: he drew freely upon the Bhāgavata and other Purāṇas, the Vedānta-bhāṣya of Madhva and Rāmānuja and also the Pañca-rātra school; in addition, he also utilised appropriate *Śruti* texts. In a sense, all the elements of his system may be traced in these authorities; for, in no case will he ever lay down any important proposition which is not at the same time supported by some authoritative text or other. Never-the-less, none of the texts he quotes from will give us the idea of the system that he has built. Herein lies his originality and his importance as a thinker. He brings together ideas scattered in different places and in different contexts and makes a more or less coherent whole with them.

His philosophical *magnum opus* is his षट्संदर्भ and his own commentary on it called the सर्वसंवादिनी. And what follows here is mainly based on these works. Jīva does not appear to have been studied in English yet, except perhaps in Prof. G. N. Mallik's *The Philosophy of Vaiṣṇava Religion* (Published by Motilal Banarsi Das of Lahore). But there, as the very title of the book implies, Jīva is mixed up with other writers, and philosophy is diluted with religious faith and enthusiasm.

The general plan of Jīva's philosophy is more or less the same as that of the better known systems ; *viz.*: (1) a theory of *Pramāṇas*, or, epistemology ; (2) a theory of ultimte reality, or ontology ; (3) a theory of *Summun bonum* — निःश्रेयस or पुरुषार्थ,— and means for attaining it.

1. EPISTEMOLOGY OR THEORY OF *PRAMĀṆAS*

So far as knowledge of ultimate reality is concerned, *Śabda* or Veda is our only source according to Jīva. In the सर्वसंवादिनी, Jīva considers a list of ten pramāṇas ; but the highest and most reliable among them is *śabda*.

(i) प्रत्यक्ष :— *Pratyakṣa* is primarily of five kinds according to the five senses but there is the internal perception (मानस प्रत्यक्ष) which takes place without the aid of any sense-organ. This gives us a list of six *pratyakṣas*, each of which, again, may be of two kinds according to the well-known division of सविकल्प and निर्विकल्प. *Pratyakṣa* may also be divided into वैदुष and अवैदुष, i. e., belonging to the seers and to the non-seers or ordinary men. The first is free from error, because, in fact, *śabda* itself is based on *pratyakṣa* of this kind — the *pratyakṣa*, that is to say, of the great seers who gave us the Vedas. But the अवैदुष प्रत्यक्ष or perception of the ordinary man is always liable to error. And when we speak of perception generally, we mean this *pratyakṣa* and to this it is that *śabda* is superior. The *pratyakṣa* of the great seers is the basis of *śabda* itself and is obviously the highest *pramaṇa*. The ordinary man's *pratyakṣa* or perception is very defective as a *pramāṇa* ; sometimes, it cannot give any knowledge whatsoever except with the aid of *śabda*. *Śabda*, however, is always independent of the other *pramāṇas*. This shows the superiority of *śabda*.

It has sometimes been suggested that what is perceived by all— the universal *pratyakṣa* — is the standard of truth. But this is impossible; we can never discover this universal perception, for the simple reason that we can never bring together the whole of the perceiving world. For similar reasons, the theory that truth is the perception (*pratyakṣa*) of the greatest number, is also untenable.[1] So, this at any rate is certain that *pratyakṣa* as a *pramāṇa* is inferior to *śabda*.

(ii) अनुमान :— In the same way, *anumāna* also may be shown to be inferior to *śabda*. The gist of Jīva's criticism may well be indicated by suggesting a comparison with the usual criticism of syllogism in Western Logic. After all, अनुमान is syllogistic; and as the validity of the syllogism depends on that of the major premise, the validity of *anumāna*, according to Jīva, depends on the truth of the *vyāpti* (व्याप्ति) on which it is based. But this *vyāpti* relation is not always invariable and is not always true. Take for example the case of fire and smoke : smoke, no doubt, is a sign of fire, and the existence of fire can be inferred from the existence of smoke; but it is not *always* true : for, smoke may also rise when a fire is just extinguished. In that case, smoke is no indication of the existence of fire.

The *Vyāpti* or the major premise is only probable and never certain : It is not a *necessary* truth. Inference, therefore, is at best only a source of probable knowledge and is thus inferior to *śabda* which, it is claimed, gives certain knowledge.

In some cases, inference may bring its aid to *śabda* but in no case can it contradict *śabda* without being itself untrue. But there are plenty of cases where truth can be known by *śabda* and *śabda* alone— inference being of no avail there. All these considerations establish the superiority of *śabda*, both to *pratyakṣa* as well as to *anumāna*.

The other *pramāṇas* do not deserve any detailed examination. For, so far as they are valid, they involve one or other of the above

1. *Sarva-Saṁvādinī*, Calcutta *Sāhitya-pariṣat* Edition, p. 6.

three *pramāṇas* and are valid only to that extent. They cannot be regarded as independent *pramāṇas* at all. That they involve either प्रत्यक्ष or अनुमान or शब्द, can be easily seen. They are :—

(iii) आर्ष :— i. e. knowledge derived from the sayings of the gods and *ṛṣis*.

(iv) उपमान :— as when we know one thing A, by being told that it is like B.

(v) अर्थापत्ति :— e. g., if we know that a man does not eat by day but is yet fat, we can thence *know* that he eats by night.

(vi) अभाव :— i. e. absence of an object, e. g., a pot in the room, known by its non-perception.

(vii) संभव :— e. g., the knowledge that hundred is in thousand.

(viii) ऐतिह्य :— or tradition of which the origin is not known.

(ix) चेष्टा :— i. e. knowing the nature and number of things by physical efforts, such as lifting or pointing out with fingers.

Highest truth or परमार्थ cannot be known by any of these *pramāṇas*. Animals no doubt are guided in their conduct of life by *pratyakṣa* alone. But by no stretch of imagination can their knowledge be regarded as knowledge of the higher realities. Among men, however, *śabda* is operative even from childhood. Even children derive considerable knowledge from the spoken words of reliable persons like their parents. Mere perception or inference or any of the other minor *pramāṇas*, would not give them any important knowledge. Higher knowledge, therefore, is possible only through *śabda*.

(x) शब्द :— What, then, is this *śabda*? Certainly not any statement that may be put forward as free from error. But it is the *śāstras* and as the fountain-head of all *śāstras*, the *Vedas*. Śāstras like आयुर्वेद which follow the lead of all the Vedas are also valid *śabda-pramāṇa*. But the words ascribed to Buddha cannot be valid *śabda*-pramāṇa; for, the *śāstras* which ascribe a divinity to him and might thus be understood as suggesting that his words are infallible, also say that he promulgated his teachings only to delude

the demons — (" येन शास्त्रेण तस्येश्वरत्वं मन्यामहे, तेनैव तस्य दैत्यमोहनशास्त्रकारित्वेनोक्तत्वात् "—*Sarva-Saṁvādinī*, Cal. Edition, p. 9).

The Vedas, of course, are infallible. Objections to their infallibility have been raised frequently enough, but they have been met. Jīve does the same, without, however, contributing any thing new to the old stock of arguments in favour of the Vedas. But along with a few other writers like Vijñānabhikṣu, Jīva advances a modified theory of *śabda-pramāṇa*, according to which the Purāṇas are equally valid with the Vedas. Among the Purāṇas, however, some are of higher authority than the others — i. e., the Purāṇas which speak of Viṣnu are of a superior order. Among these, again, the Bhāgavata is the highest. It is needless to say that all these conclusious of Jīva are supported by a heap of quotations, mainly taken, however, from these Purānas themselves. If this unique position claimed for the Bhāgavata is challenged on the ground that the great आचार्य शंकर did not comment on it, and, therefore, perhaps did not consider it of sufficient value, Jīva's answer would be that even Śaṁkara recognised the value of the Bhāgavata: and though he did not comment on it, he wrote many hymns (स्तोत्र) inculcating the Bhāgavata ideas (तत्त्व-संदर्भ, २३).

It will appear from the above that Jīva's philosophy is mainly the philosophy of the Bhāgavata. Of course, it is ballasted, so to say, by ideas gathered from elsewhere, such as the writings of Madhva, Rāmānuja and others. (cf. *Tattva-Saṁdarbha*, 28).

2. ONTOLOGY

What, then, is this philosophy of the Bhāgavata as Jīva expounds it ?

(a) *As to* जीव *or individual soul* : the individual or finite soul is distinct from God. The absolute monism or अद्वैतवाद of Śaṁkara is unacceptable to Jīva Gosvāmin. He seeks to establish his con clusions in this matter by first combating the theory of अविद्या or माया and उपाधि. We have not space here to reproduce his arguments nor need this be done, for the arguments against the अविद्या theory are mainly the same in all cases. Jīva's position in this matter is indicated in *Tattva-Saṁdarbha*, 43, read with Baladeva's commentary on it,

In a sense, the finite (*Jīva*) and infinite Soul are one: just as an old Brahman and a young Brahman, or a black Brahman and a white Brahman are *one as* Brahman, i. e. so far as the class (जाति) is concerned. But they are different as individuals (व्यक्ति); and so are the finite and infinite souls different from each other as व्यक्ति or individuals.

There is an incomprehensible (अचिन्त्य) power of god which makes this peculiar relation possible. Like heat in the sun, this power inheres in God and it rules and regulates whatever is other than God, such as *Prakṛti*, *Kāla* and *Karma*, which are different from God and yet are in Him. The individual souls also have their being in Him ("तमाश्रयस्यैव वृत्तिं लभन्ते); but they cannot in any way affect his being or limit Him. This relation is like that obtaining between the several senses on the one hand and the मुख्य प्राण (or chief sense) on the other.

The finite souls have the attribute of self-consciousness and are indivisible, unitary and unchanging. They are subtle and atomic (अणु) in character, i. e. do not occupy space, yet pervade by consciousness ('चैतन्यगुणेन — *Sarva-saṁvādinī*, p. 111) and influence the whole of the organisms which they may inhabit for the time being, just as a smelling object may remain at one point of space and yet spread its smell far and wide. The *jīva* is an ego— the subject of the consciousness of '*I*' (अहमर्थः). It is a knower, a doer (कर्ता) and also the enjoyer (भोक्ता). Numerically there is a plurality of *jīvas*; and each living organism is inhabited by a discrete *jīva* ('प्रतिक्षेत्रं भिन्न एव जीवः'—*Sarva-Saṁvādinī*, p. 105). Jīva Gosvāmin's idea of the soul is mainly based on Bhāgavata, xi. 3. 38.

(b) *The Absolute or Infinite Soul* :—

Along with other Vaiṣṇava writers from Rāmānuja downwards, Jīva Gosvāmī also strenuously combats the निर्विशेष अद्वैत theory. The ultimate reality according to him is of course one, but it is not an unqualified one — it is not a reality without attributes. On the contrary, like Spinoza's substance, it has an infinity of attributes of which the chief can be enumerated. And this substance may be looked at from different angles of vision — it has different aspects —

and may thus be differently conceived. The development of Jīva's conception of the Absolute hinges upon the Bhāgavata text, i. 2. 11., viz.—

"वदन्ति तत् तत्त्वविदस्तत्त्वं यज्ज्ञानमद्वयम् ।
ब्रह्मेति परमात्मेति भगवानिति शब्द्यते ॥"

The ultimate Reality or Absolute is one (अद्वय) without a second. It is consciousness— and consciousness is its inner essence as well as its outer form or विग्रह. It has powers (शक्ति) which inhere in it but are distinguishable from it and, therefore, qualify it. When we fully comprehend these powers in Him, He is called भगवान्; but when these powers are not comprehended and He appears as a being without attributes, He is called ब्रह्म. (Cf. *Sarva-saṁvādinī*, p. 57).

And as the indwelling spirit—the regulator, the doer and the thinker in us all, He is called the Soul of Souls or परमात्मा. The परमात्मा is different from the individual souls though present in each of them and it is an aspect of the Aboslute.[1] It is an aspect of the Aboslute as creator of the world.

A complete understanding of the nature of the Absolute is thus impossible without an understanding of the world which manifests Him — is his body, so to say, and *as such*, is an attribute of Him.

(c) *World* :— 'Agreeing with other Vaiṣṇava writers, Jīva regards the world as real and creation as a fact. But after all the unconscious world and the conscious selves together make up the body (शरीर) of the Absolute. (*Sarva-Saṁvādinī*, p. 133 *et seq.*).

As to creation, Jīva rejects the विवर्त्त-वाद or illusion theory and accepts the परिणाम-वाद or transformation theory. Brahma, as the material and the efficient cause of the woıld, makes the world out of himself : the world is nothing else. But in thus giving rise to a world out of himself, Brahma does not suffer any change or loss of essence. For, if that were the case, He would not be an ultimate reality at all. The world of change is Brahma and yet Brahma is

1 This idea is also developed in Gītā, XIII, to which a reference may be made.

immutable. Creation, therefore, is a great mystery ! It only shows how inscrutable are the powers of the Absolute. Such powers exist even in some precious stones: how much more, then, should they exist in God ?

"प्रसिद्धश्च लोकशास्त्रयो श्चिन्तामणिः
स्वयमविकृत एव नानाद्रव्याणि प्रसूत इति ।"
Sarva-saṁvādinī, p. 142.

And hence Jīva concludes :—

" तस्मादचिन्त्यया शक्त्या निरवयवं
सावयवं च ब्रह्म तथैव परिणममानमपि
निर्विकारमेव तिष्ठतीति श्रौतसिद्धान्तः ।"
(*ibid.*, p. 143).

This mysterious and inscrutable power of Brahma is what is meant by the *Śrutis* when they speak of Him as spinning the world round Himself like a spider weaving its own net (Muṇḍ. i. 1. 7).

But it should be understood that the different aspects of Brahma remain always distinguishable and do not get promiscuously mixed up. In the many-coloured cloth each thread or fibre has its own individual colour which it retains throughout and it is only the combined effect on the eye of the different colours of the different threads that gives us the perception of a many-coloured cloth. So, in God too, the difference between the enjoyer and the enjoyed, the regulator and the regulated, the conscious and the unconscious, remains throughout : these distinctions do not disappear nor do they get merged into each other ; collectively, however, they constitute the world.

"अतो भगवदुपादानत्वेऽपि संघातस्योपादानत्वे चिदचितो भगवतश्च स्वभावासंकरः । यथा लोके शुक्लत्वं तु संघातोपादानत्वेऽपि चित्रपटस्य तत्तन्तुप्रदेश एव शौक्ल्यादिसंबन्ध इति कार्य्यावस्थायामपि न वर्णसंकरः । तथा चिदाचिद्भगवत्-संघातोपादानत्वेन कार्य्यावस्थायामपि भोक्तृत्व-भोग्यत्व-नियन्तृत्व-नियम्यत्वाद्यसंकरः ।"—(Sarva-Saṁvādinī, p. 145).

The world as a sequence of cause and effect and as differentiated into gross and subtle and conscious and unconscious objects, is, after all, the great soul with so many attributes and powers.

"अतः कार्य्यावस्थः कारणावस्थश्च स्थूलसूक्ष्मचिदचिद्वस्तुशक्तिः परमपुरुष एव —कारणात् कार्य्यस्यानन्यत्वात् ।"— (*ibid.*, p. 145).

Jīva Gosvāmin belongs to the school of अचिन्त्यभेदाभेद and regards God and world, cause and effect, creator and created as non-different in essence and yet different as manifestation— as aspects of the same substance; and the entire system of relations is a great, incomprehensible mystery.

(d) कृष्ण : - The Absolute as defined above is none other than Kṛṣṇa. For this, among other things, proof is found in the famous Bhāgavata text, i. 3. 28, "— कृष्णस्तु भगवान् स्वयम्." The theory of *Avatāras* and their different kinds is a subject of minute examination by Vaiṣṇava writers and Jīva is no exception to this rule. And the conclusion to which they are generally led — specially those who pin their faith on the Bhāgavata — is that Kṛṣṇa is not an *avatāra* only — He is very much more than that — He is Bhagavān himself, i. e., the Absolute conceived as manifesting itself in all its glories — the Absolute conceived along with its power (शक्ति). This concept of *power* (शक्ति), as different from the subject having the power (शक्तिमान्), yet inseparable from Him, gives us the concept of राधा.

But here perhaps we go beyond the limits of philosophy proper and enter into the domain of a well-known, mysterious faith which has held sway for centuries in India.

3. THE SUMMUM BONUM (पुरुषार्थ)

For want of a better term, the *Summum Bonum* according to all Vedāntists and, therefore, also, according to Vaiṣṇava Vedāntists, may be described as मुक्ति. But this state of *Mukti* has been variously conceived and various phases are assigned to it. It may be possible under different relations with the Absolute (such as living in the same plane of existence with him, or by his side, &c.) and thus मुक्ति may be of different kinds. But it is an existence — it is life and not annihilation and it is a life with all bliss and all happiness.

The means — and according ro Vaiṣṇavas, the only means — for attaining this *mukti*, is भक्ति. Of *bhakti* again, various forms are

there. And different means may have to be adopted for the generation and development of this *bhakti* itself. Into these details, however, space forbids us to enter. We may briefly note here that the highest phase of this *bhakti*, according to Bengal Vaiṣṇavism and therefore, according to Jīva also, is प्रीति-भक्ति or, more briefly, प्रीति. Strictly speaking, this *prīti* is not what is usually implied by *mukti*; yet, it can be described as a form of *mukti*, in so far as it implies a state of existence which is free from the trammels of worldly life. It is a life of eternal devotion and service to the Lord — a service which expects no reward but springs spontaneously from an overflow of love for the Lord. However one may describe it, this प्रीति is the highest mode of spiritual existence to which the individual soul may aspire — it is his *Summum Bonum*.

CONCLUSION

It will be seen from the above very brief summary that, in many of his ideas, Jīva Gosvāmin was perhaps not very original. And it must be said to his credit also that he did not pretend to be so either. He preferred to pass only for an expounder of the ideas contained in books which had already become canonical, his special care, however, being the *Bhāgavata*. But inspite of all these limitations, it may be claimed on his behalf that he endeavoured to bring together ideas that were floating about in the writings of Vaiṣṇavas like Madhva, and Rāmānuja, and others, and, by an eclectic synthesis, he attempted to establish the superiority of the अचिन्त्यभेदाभेद theory.

The chief thing that strikes one in his philosophy is his theory of the Absolute. That the Absolute is equivalent to Kṛṣṇa is not very new in his time. But the Absolute as, at the same time, *Brahma*, *Bhagavān*, and *Paramātmā*, is a bold idea. Even here, no doubt, he had his predecessors and he avowedly bases his theory on a Bhāgavata text. Nevertheless, in the whole range of Vedānta literature, we do not find many who have elaborated this concept of the manifold character of the Absolute — the idea of a great diversity mysteriously held together in a greater Unity — with equal emphasis and courage and faith.

CONTROVERSY REGARDING THE AUTHORITY OF THE TANTRAS — By Chintaharan Chakravarti, M. A., Calcutta

It has been shown in a separate paper[1] how the advocates of the tantras tried to trace tantricism in all its aspects in the Vedas. It is by this kind of affiliation to the Vedas that the antiquity, authority and sanctity of the tantras were sought to be established.

But there was the other side of the picture as well. There were people who were loath to recognize the authority of the tantras. And there was a heated controversy raging almost constantly as regards the value and importance of the tantras. The general attitude of a good many modern scholars towards the tantras is also anything but favourable.

In spite however of the fairly hoary antiquity and wide-spread popularity of tantra rites - in spite of all attempts on the part of the upholders of tantricism to prove the Vedic origin of these, some, at least, if not all, of these practices had drawn upon themselves the unfavourable criticism of a section of the people from an early date. This was the case not only in India, but elsewhere outside India as well with regard to rites similar to those of the tantras. We are told that things went so far in Rome that phallic worship became an intolerable nuisance and had to be put down by the senate on account of the more than unusual immorality to which it gave rise.

Popularity of Tantricism

The chorus of denunciation should not however lead us away from the fact that tantra worship in general, which has nothing objectionable in it, was and still is highly popular all over India. Indeed, Brahmanic worship all through is permeated by tantricism. There are bīja-mantras, mūla-mantras, nyāsas and many other characteristic features associated with tantricism that are found in

1. *Antiquity of Tantricism* — Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VI, pp. 114 ff.

Brahmanic worship of the present day. The popularity of tantricism is clearly testified to by the fact that tantra worship has found place even in strictly Vedic rites. Thus in Bengal the tantric goddesses - the sixteen mothers - have to be worshipped even on the occasion of the observance of Vedic sacraments like Annaprāśana, Upanayana, Vivāha etc. Brahmans are required to undergo a tantric initiation in addition to the Vedic one. His tantric *iṣṭamantra* is even more important to him than his Vedic gāyatrī.

Tantric counterparts of Vedic rites have also been added in course of time (e. g. tantric Saṁdhyā etc.). Many of the cults of the village deities of different parts of India bear distinct stamp of the marked influence exerted by tantricism, thus testifying to its popularity.[1]

Even with the exception of the tantras and the works by the advocates of them, many a work like the Purāṇas etc. are found to recognise their authority — nay in some cases their superiority over any other śāstra.[2] This recognition does not of course pertain to the objectionable portion, as is clearly indicated by the writings of scholars like Bhāskara Rāya, who have distinguished between good and bad tantras.

Besides, some aspects of the tantras (e. g. medicinal and yoga, consisting of the demonstration of various feats) the results of which were more apparent than those of others had an undoubted influence on a very large section of the people. This is reflected in the line " Medical science, Astrology and tantra create one's confidence at every step ".[3]

Now to come to the adverse criticism of the tantras. Buddhist and Jain works refer to the practices of the tantras invariably in a spirit of denunciation. They speak ill of these practices that are not to be adopted by those who follow the right path.

Denunciation of Tantricism

(i) *in Buddhist and Jain works*

1. Cf. my paper on *the Cult of Bāro Bhāiyā of Eastern Bengal* (J. A. S. B. Vol. XXVI, pp. 379 ff.)

2. *Principles of Tantras* — Arthur Avalon, Vol. I., pp. 112 ff.

3. " चिकित्सितज्योतिषतन्त्रवादाः पदे पदे प्रत्ययमावहन्ति ।"

They are even dubbed as *dukkata* or mal-practices. Even in popular works like the *Deśopadeśa* and *Narmamālā* of the polymath Kṣemendra and *Bharatakadvātriṁśikā* of the Jainas a ridiculous and most detestable picture of tantric rites is sought to be drawn. Guṇaratna, commenting on the *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* of Haribhadra Sūri (Bib. Ind. ed. p. 300) has definitely put down the Kāpālikas as *nāstikas* recognising neither good nor bad.

Though elements of at least some of the tantra rites are met with in the Vedic literature and though the upholders of tantricism made attempts to prove the Vedic origin of the tantras, it must be admitted that they were from a very early period regarded as un-Vedic even in Brahmanic works. Some of the Purāṇas and even some of the tantra works themselves are found to have recorded in definite terms the un-Vedic character of the tantras as a whole or at least of some sections of them. This is done not only directly when the tantras are actually condemned, but also indirectly in places where different forms of worship (e. g. Vedic, Tāntric etc.) are mentioned side by side. The tantric form as distinct from the Vedic form is sometimes said to be specially efficacious in the Kali Age. Bhāgavatapurāṇa (XI. 3. 47-48, XI. 5. 28), Brahmapurāṇa (as quoted by Raghunandana in his *Puruṣottama-tattva*) and Varāha Purāṇa definitely prescribe the worship of Viṣṇu and Mahādeva both according to the Tantras and Vedas. Yoginī tantra (xiii. 51) refers to Vedic and tantric dharma. Kullūka in his commentary on Manusaṁhitā (II. 1) mentions two classes of Śrutis, - Vedic and tantric.

(ii) *in tantra works*

The un-Vedic nature of the tantras was suspected as early as the time of *Niśvāsa-tattva-saṁhitā*, a manuscript copy of which, written in transitional Gupta characters, is in the Durbar Library of Nepal.[1] Rudrayāmala (ch. xvii) and Brahmayāmala (ch. I - II) which describe how Vaśiṣṭha, unable to attain perfection by the performance of Vedic rites, had to take lessons from Buddha in tantricism, point to the inferiority of the Vedas and hence the un-Vedic character of tantricism. Nityā-tantra (Chap. I)

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1. H. P. Shastri — *A cat. of Palm-leaf & selected paper Mss. belonging to Durbar Library, Nepal*— pp. 10, 137, Preface p. LXXVII.

admits the un-Vedic character of the Cakra worship of the tantras. The Siddāntatantras of the South which claim for themselves a Vedic origin (*Śivādvaita of Nīlakaṇṭha* — S. Suryanarayana Sastri, —University of Madras—1930—p. 4) have been put down as un-Vedic in the *Vāyusaṁhitā* as quoted by Appayadīkṣita in his *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā* under *Brahmasūtra* (II. 2. 38).

Some people again, like Bhāskara-Rāya (*Setubandha* p. 4), and Mitra Miśra, author of the Smṛti compilation called *Vīramitrodaya*, distinguish between Vedic and un-Vedic tantras. The Vīramitrodaya (Vol. I., p. 22) has quoted the Vāyusaṁhitā in support of this distinction.[1]

Some of the tantras are also found to have borne something of a sort of ill feeling against the Vedas. One initiated into tantra rites was advised not to observe any Vedic ceremony. Aparārka quotes one anonymous smṛti text which states that Vedic śrāddha is highly depreciable for one who has been initiated into tantricism.[2]

One tantra work, the *Kākacaṇḍeśvarīmatam*, goes to demonstrate the need and superiority of the tantras over the Vedas and states that the Vedas being very old in age cannot lead to perfection.[3] Other tantra works too have been clear in declaring the superiority of the tantras over the Vedas. The *Kulārṇava* (xi. 85) and *Brahmajñānamahātantra* point to the dignity of the tantras over the Vedas when they compare the former to high-born women and the latter to public women.

Some of the tantra works again have unsparingly criticised the apparently revolting practices of tantric kulācāra. The Sanatkumāra Saṁhitā states that external tantra worship should

1. शवागमोऽपि द्विविधः श्रौतोऽश्रौतश्च संस्मृतः ।
श्रुतिसारमयः श्रौतः स्वतन्त्र इतरः स्मृतः ॥
The *Api* here has been interpreted as referring to this distinction with regard to Vaiṣṇava and Pāñcarātra tantras as well.

2. *Yājñavalkya-Saṁhitā* (Anandashrama Sanskrit Series, Poona), p. 11.

3. H. P. Shastri— *A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected Paper Mss. belonging to the Durbar Library of Nepal* (वेदानां च वयोऽर्थेन न सिद्धिस्तेन जायते),

not in general be performed, but it may be performed by low caste people as it leads to little good. Those who follow Vedic injunction should perform internal worship, implying thereby, as is explicitly pointed out by Lakṣmīdhara, commentator of the *Saundarya-laharī* (p. 107 of the Mysore ed.), that outward rites are un-Vedic Lakṣmīdhara in another place of his work definitely (p. 130) states that kula rites are un-Vedic.

Some of the Purāṇas are also found to have been quite outspoken in their condemnation of the tantras. They not only try to undermine their value as being un-Vedic but also assert that they lead astray the people who are not on their guard.

(iii) *in Purāṇa works*

Rudra says to the sage Agastya in the Varāhapurāṇa (70. 41 ; 71. 9, 53-55) how the tantras were compiled by him for deluding the people[1] fallen from the Vedic path. In another place it is stated how, at the request of Viṣṇu, Śiva compiled the tantras with the same object and wrongly showed how a good deal could be attained with the least effort (70. 35-38).

The Kūrmapurāṇa (Pūrvabhāga -- XII. 255-9) also says the same thing. The *Tantrādhikārinirṇaya* of Bhattoji has quoted from the Vaśiṣtha Purāṇa, Liṅga°, Brahmavaivarta°, Skanda°, Parāśara°, and Sūtasaṁhitā, similar passages which seek to demonstrate the unauthoritativeness and deceptive character of the tantras.

Some people went so far as to advise complete social ostracism of the followers of the tantras. Any act of social intercourse with them was to be followed by expiatory rites. Aparārka[2] has quoted an anonymous Smṛti text which says that one should see the sun even if he happens to have a look at the Kāpālikas, Śaivas or Pāśupatas, and should be pure after taking a bath if he touches them. According to the Kūrmapurāṇa (Uparibhāga, ch. xv), one should not even do the honour of speaking to Pāñcarātras and Pāśupatas.

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1. According to the *Bhairavaḍāmara* also tantra rites that appear to be very easy were meant to delude the people.

   " दुष्टानां मोहनार्थाय सुगमं तन्त्रमीरितम् "

   — *Bhairava-ḍāmara (uttara-bhāga).*

2. *Yājñavalkya-Saṁhitā* (A. S. S.), p. 18.

According to the Sāmbapurāṇa quoted in the Vīramitrodaya (Vol. I, p. 24), Tantras should be resorted to by persons fallen from Vedic rites and afraid of Vedic penances.

The tantric denunciation has been sought to be traced in early dharmaśāstra works too. A passage of Āpastamba is supposed by Aparārka (p. 13) to have reference to the unauthoritativeness of Śaiva rites and practices. The passage in question, however, does not mention the Śaivas by name. What it says is that practices coming in conflict with those of the Vedas are devoid of authority.

(iv) *in dharmaśāstra works etc.*

Several verses of Manu have been interpreted as referring to tantra rites in an unfavourable way. Thus Aparārka in his commentary on Yājñavalkya (I. 7-p. 12--14) is of opinion that Manu (xii, 95-96), who mentions śrutis beyond the pale of Vedic literature, implies reference to the scriptures of the Śaivas etc., i. e., the tantras.

It is however a fact that Manu (xi. 63) expressly condemns abhicāra which is found both in the Atharvaveda and some of the tantras. He includes it in the list of Upa-pātakas or minor sins.

The revolting rites of the tantras - specially the ṣaṭkarmas - do not seem to have ever been hailed as conducive to religious merit. It may be that it was owing to the advocacy of some such rites that the Atharvaveda had to face a strong wave of popular aversion against itself and had to demonstrate its merit before it could be accepted as genuine and pure — a Veda proper. The volume of criticism levelled against the tantra also, both in earlier and modern days, seems to be based on these. Severe penances have been prescribed for magic rites performed, with the intent of doing harm to enemies, in various old works like *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* (I. 9, 26-27), *Baudhāyana*° (II. I. 2. 16), *Gautama Dharmasūtra* (25. 7), *Manusaṁhitā* (ix 290), *Yājñavalkya saṁhitā* (III. 289). And this represents the attitude of not a very weak and negligible section of the people towards these rites.

The use of wine even in sacrifices was resented at a very early period. That such a feeling of resentment existed as early as the

time of Patañjali or even earlier is shown by a verse quoted by him which wonders how wine which was the source of all evil could lead one to heaven if taken on the occasion of a sacrifice.[1]

Kumārila in his Tantravārtika, Śaṁkara in his bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtras (II. 2. 45), Puruṣottama in his *Bhāṣyaprakāśa* on Vallabhācārya's Aṇubhāṣya (II. 2. 42) and Appaya Dīkṣita in his *Vedāntakalpatarauparimala* have all sought to prove the unauthoritativeness of the tantras, or sections of them, at least among, the higher class people, on account of their un-Vedic character.[2]

Mutual fault-finding among the different Sects

The most curious thing with regard to these denunciations is the mutual feeling of disregard and contempt that the followers of one sect bore against those of another. The Vaiṣṇavas were outspoken in their attack of the views of the Śaivas and the Śāktas and vice versa. Thus the Pāñcarātra school of the Vaiṣṇavas denounced the Śaiva and Śākta rites in most definite terms. All kinds of heinous offences and revolting practices are found to have been associated with the Śāktas by the followers of Caitanya in Bengal (I.H.Q., Vol. IV, p. 247ff.). Vedottama in his *Pāñcarātraprāmāṇya* not only makes an attempt to undervalue the Śaivas and Śāktas by declaring their scriptures to be un-Vedic and hence unacceptable, but also by declaring them to be nothing but the fabrication of an ordinary person named Maheśvara. In a similar way the Vaiṣṇava tantras were supposed in some quarters to be the composition of a cheat called Vāsudeva.[3]

One sub-sect would also often find fault with another. Among the Śāktas we find the Kaulas finding fault with the Paśus and the Paśus and others levelling attacks against the views

1. यदुम्बरवर्णानां घटीनां मण्डलं महत् ।
पीतं न गमयेत् स्वर्गं किं तत् क्रतुगतं नयेत् ॥
—Mahābhāṣya I. 1, 1. According to the commentator this refers to the use of wine in the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice.

2. *Indo-Aryan-Races* — R. Chanda, pp. 99-101.

3. *Tantra-prāmāṇya* of Yāmunācārya
वासुदेवाभिधानेन केनाचिद् विप्रलिप्सुना । प्रणीतं प्रस्तुतं तन्त्रमिति निश्चिनुमो वयम् ॥

and practices of the Kaulas. Lakṣmīdhara, commentator of the *Saundarya-laharī* of Śaṁkara, seems to be the most pronounced in his vituperations against the Kaulas. He, however, was himself a Śākta, being a worshipper of Śrīvidyā or a follower of what is called Samaya-mārga. In his commentary on verse 31 of the work of Śaṁkara he gives full and clear expression to all his views on this point. He lays bare the mal-practices and faults of all the sixty four authoritative works of the Kaulas one after another. A very interesting illustration of this sort of mutual vilification is also afforded by the commentators (belonging to different Tantra sects) of two sections of the *Brahmasutras* (II. 2. 7-8) which are supposed to record denunciation of Tantric doctrines.[1]

Bhāskara Rāya (*Setubandha* p. 24) attempts to meet this attitude of mutual mud-throwing by supposing that particular passages in a tantra speaking ill of any sect, school or work are not to be taken literally but as seeking to emphasise the excellence of the particular work or the sect in the work of which such passages are met with.[2]

It may be that it was owing to this mutual fault finding that one did not like to or dare give out one's religious professions in public. It is thus laid down that one though inwardly a Sākta should outwardly show himself as a Śaiva and pose as a Vaiṣṇava in the public.[3]

Conclusion.

The several arguments that we may gather from this chorus of denunciation may be pointed out here. Some of the revolting practices of tantras were undoubtedly the most potent cause that excited a volume of criticism against tantras in general. Then there was apparently no clear Vedic authority for the theories and practices of the tantras. Nothing without the direct or indirect sanction of the Vedas could claim the respect of Vedic Aryans. The detractors put forward arguments to

1. C. Chakravarti — ब्रह्मसूत्रे तन्त्रमतनिरासः (*Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*— Vol. XIII, pp, 324 ff.)

2. *Vāmakeśvara Tantra* with Setubandha (A. S. S.) p. 24.

3. अन्तः शैवो बहिः शाक्तः सभायां वैष्णवो मतः ।

prove their un-Vedic character.[1] First, they said, there was no direct Vedic statement in support of tantra rites and theories while some of them were actually at variance with those of the Vedas. Why is a separate initiation required for tantra rites, they ask, even for one who has undergone Vedic initiation, if the tantras are not different in essence from the Vedas? In practice, too, they say, the tantras are much in vogue among the low class people (who were apparently beyond the pale of Aryandom) and as such, a social stigma seems to have attached to the followers of the tantras. Neither are the tantras found to have been included in the list of fourteen recongised branches of learning.

It should be confessed by an unbiased critic that the denunciations of the tantras were not wholly unmerited. People had begun to take part in all kinds of excesses from an early period under the cover of tantricism. As a matter of fact the tantra rites that have been tabooed for the ordinary man for the excessive difficulty involved in their performance[2] came to be regarded as the easiest means leading to salvation. The popular view with regard to these rites is reflected in a short stanza spoken by a Kāpālika (Śaiva devotee) in the *Mattavilāsa* (I. 7) of Mahendravarman of the Pallava dynasty. He is glad that Lord Paśupati has found an easy way to salvation, e. g., through enjoyment resulting from the drinking of wine and looking at the face of the beloved lady. The Karpūramañjarī (I. 23-24) of Rājaśekhara echoes the same thing when the Kaula path is praised in that it makes provision for the use of meat and the wine and when the Lord Paśupati is eulogised for his showing the path of salvation through sexual enjoyment and wine. In fact there had actually come a time when, as Prof. Bendall has put it in the introduction to his edition of *Śikṣā-samuccaya*, the tantras developed a form of religion which was brought to the level of very thinly veiled Kāmaśāstra. The tantra form of worship had at that time actually reached such a stage of abject degeneration

1. *Āgamaprāmāṇya* of Yāmunācārya, pp. 7, 10.

2. The Kulārṇava (II. 122) goes so far as to say that it is easier to lie down on a bed of swords or to enter one's head into the mouth of a tiger than to perform the Kaula rites of the tantras.

at the hands of at least a section of its followers that it naturally invited all kinds of vituperation against it in general.

It should, however, be remembered that one would be little justified in identifying the Tantras with these apparently revolting practices alone. They actually formed only a part of the Tantras and were meant only for the selected few[1] who achieved complete self-control and were unmoved by all temptations. It was with a view to dissuade ordinary people from the observance of these very difficult practices that the Tantra and Purāna works are found to speak adversely and in unequivocal terms against them.[2] It is true that these practices have been the source of much evil owing to their misuse, but it is equally true that in spite of their seemingly little spiritual value they are reported to have been assiduously observed with good results and without any harm by more than one admittedly great spiritual leader.

But whatever might have been the value of these mystic rites there is no denying the facts that even leaving these out of account there is enough in the vast Tantra Literature that has nothing objectionable in it, but much that has intrinsic value.

The Tantras may at first sight appear to be un-Vedic, but upholders of Tantricism have taken pains to prove the Vedic origin of particular rites and mantras as also the intimate connection between Vedic and Tantric literature. Bhāskara Rāya is of opinion that the Tantras are Smrtis and that they are supplementary to the Jñānakāṇḍa or Upaniṣads, as Manusmrti etc. are supplementary to the Karmakāṇḍa portion of the Vedas.[3] As a matter of fact, different people have attempted in different ways to find for the Tantras a place among the fourteen branches of learning. Bhāskararāya in his *Varivasyārahasya* includes it in *dharma-śāstra*. Madhusūdana

1. Higher caste people according to some, were not to take part in these practices (Raghunandana — *Tithitattva* — Durgāpūjā section under *balidāna*).

2. Bhāskararāya — Setubandha (A. S. S.) p. 24.

3. *Setubandha*— Commentary on the *Vāmakeśvara Tantra* (A. S. S —p. 4). *Saubhāgyabhāskara* — Commentary on *Lalitāsahasranāmastotra* (N. S P. p. 231).

Sarasvati also, in his *Prasthānabheda*, groups the Pāśupata and Vaiṣṇava system under *dharmaśāstra*. According to Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha's *Śivatāṇḍavīyāṅkayantravyākhyā* the Tantras fall under the Purāṇas.

The trend of discussions on both sides, however, seems to indicate that neither the appreciations nor the denunciations of the Tantras as met with in earlier works should be taken too literally. Bhāskararāya, as we have already pointed out, truly says that detractions sometimes really aim at the emphatic appreciation of a particular sect or school. In this connection, we would do well to remember what Aparārka (13th century) says in his commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Saṁhitā* (A. S. S. —p. 19) criticising Tantricism in no favourable way:— " The Tantras should not be condemned but still they have no authority or validity *in all their parts* ". This appears to be a very rational and impartial estimate of the whole thing.

V : Ancient Indian History and Archæology

SULTAN MAHMŪD AND THE ṢAHIYA KINGS — BY DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M. A., Ph. D., Professor, Dacca University.

A great deal of misconception seems to prevail with regard to the Indian kings that opposed Sultan Mahmūd in his various expeditions. The object of this paper is to deal with a few of them whose identity seems to be certain, and any error about whom cannot, therefore, be excused on the usual plea of uncertainty of Indian history.

First, about the kings Jaipāl (Jayapāla) and Ānandapāla who organised repeated and most strenuous resistance against the Ghaznavid kings. The current tendency is to regard them as rulers of the Panjab with capital at Bathindah[1] and to clearly distinguish them from the Ṣāhi (Ṣāhiya) rulers of Ohind. Thus V. A. Smith, after referring to the extent of Jaipāl's dominions in the Panjab, remarks : "Elliot mixes up the dynasty of Bathindah with that of the Ṣāhiyas of Ohind, commonly called ' of Kābul ', and so renders the whole story unintelligible.[2]" The same view is reflected in the recently published Cambridge History of India Vol.III. Thus we read : 'The Hindu Ṣāhiya dynasty, founded by Lulliya the Brāhman at the end of the ninth century, with its capital at Ūnd on the Indus existed on sufferance for some time after the establishment of the Turkish power in Ghaznī, but was extinguished by Mahmūd. Of the history of the kingdom of the Panjab, with its capital at Bhātinda, little is known. Its position compelled its kings Jaipāl I, Ānandpāl, Jaipāl II, and Bhīmpāl the fearless to stand forth for a time as the principal champions of Hinduism, and though their end was unfortunate it was not dishonourable. On Bhīmpāl's flight to Ajmer in 1021 his kingdom became a province of Mahmūd's empire.'[3]

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1. The name is spelt, Bhatinda, Batinda, Bathindah, Bhathindah etc.

2. V. A. Smith — Early History of India, 3rd Edition, p. 383, fn. 1.

3. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 506.

It is difficult to imagine how the error crept in, since a perusal of the accounts of Alberuni clearly shows that kings Jayapāla and Ānandapāla who opposed Mahmūd were really kings of the Ṣāhiya dynasty of Ohind, commonly called 'of Kābul.' Alberuni gives the following list of the Brāhmaṇa Ṣāhiya rulers of Kābul[1] :

1. Kallar. 2. Sāmand (Sāmanta). 3. Kamalū. 4. Bhīm (Bhīma). 5. Jaipāl (Jayapāla). 6. Ānandapāla. 7. Tarojanapāla (Trilocanapāla). 8. Bhīmapāla.

Sir Aurel Stein has already demonstrated how this list of Alberuni is amply corroborated by incidental references in Rājataraṅgiṇī. For instance, Kamaluka Ṣāhi and Bhīma Ṣāhi are referred to in connection with two kings of Kashmir, viz. Gopāla Varmā and Kṣemagupta, while in Lalliya Ṣāhi, who defied the authority of Śaṁkaravarman, we can recognise, without much difficulty, the Kallara of Alberuni. As regards Trilocanapāla, we get detailed information in connection with the reign of Saṁgrāmarāja. All these kings are distinctly referred to as Ṣāhi in Rājataraṅgiṇī, and the capital of Lalliya Ṣāhi and Bhīma Ṣāhi is expressly named as Udabhāṇḍapura which has been identified as Ohind on quite satisfactory grounds.[2]

It is not necessary to refer to other corroborative evidences, such as the coins of Sāmantadeva and Bhīmadeva, and reference in Jami-ul-Hikayat to Kamalu, king of Hind. Enough has been said to establish the historical genuineness of the list of Ṣāhiya Kings, as given by Alberuni, a contemporary of the last kings of the dynasty, and one whose long residence in India and acquaintance with Indian language gave him ample opportunity for ascertaining the truth.

Now, Alberuni distinctly refers to Ānandapāla's defeat at the hands of Mahmūd, the capture of his son by the latter, and to the extinction of the dynasty in the time of Mahmūd of Ghaznī. Hardly

1. Sachau — Alberuni, Vol. II, pp. 13 ff.

2. Stein — " Zur Geschichte der Sāhis von Kabul" (Festgruss an Rudolf Roth, pp. 198-206).
—Do — English Translation of Rājataraṅgiṇī, Vol. II, Note J.

any more proof is necessary to identify Jayapāla and Ānandapāla who repeatedly fought with the Ghaznavid kings in Afghanistan, with the Ṣāhiya rulers of the same names mentioned by Alberuni. Fortunately the accounts[1] of Sultan Mahmūd's expeditions also fully bear out this view.

Thus the first encounter between Jayapāla and Sabuktigīn took place between "Ghaznā and Lamghān." We are told that while Sabuktigīn "advanced from Ghazna against Jaipāl," the latter "marched on until he passed Lamghān and approached the territory of Sabuktigīn." This shows that the whole of trans-Indus territory, comprising the kingdom of Ohind, belonged to Jayapāla. That Jayapāla also ruled over the Panjab appears from the fact that when Jayapāla was made a prisoner by Sultan Mahmūd, his son Ānandapāla, according to Al-Utbi, was ruling over the 'territory on the other side of the Indus.[2] Further, in all the subsequent battles, Ānandapāla is represented as ruler of the Panjab.

The slightly different versions about the successors of Ānandapāla which we meet with in different authorities on the expeditions of Sultan Mahmūd, may at first cause some confusion, but it is not difficult to prove the substantial identity of the apparently varying accounts.

Al-Utbi does not say anything definite about the death of Ānandapāla or his successors. Firishta mentions that Ānandapāla died shortly before 404 A. H. (1013 A. D.) and was succeeded by 'Jaipāl, the second', who was defeated by Sultan Mahmūd in that year.[3]

In course of his description of the very same expedition, with almost identical details, Nizāmuddīn mentions the name of the king as Pur-Jaipāl or Taru--Jaipāl.[4]

1. These accounts are translated by Elliot (History of India, Vols. II and III.) The outline is mainly based on the contemporary authority of Al-Utbi, supplemented by later writers like Nizāmuddīn and Firishta.

2. Elliot, II, p. 27.

3. Brigg's Firishta, Vol. I, p. 54.

4. Elliot, II, p. 451, and fn. (1).

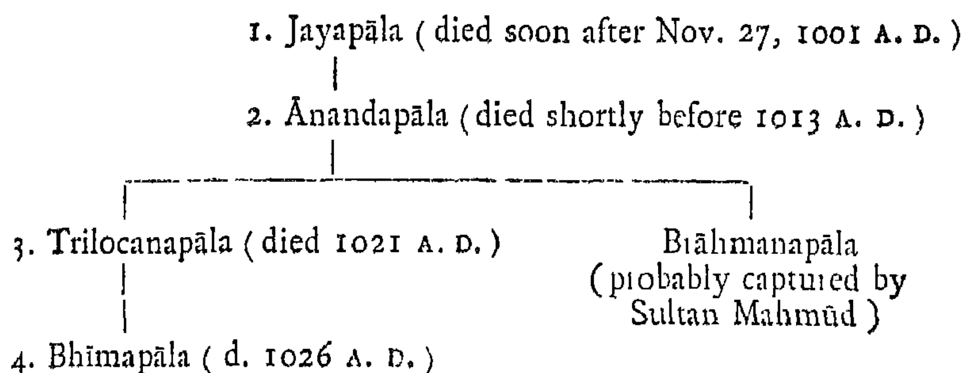
According to Al-Utbi, the name of the king who opposed the Sultan in this expedition was Nidar-Bhīm. He elsewhere refers to Puru-Jaipāl, and his son Bhīmapāla.[1]

Now it is not at all difficult to reconcile these accounts. Firishta's 'Jaipāl, the second', is no doubt derived from Pur-Jaipāl or Taru-Jaipāl of Nizāmuddīn, he having considered only the last portion of the name. Al-Utbi's Nidar-Bhīm or dauntless Bhīm is apparently prince Bhīmapāla, son of Puru-Jaipāl. As Elliot held long ago, Bhīmapāla was apparently the governor left by Pur-Jaipāl to defend the garrison, when the latter fled towards Kashmir.[2] We may note a similar instance in the Fifth expedition of Sultan Mahmūd when he gained a great victory near the river of Waihind. Firishta refers in this connection only to the ruling king Ānandapāla[3] but according to Al-Utbi the battle was actually fought with Brāhmanapāla, son of Ānandapāla.[4]

It is thus quite safe to infer from the statements of these writers, that Ānandapāla was succeeded by Puru-Jaipāl, or Taru-Jaipāl, and the latter by his son Bhīmapāla. Now if we turn to the list of Alberuni we find that the successors of Ānandapāla were Tarojanapāla and Bhīmapāla. It is obvious that Puru-Jaipāl or Taru-Jaipāl of Nizāmuddīn and Al-Uthi is identical with Tarojanapāla of Alberuni. Fortunately, some incidental references in Al-Utbi's account place this identification beyond all doubt. Thus Al-Utbi says that (1) Bhīmapāla was the son of Puru-Jaipāl and (2) that Bhīmapāla's uncle was captured by Sultan Mahmūd. Alberuni also says that Bhīmapāla was the son of Tarojanapāla and that a brother of Tarojanapāla (i. e. an uncle of Bhīmapāla) was made a prisoner by the Muhammadans. Thus Tarojanapāla must be regarded as identical with Puru-Jaipāl or Taru-Jaipāl and we have hardly any difficulty in recognising in him the Ṣāhi King Trilocanapāla, who according to Rājataraṅgiṇī was helped by king Saṁgrāmarāja of Kashmir (1003--1028 A. D.).[5]

1. Elliot, II, pp. 38 ff., 47.
2. Elliot, II. p. 451.
3. Brigg's Firishta, Vol. I, p. 46.
4. Elliot, II, p. 33.
5. Rājataraṅgiṇī Bk. VII, vv. 47-69.

Thus, on the basis of all available accounts, we may safely reconstruct the following genealogical Table.



Each of these kings was the son of his predecessor. The date of the death of the last two kings is given on the authority of Alberuni, and that of Ānandapāla on the authority of Firishta, as stated before. Jayapāla according to all accounts, burnt himself to death after his defeat and capture in the hands of Sultan Mahmūd on 27th November, 1001 A. D.

As has already been stated above, Al-Utbi refers to Ānandpāla's son Brāhmanapāla. As he is nowhere mentioned as having succeeded his father, it is permissible to hold that he was the son of Ānandapāla who is referred to by Alberuni as having been captured by the Muhammadans.

It would thus appear that the rulers of the Panjab, who fought with Sultan Mahamūd were identical with the Ṣāhiya Kings of Ohind[1] whose kingdom was practically confined to the Panjab,

1. The existence of the Ṣāhi rule in the Panjab in the tenth century A. D. is also proved by verse 43 of the Khajurāho inscription of Yaśovarman published by Bühler in Ep. Indica, Vol I, p. 120. The verse gives a brief history of an image of Viṣnu which Yaśovarman set up in a temple about the middle of the tenth century A. D. The relevant portion was translated by Bühler as follows: "The Lord of Bhota obtained it from the Kailāsa, and from him Sāhi the king of Kīra, received it as a token of friendship; from him afterwards Herambapāla obtained it for a force of elephants and horses, and (*Yaśovarman himself*) received it from Devapāla, the lord of horses (*Hayapati*), the son of (Herambapāla). (Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p. 134). Bühler was certainly in error in taking Sāhi as a personal name of the king of Kīra. The term

after they had lost the trans-Indus territories. Even Firishta, on whose authority the Bhatinda theory has grown up, says that Jayapāla reigned "over the country extending in length from Surhind to Lamghan, and in breadth from the kingdom of Kashmeer to Multan". Thus Firishta, too, knew of only one kingdom and not two.[1] There does not seem to be any reason to distinguish two dynasties, one of Ohind and another of Bhatindah, as V. Smith and others have done.[2]

This brings us to the question of Bhatinda being regarded as the capital of the line of kings referred to above.

Al-Utbi says that shortly after his victory over Jayapāla at Peshawar, in 1001 A. D., Sultan Mahmūd conquered Waihind. Later writers, like Nizāmuddin and Firishta, write the name of the place as Bitunda (or variants of it) and add that it was the residence of Jayapāla. Firishta elsewhere remarks that Jayapāla resided in the fort of Bitunda for the convenience of taking steps to oppose the Muhammadans. This Bitunda and variants of this name have been identified with modern Bhatinda (see fn. I.) in the eastern Panjab,

has always been used in coins and inscriptions as an epithet of the Kushan and other foreign rulers of the Western and North-Western frontier of India and it was even applied, till a much later period, to the Muhammadan rulers of India. Thus the Kangra Jvālāmukhī Praśasti of the 15th century A. D. refers to Sāhi Muhammad, meaning the Saiyid Emperor of Delhi (Ep. Ind. Vol. I, pp. 190 ff.).

Bühler takes Sāhi as the name of Kīrarāja, but if we regard it as an epithet it should rather be taken as qualifying Herambapāla who overawed Kīrarāja by a display of his forces of horses and elephants. Kīra is undoubtedly in Kangra district and is represented by Kīragrāma (vide Ep. Ind. Vol I, p. 98). So whether we take Sāhi as an epithet of Kīrarāja, or of Herambapāla — a point full of interest for the history of the Sāhi kings, but which cannot be adequately discussed here — there cannot be any doubt that the Sāhi rulers exercised great power, either in Kangra itself or in its neighbourhood.

1. Brigg's Firishta Vol. I, p. 15.

2. Iswari Prasad (Mediaeval India, pp. 2 and 65) mentions the Ṣāhiya kingdom and that of Bathinda seperately, and apparently regards them as distinct ones. So does Lane Poole (Mediaeval India— pp. 17, 22). Cowell, while editing Elphinstone's 'History of India' held the same view (p. 313, fn. 22).

and this is the origin of the theory that Bhatinda was the capital of Jayapāla and his successors. Elliot has shown good reasons in favour of rejecting the reading Batinda and accepting the real name of the place as Bihand or Waihind, the modern Ūnd or Hund or Ohind.[1] Elliot rightly argued that, if we take the place as Waihind (Und), Mahmūd's march from Peshawar to that place can be easily understood, whereas, if we take the place as Bhatinda we have to suppose that he crossed the Indus and several other foaming streams, marching through a hostile and difficult country. It may be further pointed out, that Firishta elsewhere remarks that " Mahmūd entered Mooltan by the route of Baitunda ".[2] Now this can be easily understood if Waihind is meant, but as Bhatinda is situated in eastern Panjab, it is difficult to imagine that Sultan Mahmūd should have passed to Multān through that place. Then, again, if, as Firishta says, Bitunda was chosen as a strategic point for opposing the Muhammadans, Ohind would be a much more likely place than Bhatinda in eastern Panjab.

Further, as I have shown above, there can no longer remain any doubt that Jayapāla and his successors, whose capital is supposed to have been at Bhatinda, were the Ṣāhiya rulers referred to by Alberuni and Kalhaṇā. The latter distinctly refers to Udabhāṇḍapura as the capital of the Ṣāhi kings and this Udabhāṇḍapura has been satisfactorily identified with Ohind.[3] It is, therefore, a very strong argument in favour of Elliot's view that the place captured by Sultan Mahmūd after his victory at Peshawar, and which is regarded by later writers as the capital of Jayapāla, should be taken as Waihind or Ohind, as this would be quite in harmony with the evidence of Rājataraṅgiṇī.

The old identification of the place with Bhatinda was re-asserted by Raverty in a long and somewhat discursive note in his English Translation of Tabakati-Nasiri.[4] Raverty's view was

1. Elliot II, pp. 428-39. The name of the place is written in various ways: 'Ohind' (V. A. Smith), Ūnd (Camb. Hist. and Stein), Ūhand (Raverty). Hund (Elliot) cf. Cunningham's Geography p. 61 for the origin of the different names.

2. Brigg's Firishta Vol. I, p. 41,

3. See ante.

4. P. 76. fn. 2.

accepted by V. A. Smith and through him, apparently, this idea has again gained currency, and has at last found a place in various modern works including the recently published Cambridge History of India vol III.[1]

Unfortunately, Raverty made no serious attempt to meet the arguments of Elliot. One of the facts noted by him seems rather to favour the hypothesis of Elliot. Thus the Tarikh-i-Mirat-i-Jahan Numā, to which he refers, states, after describing the victory of Sultan Mahmūd at Peshawar, that "from thence Mahmūd advanced to the fortress of Bahindah which was the residence of Jaipāl." Now Bahindah must be taken as more akin to Wahindah or Ohind than Bhatinda. Again, the Tabakat-i-Nasiri refers to the place as Wahind, on the bank of the Indus, and Raverty has accepted this reading in the text of his Translation. In his footnote, however, he mentions that six copies (out of 13) give the name of the river as the Sadarah and he concludes, as follows : " I think it very probable that what has been called Wahind or Bahind is no other than Bhatindah or Whatindah, which written without the points * * * or * * * are much the same in appearance as the words in the various Mss. of our author's Text.

Thus although he accepts the reading Wahind, he proposes an emendation of the text to make it Bhatinda, and so far as one can gather, the reasons for his predilection for Bhatinda are as follows :

(1) In a history of the Rajahs of Jamū, said by its author, a Hindu, to have been compiled from Hindu annals, Bathindah is said to have been Jayapāla's capital and place of residence, which Mahmūd captured.

(2) According to Mirza Mughal Beg, who made a survey of the N. W. India at the beginning of the nineteenth century, "Bhatindah, which is also called Whatindah, is the name of a territory with a very ancient stronghold bearing the same name, which was the capital of the Chahīl tribe. Lakhi, son of Jundharah, of the Bhati tribe, having been converted to the Muhammadan

1. Vol. III, p. 506.

faith, during an invasion by Sultan Mahmūd of Ghaznin received the title of Rana Lakhi and he and his tribe were removed thither."

(3) Raverty adds that there are traditions to the effect that there were formerly two or three considerable rivers in this now sandy tract of country and one of these rivers was called the Sadhura.

Now it is obvious, that none of the above arguments does really carry much weight. Traditions recorded by a modern author or a surveyor, unsupported by old authentic texts, cannot be considered as serious arguments, upsetting conclusions arrived at by more cogent reasonings, as given above. The evidence of Rājataraṅgiṇī, and the fact that the name Waihind occurs in the oldest, and contemporary chronicle of Al-Utbi, cannot be set aside on grounds stated by Raverty. Thus, so far as extant evidence goes, we must regard Ohind as the capital of the Ṣāhi King Jayapāla and the so-called capital of Bhatindah would appear to be merely the result of a misapprehension, having no real existence in fact.[1]

The question naturally arises, what was the capital of the Ṣāhī kings after they had lost the trans-Indus territories. The contemporary accounst do not help us in finding it out, but a comparison of the accounts which Firishta and Nizāmuddīn give of Sultan Mahmūd's expedition in 404 A. H. (1013 A. D.) indicates "Nindoona, on the montains of Bulnat" to be the capital. For Firishta says that when the king saw he could not oppose the Sultan in the field he drew off his army to Kashmir, leaving troops for the defence of the capital which was immediately invested by Sultan Mahmūd. That the place so invested was Ninduna (Nindoona) is expressly stated by Nizāmuddīn and implied by the preliminary remarks of Firishta.[2] Firishta, no doubt, frequently refers to 'Jaipāl of Lahore', but there is nothing to indicate either that Lahore was his capital or even that it was an important city in the 10th century A. D.

1. Cf. J. R. A. S. 1927, pp. 485 ff. Mr. Nazim quotes unpublished Arab Texts to prove that Jayapāla's dominions did not extend beyond the Chenab till 999 A. D.

2. Firishta (Brigg's Transl.) Vol. I. p. 54 ; Elliot II, p. 451.

The identification of the so-called "Puru-Jaipāl" with the Ṣāhi King Trilocanapāla clears up the difficulties in connection with the thirteenth expedition of Mahmūd ending in the battle of Rahib. The accounts of this battle, as given by different authorities, have been summarised by Elliot.[1] But the identification of the Hindu King who opposed Mahmūd has given rise to a great deal of confusion. The king is named Puru-Jaipāl and was identified with Rai Jaipāl of Kanauj by Elliot. That Rai Jaipala of Kanauj is no other than the Pratihara king Rājyapāl of Kanauj admits of no doubt.[2] I do not know on what authority this king has been named Jaichand, and described as the king of the Rathor Rajputs in the recently published Cambridge History of India Vol. III. (p. 19).[3]

Now V. A. Smith identified Puru-Jaipāla, the hero of the Rahib, with the Pratihāra king Trilocanapāla, son of king Rājyapāla of Kanauj. He assumed, on the authority of Nizāmuddīn and Firishta, that the Pratīhāra king Rājyapāla of Kanauj having submitted to Sultan Mahmūd was killed by the Indian Chiefs for his pusillanimity, and Mahmūd's expidition was undertaken solely with the object of punishing these chiefs. As Rājyapāla was already dead, V. A. Smith was naturally induced to identify the opponent of Mahmūd with Rājyapāl's son and successor Trilocanapāla. In a paper on the Gurjara-Pratihāras I have discussed at length the reasons which in my view make this theory wholly untenable.[4] Without repeating what has been said there I may emphasise one fact which seems to be decisive on this point. According to the version accepted by V. A. Smith we have to believe that almost immediately after Rājyapāla had been killed by the Indian chiefs, his son Trilocanapāla joined the murderers of his father against Sultan Mahmūd who had come expressly to avenge the murderer. Besides, as I

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1. Vol. II, pp. 462 ff.
2. V. A. Smith in J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 278.
   I have discussed this question in a paper on the "Gurjara-Pratihāras pp. 72-73 (Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. X, 1923).
3. On p. 5(7 of the same work, the same king is referred to as 'Rājyapāla of Kanauj, styled Jaichand by Muslim historians'. No authority is, however, quoted for this latter statement.
4. Ibid.

have shown in that paper, there are reasons to believe that Rājyapāla of Kanauj was alive at the time of the invasion of Sultan Mahmūd.

On these grounds I identified Pur-Jaipāl of the Rahib with Rājyapāla of Kanauj. But in the light of what has been said above regarding the identification of Pur-Jaipāl, I am inclined to regard the hero of the Rahib as no other than Trilocanapāla, the son and successor of Ānandapāla. This view is in full accord with the statement of Nizāmuddīn that " when the Sultan reached the banks of the Jumna, Pur-Jaipāl, who had so often fled before his troops, and who had now come to assist Nanda (the murderer of Rājyapāla, and against whom the Sultan's expedition was directed) encamped in face of Sultan ".[1]

I have already drawn attention to the fact that the statement of Nizāmuddīn that " Pur-Jaipāl had often fled before the troops of the Sultan ", can hardly apply to Trilocanapāla, son of Rājyapala, as he must have succeeded his father after the last expedition of the Sultan to Kanauj and shortly before the present one. On the other hand the Ṣāhi King Trilocanapāla had to bear the brunt of the Sultan's attack on more than one occasion, and, in 404 A. H. he actually fled before the troops of Mahmūd, leaving the capital in charge of his son. The Rājataraṅgiṇī gives a graphic account of the heroic fight of Ṣāhi Trilocanapāla, ending in his disastrous defeat.[2] Both Rājataraṅgiṇī and Alberuni make it clear that the glory and power of the Ṣāhi dynasty ended with Trilocanapāla. It is reasonable to hold that after his repeated defeats, Trilocanapāla had made a last bold stand against the powerful foe in the eastern Panjāb, probably in alliance with the Chandella King.

Firishta refers to the incident in the following words: "Mahmūd arrived at the Jumna and was surprised to find that the Raja of Lahore, who had so often fled before his troops, was now encamped on the opposite bank.[3]

Firishta here actually refers to the king as Raja of Lahore, thereby indicating that he belonged to the line of Jayapāla and Ānanda-

1. Elliot Vol. II, p. 463.
2. This might refer to some incidents in the expedition of 404 A. H. or to some other expedition (Rājataraṅgiṇī Bk. VII, vv. 47-69).
3. Brigg's Firishta, Vol. I, p. 63.

pāla to whom alone he applies this term. The qualifying clause "who had often fled before his troops" shows that both Firishta and Nizāmuddīn were thinking of the same person. Thus Firishta's testimony corroborates the view that Puru-Jaipāl who opposed Sultan Mahmūd on the Jumna must be regarded as Ṣāhi Trilocanapāla, the son and successor of Ānandapāla.

The date of this battle has been given as 1019 A. D. by Nizāmuddīn, and 1021 A. D. by Firishta. Elliot has accepted the latter as most probable.[1] Now Alberuni says that Ṣāhi Trilocanapāla was killed in 1021 A. D. It is, therefore, just possible that Trilocanapāla died in the battle of the Jumna.[2] Alberuni implies that the Ṣāhi rule ended with him, though his son was alive for five years more. As noted before, the same view is reflected in the Rājataraṅgiṇī. Now all this is corroborated by Firishta's account of the Sultan's proceedings subsequent to the battle of the Jumna. We are told that shortly after this event Mahmūd, "proceeding to Lahore entered that city without opposition, giving it over to be sacked by his troops. Here wealth and precious effects, beyond the power of calculation, fell into his hands. The prince of Lahore, unable to contend with so powerful an adversary, fled to Ajmere for protection; and Mahmūd, having appointed one of his officers to the government, and nomi-

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1. Elliot Vol. II, p. 463.

2. The authorities differ regarding the site of this battle. According to Elliot's translation of Al-Utbi's account, the battle took place on the bank of Rahib river, but M. Reinaud observes that 'Utbi does not name the river, but the place where the Raja had taken up his position was called Rahib' (Elliot Vol. II; p. 50, fn. 2). On the other hand both Nizāmuddīn and Firishta place the scene of the battle on the bank of the river Jumna. This seems to be more probable. For Al-Utbi says that the 'river was very deep and its bottom was muddy like tar'. This applies to the Jumna very well, as its waters are proverbially regarded as black and are usually contrasted, in this respect, with the Ganges by ancient Indian writers. The name 'Kālindī' is given to it for the same reason.

On the other hand the river Rahab mentioned by Alberuni, with which the Rahib is usually identified, is an insignificant stream beyond the Ganges. But it is not necessary for our present purpose to enter into a detailed discussion of the subject.

nated other commanders to various districts in the territories of Hindustan, himself returned in the spring to Ghazny."

In the above passage we must substitute for Hindustan the territories of the Panjab, and for Lahore, the then capital of the Ṣāhi rulers of the Panjab. Thus modified, the passage may be taken as the description of the final passing away of the Ṣāhi kingdom, after the death of Trilocanapāla, into the hands of the Muhammadans. It need only be added that the 'prince of Lahore', in the above passage apparently refers to Bhīmapāla who, according to Alberuni, lived for five years more.

September, *1930*.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY OF AHMEDABAD. ANQUETIL DU PERRON'S STORY ABOUT IT AND IT'S PARALLEL IN THE LEGENDARY STORY OF THE FOUNDATION OF VIJAYANAGARA —

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Introduction

It is a recent interesting publication of Rev. Father H. Heras, entitled "Beginning of Vijayanagara History," that has suggested to me the subject of this paper. The original capital of Gujarat was Patan in Anhilwad, and the town, now known as the city of Ahmedabad, was at first known as Asāwal. The modern city of Ahmedabad was founded by Ahmad, the grandson of Muzaffar Shah, who was "the son of Seharun, a Rajpoot of the ancient Tāk clan, who embraced the Mahomadan faith under the name of Wuze-ool-Moolk, and was patronized by the Emperor Feroze Toghluk." [1]

Now, there are several versions about the foundation of Ahmedabad by Ahmed I. Though all these agree in the main matter, viz. that it was founded by Ahmed, there are some differences as to what led the king to found the new city. It is the version of Anquetil Du Perron that is more full than those of others. The object of this paper is to give that version with some others, and to present its parallel in the case of the foundation of Vijayanagar in the South.

T. Hope's Version

We read the following about the foundation of the city in Hope's Historical Sketch (1398-1411): [2]

"Moozuffur Shah was succeeded in A. D. 1411 by his grandson, Ahmed Shah, who in the following year determined to transfer the seat of Government from Unhilwāra to

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1. "Architecture at Ahmedabad, photographed by Col. Briggs, with Architectural Notes by James Fergusson (1866). With an Historical and Descriptive Sketch" by Theodore C. Hope.

2. Ibid. p. 26.

the locality on the banks of the Saburmuttee where Kurunāwutee had been founded by the Solunkhee monarch three hundred years before. Modern investigation has not yet proceeded sufficiently far to enable it to be stated with certainty how far Kurunāwuttee was contiguous to, or identical with Ashāwul and Shreenuggur, both of which names occur in early records as those of a great city hereabouts ; but there can be no doubt that the new town of Ahmad Shah, to which he gave the name of Ahmedabad, and its suburbs, embraced them all, and that his principal edifices are on the deserted sites of earlier Hindu buildings, possibly the temples of Kuruneshwur and the monastic retreat of Hemācārya. "The suggestion of a new capital is ascribed to the king's spiritual adviser, Shekh Ahmed Khuttoo Guny Buksh, and it was carried out under the personal supervision of 'four Ahmeds', viz., Ahmed Shah himself, Shekh Ahmed, Mulik Ahmed, and Kāzee Ahmed. An old fortification or enclosure, containing a temple of the goddess Bhudra Kālee, was selected as a nucleus ; and one of its towers, called Manik Boorooj, is said to contain the foundation-stone. Close by arose a mosque named after the Sultan, a palace which received magnificent additions in subsequent reigns, and other edifices, some of which still survive as public buildings and make the enclosure, yet called 'the Bhudder', now, as ever, the seat of Government."[1] According to this account, Ahmed founded the city at the suggestion of his spiritual adviser.

Bombay Gazetteer's Version.

We read in the Bombay Gazetteer : In 1411 (March 4th) "Sultān Ahmad I, like his father Sultān Muhammad, fond of the site and air of Asāval on the Sābarmati, chose it as his capital, and in honour of four Ahmads, himself, his religious teacher Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, and two others, Kāzi Ahmad and Malik Ahmad (and) named it Ahmadabad."[2] According to the writer of the Gazetteer, "the story is that the king, by the aid of the Saint Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, called up the prophet Elijah or Khizar, and from him got leave to build a city if he could find four Ahmads who had never

1. Ibid. pp. 24-27.

2. Bombay Gazetteer Vol. IV, Ahmedabad, p. 249,

missed the afternoon prayer. A search over Gujarat yielded two, the saint was the third and the king the fourth." [1] According to this story, it was "the site and the air" of the place that led Ahmad I to found the city there.

Ferishta's Account

Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, thus refers to the foundation of Ahmedabad: "The King (Ahmud Shah), who had always professed himself extremely partial to the air and situation of the town of Yessavul, situated on the banks of the Saburmutty, in the latter end of this year (being 815), laid the foundation of a new city, which he caused to be called Ahmudabad; and the town of Yessavul formed one of the mohullas or parishes in the suburbs of that city, which afterwards became the capital of Guzerat. The houses of Ahmadabad are in general built of brick and mortar and the roofs tiled. There are three hundred and sixty different mohullas, each mohullah having a wall surrounding it. The principal streets are sufficiently wide to admit of ten carriages abreast. It is hardly necessary to add that this is, on the whole, the handsomest city in Hindustan, and perhaps in the world." [2] We thus find that according to Ferishta also, King Ahmed founded the city of Ahmedabad at its present site, because he liked the climate of the place.

Brigg's rendering of Ferishta is too free and as the passage is rather important, I give it from the original with my translation.

سلطان احمد شاه بعد وصول عماد الملک از راه برگشته اساول را از غبار سم سمندش رشک روضهٔ علیا گردانید و در اواخر همان سال یعنی [3]خمس و عشر و ثمانمایه ٨٣٥ هوای آنجا را خوش کرده بعد از استخاره و استشاره با حقائق پناه شیخ احمد [3]کنبهو قدس سره بر کنار آب سابهری شهری طرح انداخته موسوم باحمدآباد ساخت و در اندک مدتی با تمام رسیده دارالملک سلاطین گجرات شد و قصبهٔ اساول را یکی از محلات آن

1. Ibid. p. 213, r. 5, Arch. Surv. 1874-75, 2.

2, Ferishta's History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, translated by John Briggs (1829), Vol. IV, p. 14.

3. Miswritten for کہتو

4. For Sabarmati,

شهر کرد و عمارات بادشاهان و بزرگان از گچ و خشت پخته است و اکثر
خانهای سفالینست و در سر آن بلده که بدربار بادشاهی متصل است سه طاق
کلان بخشت پخته ساخته اند و درگچ و ساروج اندوده اند و آنرا ترپولیه می
گویند و بازاری در غایت وسعت و فراخیست چنانچه ده ارابه برابر
یکدیگر می توانند رفت و دوکانها بخشت پخته ساخته گچ کاری کرده اند و قدم
و مسجد جامع طرح نموده در بیرون شهر سیصد و شصت پوره که هر پوره
مشتمل است بر بازار و مسجد و دیوار بند اباد ان ساخت و در بیان معموری
و دیگر خصوصیات احمدآباد اگر گفته شود که در تمامی هندوستان بلکه در
کل جهان بآن عظمت و آراستگی شهری موجود نشده مبالغه نبوده باشد

(Bombay Edition, Part II (Jald-dūyam) 4th Chapter (Kings of Gujarat), page 183, ll. 13 ff.

Translation :— Sultan Ahmad Shah, after the arrival of 'Imad-ul-mulk, who had returned from his way, rendered Asāwal, by the dust of the hoofs of his horse, to be the envy of the garden of Heaven (i. e. he honoured it with his presence and made it very beautiful like the Heavenly garden) and at the end[1] of the same year i. e. 5 and 10 and 800 i. e. 815)[2] finding (lit. making) the air of the place to be pleasant, after taking augury[3] and taking advice for an auspicious[4] hour, from the truthful[5] Shaikh Ahmed Kanbahu[6] — may his grave be hallowed (qudissa sirru-hu)[7] — laying the foundation (tarh) of a city on the banks of the river Sabarmuttee[8], named it Ahmedabad ; and it (the city) having reached completion in a short time, became the capital of the

1. Awākherastend, last day.

2. The Bombay edition of Ferishta gives the year *in figures* as ۸۲۵ 825 which is evidently a mistake. This mistake has even led the publisher to describe the event also later than its proper place in 815.

3. *Istatskareh*,

4. *Istaskareh*

5. Haqayah-panāh.

6. Misprinted for Khatoo.

7. Steingass, p. 958.

8. Misprinted as Sanbahri.

Sultans of Gujarat. And he made the town Asāwal one of the streets of that city. The buildings of the royal personages and great men are made of mortar and burnt (lit. ripe) bricks, and many houses there are tiled.[1] At that part of the city which is adjoining (muttasil) the Royal court, they have built three big arches with burnt bricks and have anointed (andūdeh) them with mortar and plaster(sārry). They call it Tarpuliyeh.[2] The Bazār is with much of space (vasāat) and broad, so that 10 carriages can pass breadthwise side by side of each other. The shops are made of burnt bricks with chunam work done over it. A fort and Jāmāa Musjid are built. Outside the city there are 360 suburbs (pureh) and every suburb is made prosperous with a market, a mosque and circuit of a wall. In the matter of the flourishing condition and other particularities, if it be said, that in the whole of Hindustan, (not only that) but the whole world, there has been no city like Ahmedabad in greatness and beauty, that will be no exaggeration.

The Tazkarat-ul-Muluk, referred to by Rev. Heras gives the following account :

The Version of Tezkarat-ul-Muluk

"One day when he went out hunting in the neighbourhood of Muhammadābād, a dog seized a hare by the tail. The hare turned round and fighting with the dog, overcame him. Sultān Ahmad on seeing this said :— 'The climate of this country seems to be conducive to bravery, seeing that a hare beats a dog. If I should found a city here and make it my capital, the men who shall be born here and grow and thrive in the climate of this region will certainly be braver and more manly. . . . . For this reason, in a propitious hour, he laid the foundation stone of the city of Muhammadābād."[3] The account is headed, "Reign of Sultan Ahmad Wali Shah Bahamani in the city of Muhammadabad which is now known as the city of Bidar."

1. Sfāla, a tile.
2. Seems to have been miswritten for سہ پولیہ i. e. with three pols. Guj. पोळ "a street lane or quarter" or better P. پول a station. When the reference is to arches, it may be त्र पा ला ?- ग ळ.
3. The Indian Antiquary Vol. XXVIII, p. 218. An article entitled "History of the Bahmani Dynasty by J.S. King, Chap, IX Note.

But the author of the Tazkarat ul-Muluk attributes to Mahmudabad, a few miles away from Ahmedabad, what seems to have been said for Ahmedabad. The mistake seems, I think, to have arisen from the name Bidar, which was another or a former name of Mahmudabad. But the fact seems to be that the Bidar is really the Badar or Bhadar of Ahmedābād.

Bedar referred to in the above Version.

The Bedar referred to here is Bhadar which according to the Tuzuk-i Jehangir is the " citadel which in the dialect of the country they called Bhadar ".[1] It is called Bhadar after the citadel of Patan or Anhilvada, which was originally dedicated to the goddess Bhadra or the propitious Kali.[2]

But Anquetil's story, as we will see later on, goes further than the story of the Tazkaraut-ul-Muluk which says nothing about the preliminary love portion of the story of the foundation of the city of Ahmedabad. So, the historian referred to by Anquetil may be some other writer.

Briggs' cities of Gujarashtra.

Mr. Briggs, in his cities of Gujarashtra, attributes its foundation to a love episode[3] He says:— "The legend runs that this spot was the residence of a Bhil chieftain, with whose beautiful daughter, the Muslim monarch (Ahmad Shah I) became enamoured; his earnest solicitations led her to become a proselyte to his passionate vows, and subsequently to his faith, which terminated in the scene of their amours being converted into that proud city which bears the Hero-lover's name".

The place spoken of as "the area of the Three gates" by Briggs in his Cities of Gujarashtra[4] seems to be the same as the Tarpulick of Fereshta which, as said above by me, seems to be *te puliee* (i. e. three Pols).

1. Tuzuk-i Jahangir translated by Rogers and edited by Beveridge (1909) Vol. I, p. 423.

2. Bombay Gazetteer Vol. IV, Ahmedabad, p. 275.

3. The Cities of Gujarashtra, their Topography and History illustrated in the Journal of a recent Tour by H. G. Briggs (1849) pp. 245-46,

4. *Ibid*, p. 200, line 13.

Forbes' Rasmālā and Mirat-i Ahmadi

Forbes attributes the foundation of Ahmedabad to Ahmed's being "extremely partial to the air and situation of the town of Yessäwul (Âshāwul) situated on the banks of Sabbermuttee (1412)[1]."

The Mirat-i Ahmadi simply says that Sultan Ahmad founded the city "being instigated to do so by Shaikh Ahmad Khattoo Gunj Baksh"[2]. We read

به رخصت بدر المحققین سراج الصدیقین شیخ احمد گنج بخش
شروع در بنای آبادی شهر معظم احمد آباد فرمود ۳

Translation :— He, at the desire (rukhsat or permission) of Shaikh Ahmed Khuttoo Gunj Buksh, the moon of philosopher and the sun of the truthful, ordered the commencement of the auspicious foundation of the great city of Ahmedabad.[3]

Anquetil Du Perron's Version

Anquetil Du Perron, in his "Discours Preliminaire" which forms the first volume of his Zend-Avesta gives another story of the foundation of this city. He says : [4]

2° Ce Prince eut pour Successeur le Sultan Ahmed, son petit-fils, qui regna trente-un ans et plusieurs mois. Ce fut lui qui batit Ahmedabad. Voici ce que les Historiens du Pays rapportent de l'origine de cette Ville. Le Sultan Ahmed, voyant un jour un de ses chevaux Perses tout en fueur, voulut savoir d'où cela veneit. Un de ses Officiers lui avoua qu'il ètait épris des charmes d'une femme Indoue, qui tous les jour se rendoit à une Pagode éloignée de quarante-cinq cosses de Patan ; qu'il l'allait voir, et reveneir, en

1. Ras Mala, Hindu Annals of the Province of Goozerat, by Alexander Kinloch Forbes, new edition, by Major Watson (1878), page 251.

2. James Bird's "History of Gujarat" (1865), page 187.

3. Mirat-i Ahmadi, Persian Text, Part 1, page 46, l. 6 (Gaekwad Oriental Series, Volume XXXIII).

4. Zend Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre, Tome Premier. Premiere Partie., p. CCLXV note.

quatre Pehrs (douze heures). Le Sultan voulant s'assurer de la vérité du fait, fit donner un cheval à cet Officer, et monta lui-même sur un autre : ils arriverent à la Pagode, où ils trouverent la femme Indoue. Tandis qu'Ahmed confidéroit le Pays, il apperçut un liévre qui se battoit contre un chien de chasse. Jugeant par-là que cette terre devoir produire des guerriers, Il y bâtit, â quarante cosse de Patan, une Ville qui fut appellée de son nom, Ahmadabad (c'est-à-dire *Ahmed a rendu ce lieu fertile, ou le lieu fertile d'Ahmed*). Cette Ville devint dans la suite la Capitale du Guzarate ; elle a même donné son nom à la Province : elle est situeée a vingt-trois degrès, trente-deux minutes de latitude septentrionale, et quarante cinq lieues de Surate, selon Mandeflo (Voy. des Indes p. 136) ; à 86 cosses, selon Thevenot (lib. cit. p. 20). Une Inscription Persanne fixe la construction du Masdjed d'Ahmadabad à l'an de l'Hegire 810 (de Jesus-Christ 1407) & celle de la Ville, à l'an de l'Hagire 812 (de Jesus-Christ 1409)".

I give below my version of Anquetil's above passage, as given by me in my paper on Anquetil.[1]

" Anquetil gives the following story about the foundation of the city of Ahmedabad, whose king ruled over Surat. The first Mahomedan ruler of Gujarat was Mouzafarkhan, who had received the government of the country from Emperor Firouz. On the death of Firouz, he became independent from the Mogul throne, and his successors continued so till the time of Akbar. His capital was at Pātan. After a reign of 11 years he was succeeded by his grandson Ahmed. This prince, one day, saw a Persian horse all perspired. On inquiry, one of his officers made the following confession :—At a place about 45 *kosh* from Pātan there lived a Hindu woman with whose beauty he was enchanted. She went to a temple every day, and the officer had gone to see her when she attended the temple. He returned within 4 *pehers*, i. e. 12 hours and so, the horse which took him there was all perspired. The king liked to satisfy himself about the truth of this statement. He went with the officer to the place and saw the Hindu damsel. When looking at

1. "Anquetil Du Perron of Paris. India as seen by him (1755-60). Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXIV, pp. 338-39. Vide my " Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab " pp. 26-27.

the town, he saw a hare fighting with a hunting dog. He was struck with this sight and thought, that such a place must produce warriors. So he founded a city on the place—about 40 kosh from Patan—and named it Ahmedabad after his own name. It then became the capital of Gujarat. Anquetil says, that a Persian inscription gives the date of the construction of the Masjid of the city as 1407 A. D. (810 Hijri), and the date of the construction of the city as 1409 (812 H.). Anquetil gives a short account of the kings of Ahmedabad up to the time of Akbar, and of the Soubadars under Akbar and his successors up to the time of Mahomed Shah. He also gives an account of the family and principal officers of Nizam-ul-Moulk. He then describes the 22 Soubas of Hindustan and gives a list of 61 emperors, beginning with Pethaia Raja of Delhi in the 12th century and ending with Shah Jahan Sanè in about 1761 ".

According to this account, it was a love-story that took Ahmed to the city and it was the daring feat of a hare that led him to like the place and to found a new city there.

II

A Parallel to Anquetil Du Perron's story

This story of the foundation of Ahmedabad as given by Anquetil Du Perron has a parallel in the legendary story of the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar[1]. The story as given by Robert Sewell, on the authority of the Portuguese chronicler Nuniz, runs thus:—

The Legendary story about the Foundation of Vijayanagara

"The King (King Deorao) going one day a hunting, as was often his wont, to a mountain on the other side of the river of Nagumdym, where now is the city of Bisnaga — which at that time was a desert place in which much hunting took place, and which the king had reserved for his own amusement— being in it with his dogs and appurtenances of the chase, a hare rose up before him, which instead of fleeing from the dogs, ran towards them and bit them all, so that none of them dared to go near it for the harm that it did them. And seeing this, the King, astonished at so feeble a thing biting dogs which had already caught for him a tiger and a lion,

1. The story is quoted in his " Beginnings of Vijayanagara History " by the Rev. H. Heras, S. J., M. A., pp. 1-2.

judged it to be not really a hare but more likely some prodigy ; and he at once turned back to the city of Nagumdym. And arriving at the river, he met a hermit who was walking along the bank, a man holy among them, to whom he told what had happened concerning the hare. And the hermit wondering at it, said to the King that he should turn back with him and show him the place where so marvellous a thing had happened ; and being there, the hermit said that the King ought in that place to erect houses in which he could dwell, and build a city, for the prodigy meant that this would be the strongest city in the world, and that it would never be captured by his enemies, and would be the chief city in the kingdom. And so the King did, and on that very day began work on his houses, and he enclosed the city round about ; and that done he left Nagumdym and soon filled the new city with people." (Vide Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 299-300).

Other Versions of the Vijayanagar Story

According to Father Heras, the above story about Vijayanagara "is also repeated with some slight difference in two inscriptions, one in the Kolar district and another in the Nellore district."[1] Father Heras gives the stories as given in these inscriptions and then compares all the three stories together, naming them as Nu (Nuniz), K (Kolar) and Ne (Nellore), from the person and places associated with the stories. He then compares them and says of the two inscriptions, that they "seem to be a fabrication."[2] and very properly adds that "Account Nu, (Nuniz), though sometimes more wordy, is nevertheless more sober than the other two."[3]

Then coming to the dates of the three accounts, he says that Numiz's account "seems to have been written in the first half of the XVIth century"[4] and thinks that the other two "accounts K and Ne were written somewhat afterwards."[5] He then concludes

1. Ibid, p. 2.
2. Ibid, p. 4.
3. Ibid, p. 8.
4. Ibid, p. 8.
5. Ibid. p. 8.

that "the three accounts have no authority at all and are to be rejected by impartial history." [1] Father Heras then quotes Mr. Sewell [2] who says: "This same tale is told by many kings and chiefs in Southern India." [3]

Anquetil's story older and fuller

The story of the city of Ahmedabad is said to have occurred in the beginning of the 15th century A. C. and the account of Nuniz about Vijayanagara seems, as said by Father Heras, "to have been written in the first half of the XVIth century". So, of the two schools of the Anthropologists in the matter of the growth and spread of beliefs, stories, symbols customs etc. — the Diffusionists and the Evolutionists—this story connected with the boldness and courage of a hare, seems to illustrate the theory of the Diffusionists. It is quite possible, that the story about Ahmedabad being older, it has passed from North to the South, from Gujarat to Madras. The story as given by Anquetil Du Perron is fuller and older than the other versions of the Ahmedabad story. These later versions have omitted the earlier parts of the love-episode.

The Name of Ahmedabad River

The river, on which Ahmedabad stands, is known as Saburmuttee. In Ferishta's History, as translated by Briggs (Vol. IV, p. 14), it is also "Saburmutte". But in the Bombay Edition of Ferishta's History 2nd part (Jald duyum p. 183) I find it as Sanbehri سنبهری Briggs, in his "Cities of Gujarashtra.," gives it as Sahermaty[4] or "Saharmati (*vulgare* Sabarmaty) — frequently confounded with Saraswati the Arethura[5] of Gujarat[6]."

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1. Ibid, p. 8.
2. "Sewell, A Forgotten Empire", p. 299-3.
3. "Beginning of Vijayanagara History", p. 9.
4. The Cities of Gujarashtra, their Topography and History illustrated in the Journal of the recent tour, by H. G. Briggs (1859) p. 199.
5. Arethura was "one of the Nereids and the nymph of the famous fountain of Arethusa in the island of Ortipgia near Syracose.
6. *Ibid*. page 203.

We thus see that in one of the lithographed editions of Ferishta's History, the name of the river is not Saburmati but it is something like Sanhari. Briggs in his Cities of Gujarashtra gives the name as Saburmati and says that it is an ordinary form of Saburmutti. I beg to suggest that, just as Ahmed gave the name Ahmedabad from his name to the city which, or a part of which, was once known as Asāwal, so he gave to the river the name of Sabarmutti in place of its older name which was something like Sahermutti. He gave it that name from the Gujarati word Sābar (साबर) or Sāmbar (सांबर) which is the name of a kind of elk. It is Sans. (Shambara) (शम्बर). Another great probability may be that the river was called Sabarmutti from old on account of its banks being possibly a hunt of Sabar or elk.

REMAINS OF A PREHISTORIC CIVILISATION IN THE GANGETIC VALLEY — BY PROFESSOR DR. A. BANERJI-SASTRI, M. A., D. PHIL. (OXON.), PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, PATNA COLLEGE, PATNA.

Mathurā on the Jumna has an ancient history. "The Yadus of Gujarat came from Mathurā"[1]: and the Yadus are mentioned repeatedly in the Ṛgveda (i. 108, 8; etc.) : Mathurā occupies a prominent position in the Purāṇas,[2] and the Epics[3]. Brahman, Buddhist and Jain traditions abound in Mathurā.[4] A large number of archaic terracottas attest the Pre-Mauryan culture-levels at Mathurā. Some of these (only divine and human or semi-human types omitting all reference to those of animals) have been described fairly adequately by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, in "Archaic Indian Terracottas" published in "IPEK" (Jahrbuch Für Prä-Historische and Ethnographische Kunst, 1928) pp. 64-76, Plates 1-7. A fresh horde has been discovered in the bed of the river Jumna adjacent to the site traditionally assigned to the ancient citadel of Kaṁsa the Asura chief.[5] They will be referred to in the course of the present discussion mainly for the purpose of comparison and contrast.

Buxar is another site of similar antiquity, but, unlike Mathurā, was unknown to archaeologists before the present writer excavated the site at the instance of the Government of Bihar and Orissa, in 1927. The finds are now located in the Patna Museum Buxar Hall, and a short description of some of the antiquities is given in Appendix A. In letter No. 937-4070, dated the 15th May 1929 from the Offg. Director General of Archaeology in India, to the Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, Revenue Department, Patna, the Government of India have decided to undertake excavations at Buxar on a scale proportionate to its importance.

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1. *Camb. Hist. Ind.* Vol, I, p. 274.
2. Pargiter, *Anc. Ind. Hist. Tradition*, p. 171; *Brahmapurāṇa*, XIV. 54.
3. *Harivaṁśa*, 94, 5164. Hopkin's *The Great Epic of India* p. 395 n. 1.
4. *Lalitavistāra*, ed. Leumann, pp. 21-2; Rapson, *Anc. Ind.*, p. 174.
5. *Jātaka*, Cowell, Vol. IV, pp. 50-52.



Buxar (a) Nos 1-2



Buxar (a) No. 4. Buxar (a) Buxar No. 3. Buxar (a) No. 5.

1. SITE.

"Buxar (in the district of Shahabad, Bihar and Orissa) is said to have been the home of many of the authors of the Vedic hymns and to have been called originally *Vedagarbha*, i. e., the womb or origin of the Vedas. Local tradition derives the name of the town from a tank near the temple of Gaurīśaṁkara which was originally called *aghsar* or effacer of sin, but in course of time came to be called *baghsar*. The story runs that a *ṛṣi* or sage, called Bedsira, having transformed himself into a tiger to frighten the *ṛṣi* Durvāsas of whom he was jealous, was doomed by the latter to retain that form for ever. He was restored to his original shape by bathing in the holy tank of *aghsar* and then worshipping Gaurīśaṁkara, and in commemoration of this event the spot was called *Vyāghrasara* or *Baghsar* i. e., the tiger tank. Buxar is an old Brahmanical site and various parts of it have ancient names such as Rāmeśvara, Viśvāmitra-kā-āśrama and Paraśurāma ; but it has few remains of archaeological interest.* *" - Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers : Shahabad (O 'Malley and James), p. 163.

The above statement (1924) did not take into consideration the full significance of recent discoveries in the Indus Valley which have modified our notions of the so-called Brahmanical sites in India. Excavations have brought to light copious remains of archaeological interest so long hidden underground. But the association with Viśvāmitra was a landmark. It revealed glimpses of a pre-Aryan Asura stronghold and the youthful Rāma's exploits against them to safeguard Viśvāmitra's sacrifices, as described in the Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, Sargas 19, 25 and 26.[1]

The site at Buxar is an extensive mound about a quarter of a mile in length, rising about 30 feet from the present level of the town, and 52 feet from the bed of the Ganges. As the river is cutting into the northern bank, portions of the mound which is situated on the northern bank facing the district of Ballia in the United Provinces actually overhang the Ganges in imposing masses; cf. Plate I. Preli-

1. Sarga 14, 30-31 : " Ata eve ca gantavyaṁ Tāṭakāyā vanaṁ yataḥ ।
Svabāhubalamāśritya jahīmāṁ duṣṭacāriṇīm 30." ॥
Manniyogādimam deśaṁ kuru niṣkaṇṭakaṁ punaḥ ।
Nahi kaścidimaṁ deśaṁ śakto hyāgantumīdṛśaṁ 31. ॥

minary operations were confined to the outlying spur opposite the Buxar fort standing on a high bluff and effectually commanding the reaches of the river. Reconnoitring and surface exploration were carried on along the continuation of the escarpement both to the right and the left revealing the outer wall of the city. Burrowing underground from the present surface level unearthed the Mauryan stratum about 35″ below, with contemporary brick structures and terracotta including a seal inscribed in Aśokan Brāhmī and in pure Māgadhī reading - *Śadaśa[n]aśa*; cf. plate II.[2]

Below this level, down to the bed of river, 52″ from the present surface, were laid bare the remains of a finely-built city of the chalco-lithic period, and beneath this city, layer after layer of earlier structures, erected successively on the ruins of their predecessors.

Of the various objects found, only a few representative types of terracotta are discussed in the following pages.

BUXAR TERRA COTTA

Indian Terracottas may be studied under two broad divisions:

I. Prehistoric: II. Pre-Maurya.

Under division I may be placed the following groups:

1. Buxar : (a) Highly developed- nos. 1-21.

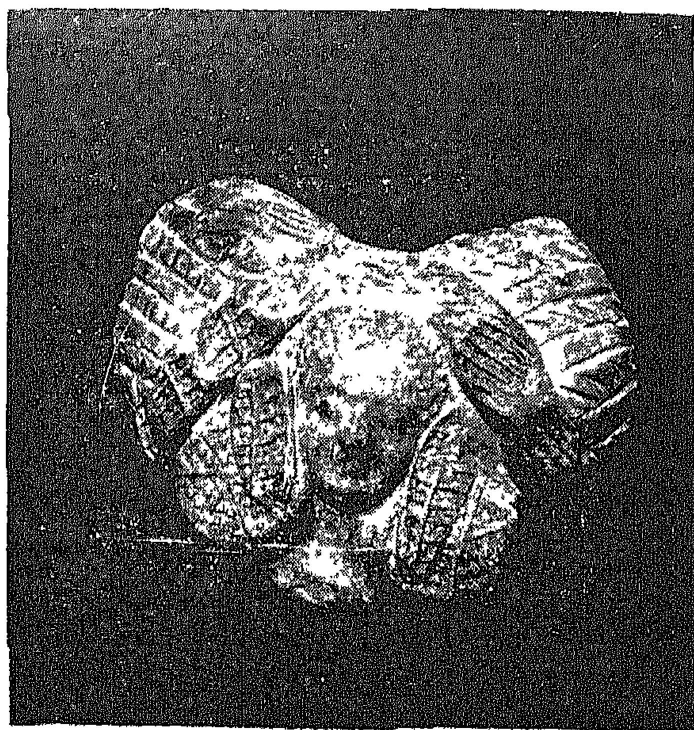
   (b) Crude- nos. 1-4. Sumerian affinity.

2. Mahenjodaro & Harappa : Crude Sumerian affinity.
   Described by Sir John Marshall in A. S. I., A. R., 1923-4, pl. xxi, and 1924-25, pls. xxii, xxvii; in the Illustr. pl. Lond. News, Sept. 20 and Oct. 4, 1924, Febr. 27, 1926, and Jan. 1928.

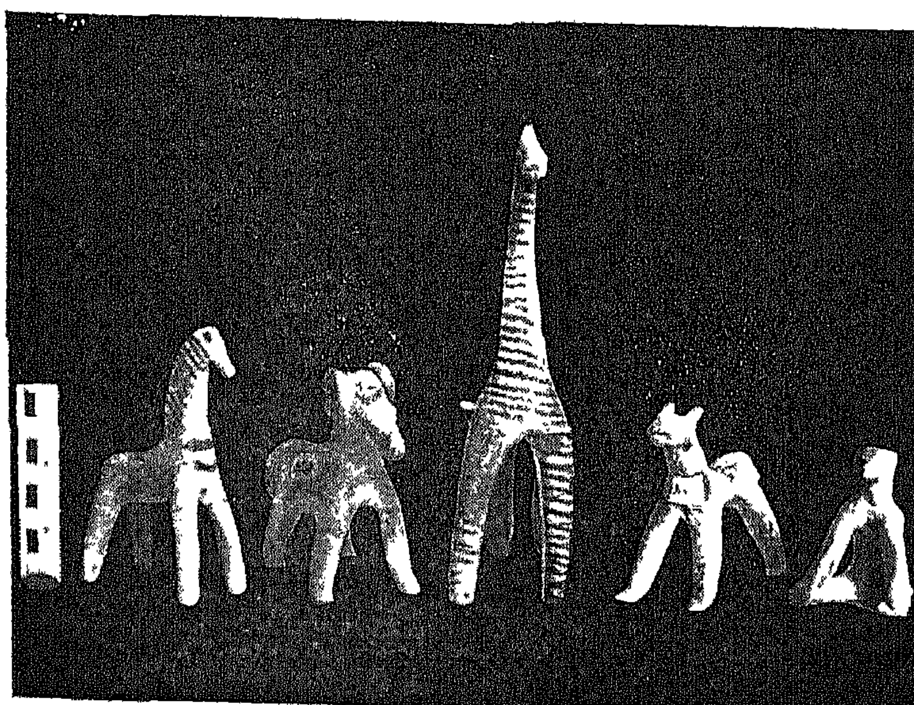
2. The Jogīmārā inscription of Sutanukā (cf. Pischel, Sitzungsberichte Preuss. Ak. d W. 1906, S 489 ff, and J. B. O. R S., 1923, pp.273-93) is in pure Māgadhī of the grammarians. The inscribed glass seal of Patna (cf. J. B. O. R. S., 1924, pp. 189-93), and the Buxar terracotta seal though not so comprehensive point to the prevalence of these Māgadhī charateristics in the Mauryan epoch.



Buxar (a) No. 6 Terracotta Female figure from Buxar.



Buxar (a) No. 7 Terracotta head of a female figure from Baxar.



Terracotta animal figures.

3. Mathurā : (a) Highly developed-
(b) Crude- Sumerian affinity.
Described by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy in IPEK (Jahrbuch Für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst, 1928- 'Archaic Indian Terracottas', pp. 64-76, Tafel 1-7. Cf. new discoveries in the attached plate.

Under division II are included :

(i) Taxila- A. S. I., A. R., xiv, pl. ix; 1919-20, pl. xi; 1920-21, pl. xvi.
(ii) Saṅkīsa- Ibid., xi, p. 29 and pl. ix.
(iii) Bhīṭā- Ibid., 1911-12, pl. xxii.
(iv) Basāṛh-- Ibid. 1903-4, pl. xxxix; 1913-14, pls. xliii-xlv.
(v) Besnagar-- Ibid. 1913-14.
(vi) Nagarī- Ibid., Mémoire No. 4, 1920.
(vii) Kosām - Ibid., 1913--14, pl. lxx, c.
(viii) Pāṭaliputra., Ibid., 1915--16, Pt. I, p. 14; 1917-18, Pt. I, p. 27, pl. xvi. The finds of the excavation in 1926-27 have not yet been made public, but the present writer has studied them in the Patna Museum.

The Maurya and Śuṅga (4th-1st centuries B. C.) represent a transition from the older series in clay to the earliest stone sculptures. The deterioration was practically complete during the Kuṣāṇa, Gupta and mediaeval period. It seems now an imperative fact that all civilization -- the total and traditional heritage, would fall away immediately and completely should a thoroughgoing forgetfulness, an overwhelming amnesia and profound oblivion overtake humanity or a part of it.

In the present paper, only human figures and figurines from Buxar are discussed. Bricks, potteries (painted and otherwise), faience, animals, plaques, and seals etc., [Plate IV (a), (b), (c), (d)] support the views expressed herein. The chalcolithic site at

Buxar is 52ft. below the present level of the mound which is situated on the north bank of the Ganges in 25° 34′ N. and 83° 58′ E. It is to this day, pointed out as the seat of Tārakā, the female Asura chief's stronghold,[1] in the immediate vicinity of Viśvāmitra's hermitage which is still known as Caritravana.[2] Both to the east[3] and west are various sites of earliest Paurāṇic and Asura antiquity.[4]

BUXAR TERRACOTTAS

1. (a) All the examples are female — except one (now in the Patna Museum) representing a male dwarf strongly reminiscent of the Astarte plaque : cf. the ithyphallic dwarf type with bent knees on Babylonian cylinders, Conteneau, fig. 8, 24, 25.

The finished type comprises two groups : (I) oval face (ii) round face.

Characteristics : (i) the features are adequately represented (ii) no part of the face is separately made, (iii) the hair is worn in a variety of elaborate arrangement, (iv) the eyes are oval and the eyelids drooping, (v) heavy and ornamental earrings are worn (vi) the forehead is encircled by a wreath of flowers (e. g., fig. 12), or a tiara (e. g. , fig. 15), (vii) the head surmounted by head-dresses. The head-dresses are surprisingly varied and elaborate; the two principal kinds, consisting either of attached stamped rosettes (figs. 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20), or developed into two high smooth horns like volutes (figs. 1, 15); these smooth horns like volutes are known also from Harappa.

The face appears to have been pressed in a mould and is represented in full relief.

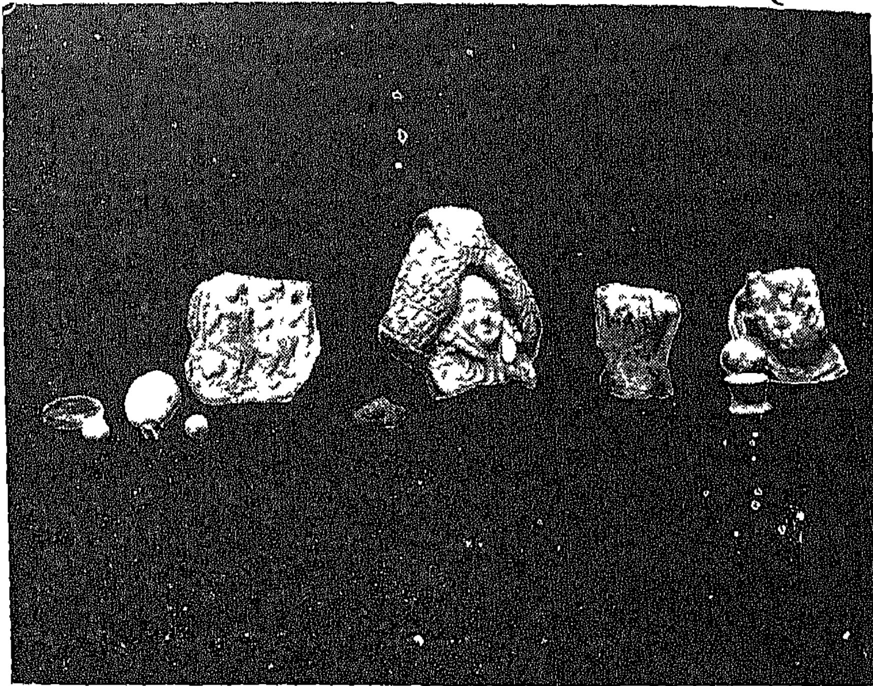
The (i) oval face (fig. 12) has an intriguing smile : the round (figs. 15, 20), a strange far-off look and a disturbing loveliness.

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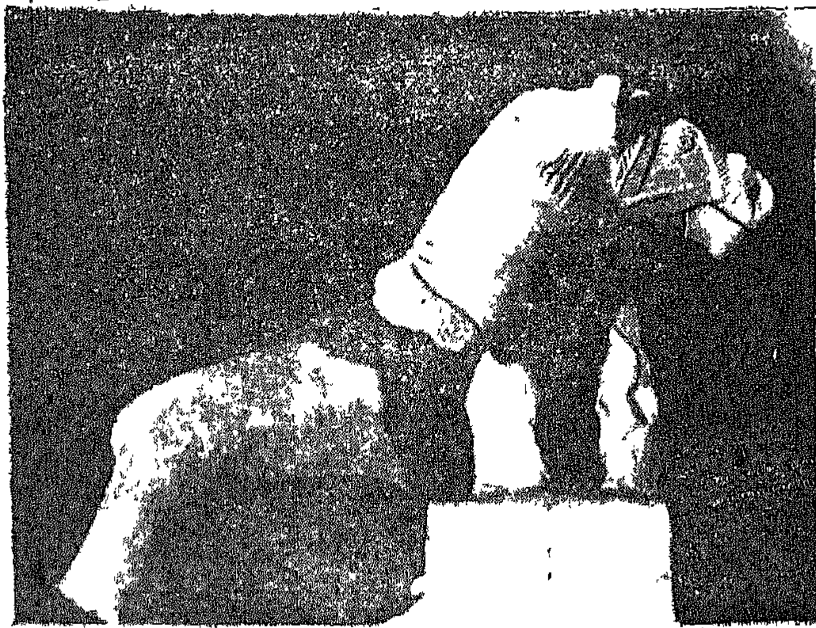
1. The canal Ṭhorī Nālā bears her name.
2. For legend, see *Gazetteer* 1924, p. 163.
3. Ahalyāsthāna of. Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, sargas 23–25.
4. Oldham, Buchanan's Shahabad Journal, p. 12 (4) 533, 178.



Buxar plate IV (a) Terracotta toys and earthern pottery from Buxar.



Buxar plate IV (b) Terracotta figures and other objects from Buxar.



Buxar plate IV (d).

Madé in a pleasant red clay, these archaic specimens represent the sophisticated elegance of Indian terracotta in the third or second millennium B. C.

1. (b). The cruder types (figs. 2, 3) are highly characteristic of the Mahenjo-Daro and Sumerian types.[1]

Characteristics : (1) the eyes are large and round, (ii) the nose is prominent, and formed by pinching the clay together forming a projection continuous with the forehead, (iii) the lips are thick, (iv) the breasts are large and separately affixed. Fig. 4 supports a child at the breast. The earrings are "like that of the later pre-Mauryan figures, and of some Mesopotamian types". [2] The nose resembles ancient Chaldean and Elamite types.[3] In the treatment of the nose, this type may be assigned to some part of the second millennium B. C.

Culture Sequence :

These two strata of terracotta in the Gangetic valley, preceding the primitive stone Yakṣas of the 4th century B. C., point to the pre-Aryan culture-currents. As regards the respective ages of these currents, it is significant that " the completely modelled figure comes first, then figures with a moulded face, and finally the completely moulded relief plaque; it is the reverse of what might have been expected and of what actually occurs in Babylonia" . [4]

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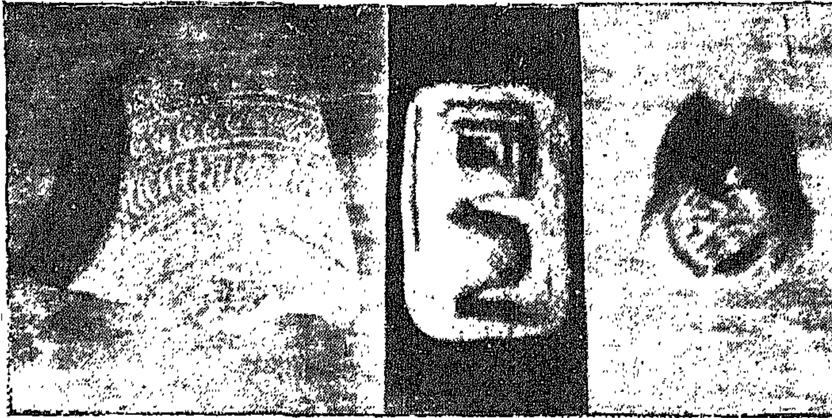
1. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, IPEK, p. 65.
2. *Ibid*, p. 67.
3. Conteneau, *La Déesse nue babylonienne*, 1914, pp. 53, 54, 60, 61.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

APPENDIX A

List of antiquities[1] by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, Professor, Patna College, excavated from Buxar, and exhibited in the Buxar Hall Patna Museum. They have been marked as BR. in the Museum Catalogue.

Serial No.	Description of the object	Depth	Find-spot	Remarks
1	A fragment of brownish glazed pottery with decoration on the outside.	52″	River-side	Plate IV
2	A crude black terracotta animal with three legs, (probably a horse).	,,	,,	,,
3	A terracotta elephant with three legs broken. Head is ornamented with incised marks Very crude shape.	,,	,,	
4	Lower portion of a terracotta figurine with rectangular marks on it. Head broken.	,,	,,	
5	An earthen pot of red earth, with a narrow neck, but wide mouth, broken at its rim.	,,	,,	
6	A small earthen pot of red earth with wide mouth, broken at its rim.	,,	,,	
7	A pointed terracotta object with narrow neck with a circular depression at one of its ends.	,,	,,	Cult object

1. Only representative types of human and animal figures are described in the above list.



Buxar plate IV (c). Buxar plate V. Plate II, Inscribed Terracotta Seal with Brahmi Script of 3rd Cen. B. C. Patna Museum.

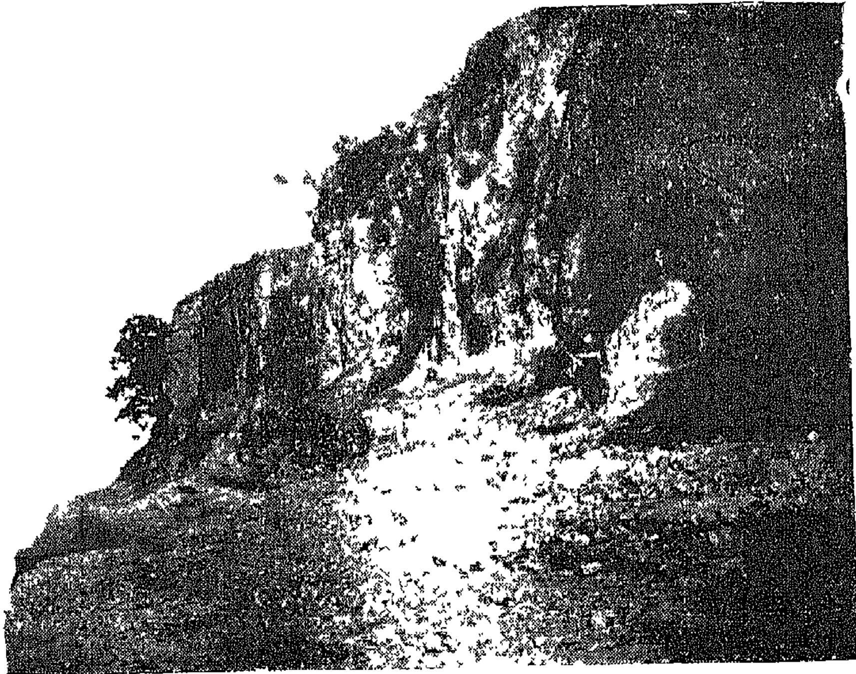


Plate I, Excavated site at Buxar. River side view Dist. Shahabad.

Serial No.	Description of the object	Depth	Find-spot	Remarks
8	A black terracotta head having circulai incised mark at its flat end.	52″	River-side	
9	A terracotta bead having a circular depression at its flat end.	,,	,,	
10	A black terracotta object with ribbed side.	,,	,,	
11	A terracotta seal of black earth : legend Śadaśa[ṇa]śa, slightly broken at the side.	32″	,,	Script in Aśoka Brāhmī of 3rd. cen. B. C. Māgadhī Prkt.
12	A terracotta broken object having two horn-like projections and two marks of a leaf and a wheel mark on one side. It is of a red clay. Part of a bigger object.	,,	,,	
13	A terracotta round and elongated object of peculiar shape having small piojections on one of its faces (probably some fruit).	52″	,,	
14	An earthen object probably a small representation of a square well and water channel.	,,	,,	Cult object Plate V.
15	A red terracotta head of decorated toy ram with one horn broken, hole at neck and sides.	,,	,,	
16	Lower portion of a terracotta figurine (probably Nāginī) having incised circular, oblique and straight marks on front and with only one leg marked in two projections at the feet, to make it stand.	,,	,,	Symbolical representation as distinguished from realistic execution of the other animals.

Serial No.	Description of the object	Depth	Find-spot
17	A middle portion of a terracotta figurine (probably Nāginī) having incised circular oblique and straight marks on front. Head and legs are missing.	52″	River-side
18	A big terracotta head of a female (?) figure with a crescent mark on its forehead. Of crude workmanship.	,,	,,
19	Plaque of a terracotta head of a female figurine with marks for hair on her head, with elongated ear pendants. Projection below neck for fixing the upper portion with the body. Back concave. Of crude workmanship.	,,	,,
20	A terracotta female figurine with a child sucking her breast, with circular ear ornaments, on stand. Right hand and right portion of her stand are missing. Of crude workmanship.	,,	,,
21	A headless terracotta female figurine with necklace and on stand. Both the hands and legs are missing. Of crude workmanship.	,,	,,
22	A headless terracotta female figurine with stand. Both the hands and legs are missing. Of crude workmanship.	,,	,,
23	A torso of a female figure with very prominent breast. Of crude workmanship.	,,	,,

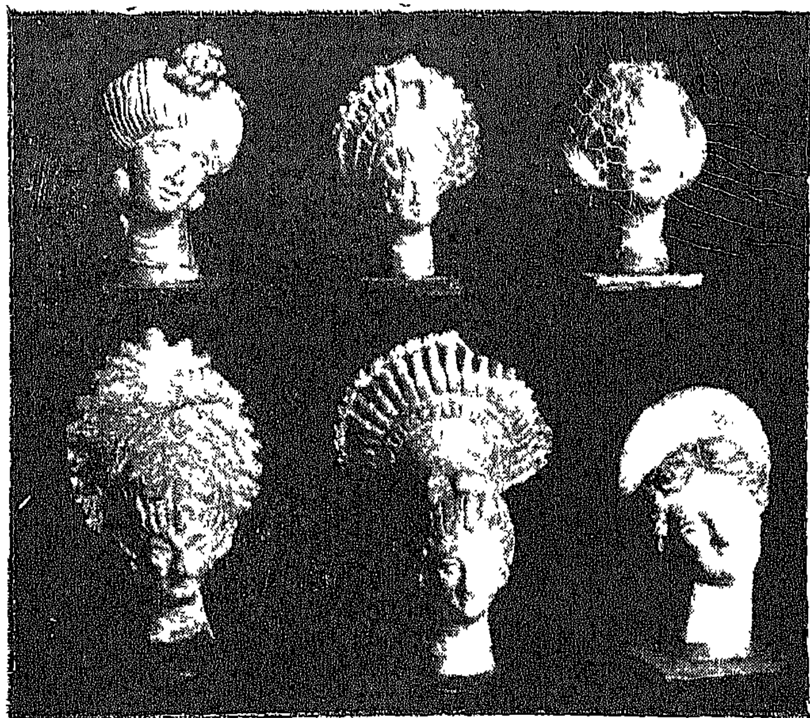
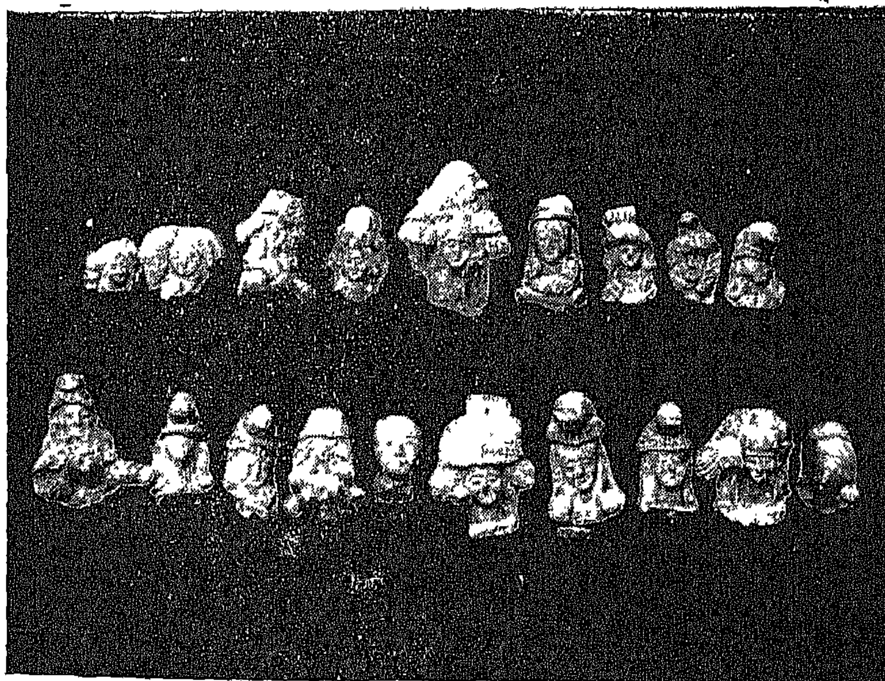
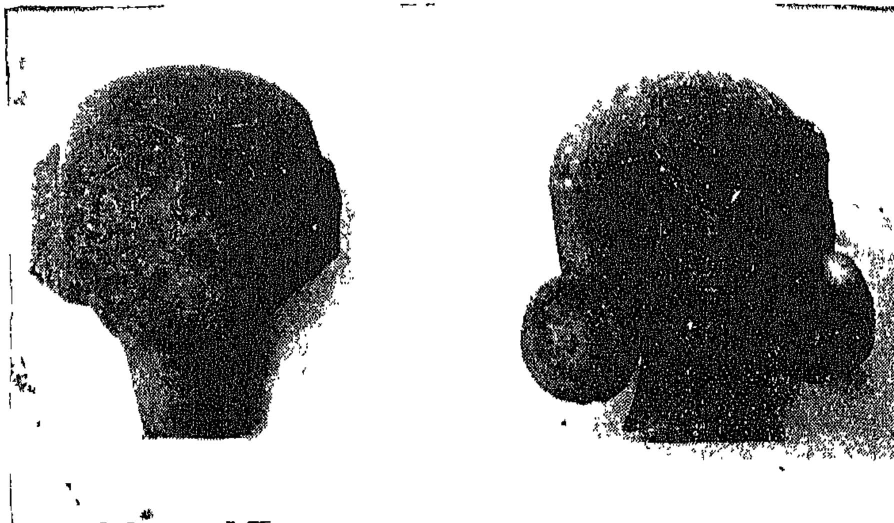


Plate III (b) Terracotta female Heads from Myrina in Aeolis, 4th
2nd Cen. B. C. Nos. 1–6, Athens Museum.



Terracotta heads of figurines from Buxar, Plate III (a) Nos. 1–21,

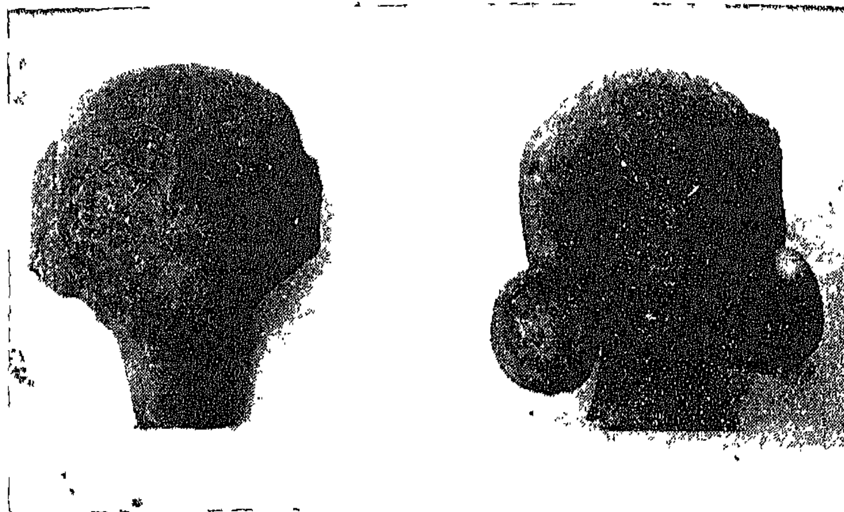


Buxar (b) Nos. 1-2



Mathura Terracotta (b).

Serial No.	Description of the object	Depth	Find-spot	Remarks
24	A torso of a terracotta female figurine with heavy necklace and a portion of *hāra* (neck ornament) between her breast hanging from right to left. Of crude workmanship.	52″	River-side	
25	A terracotta bust of a female figurine with heavy ear ornament of circular design. With six holes on head. Of crude workmanship.	,,	,,	
26	A crude terracotta bust of a female figurine with traces of a child sucking her breast, with one ear ornament.	,,	,,	
27	Broken portion of a terracotta animal figure having a ribbed ornament on the back.	,,	,,	
28	A terracotta female figure and having an elaborate and beautiful head dress with heavy ear-ring containing round pendants. Necklace with circular floral decoration. Both the hands, right leg, half of the left leg and the stand are missing.	,,	,,	For the elaborate bicornate type of head-dress, cf. figs. 18 and 16, *IPEK*, op. cit.
29	A terracotta bust of a female figurine having a beautiful flat head dress decorated with straight line and dots on it, two circular ear ornaments and a heavy necklace. Braids of hair falling on either side of the head dress and above the ear ornament. Bony cheek and hooked nose.	,,	,,	The coiffure of hair is to be sharply differentiated from an uṣṇīṣa, or a cranial protuberance.cf.Bachhofer, *Ein Pfeilerfigur aus Bodhgaya*, Jahr. as. *Kunst*, vol. I, 1925.



Buxar (b) Nos. 1-2



Mathura Terracotta (b).

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27	Broken portion of a terracotta animal figure having a ribbed ornament on the back.	,,	,,	
28	A terracotta female figure and having an elaborate and beautiful head dress with heavy ear-ring containing round pendants. Necklace with circular floral decoration. Both the hands, right leg, half of the left leg and the stand are missing.	,,	,	For the elaborate bicornate type of head-dress, cf. figs. 18 and 16, *IPEK*, op. cit.
29	A terracotta bust of a female figurine having a beautiful flat head dress decorated with straight line and dots on it, two circular ear ornaments and a heavy necklace. Braids of hair falling on either side of the head dress and above the ear ornament. Bony cheek and hooked nose.	,,	,	The coiffure of hair is to be sharply differentiated from an uṣṇīṣa, or a cranial protuberance.cf.Bachhofer, *Ein Pfeilerfigur aus Bodhgaya*, Jahr. as. *Kunst*, vol. I, 1925.

Serial No.	Description of the object	Depth	Find-spot	Remarks
30	A terracotta bust of a female figurine having a simple head dress and a round necklace and right hand up to elbows missing. Bony cheek, pointed nose and thick lips.	52″	River-side	
31	A terracotta head of female figurine with traces of a head dress. Hair of head arranged on either side of the ear, decorated with ornaments. Peculiar ornaments hanging behind her ears. Long neck.	,,	,,	Cf. Jastrow, Bildermappe... figs. 65, 66.
32	A terracotta head of a female figurine, with head dress, broken, highly finished, with heavy necklace. The circular ear ornament of the right ear prominent. Made of red earth. Bony cheek, prominent nose, broad forehead with high neck.	,,	,,	
33	A terracotta head of a female figurine with an elaborate head dress and floral ear ornament, with red wash.	,,	,,	
34	A terracotta head of a female figurine with peculiar coiffure on both sides of her ears. Wears necklace with star marks and ear ornament. Head dress missing. Bony cheek, prominent nose, receding forehead, long neck.	,,	,,	Cf. no. 28.
35	A terracotta bust of a female figurine. Peculiar head dress of engraved pattern; with leaf-	,,	,,	

Serial No.	Description of the object	Depth	Find-spot	Remarks
	designed ear ornament. Heavy necklace and circular ear pendants. Lower portion of the body with both the hands are missing. Bony cheeks, prominent nose, high neck.			
36	A teracotta head of a female figurine having an elaborate and decorated head dress with hair raised in a broad band on the head and hanging on either side of the ear. Traces of ear ornaments and heavy ear pendants. Prominent cheek bones, nose and long neck.	52″	River-side	Plate III.
37	A terracotta head of a female figure having an elaborate and differently arranged head dress. With heavy circular ear ornaments. Prominent cheek bones, nose, long neck and receding forehead.	,,	,,	Cf. Schäfer-Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, fig. 546.
38	A red and black coloured terracotta head of a female figurine with hair arranged in broad band over the head. Broad band of the head dress probably missing. Peculiar ear ornament. Prominent bony cheek, broad forehead, heavy eye lids, pointed nose.	,,	,,	
39	A terracotta bust of a female figurine having a beautiful ribbed cap with head dress over her head; with two circular ear ornaments and a necklace at her neck. Two hands, lower	,,	,,	Cf. the *uṣṇīṣa* of the figs. in the Indraśāla-Guhā, Bharhut; same, north gate, Sāñchī. *Eastern Art*, vol.

Serial No.	Desciiption of the object	Depth	Find-spot	Remarks
	portion of the body fiom her bieast is missing. Featuies slightly diffeient fiom the above figurines. Long neck is the only point common.			I, No. I. July 1928.
40	A terracotta head of a female figurine having peculiar coiffure and head dress with floral decoration. Features in common with other female figurines in nos. 38-39.	52″	River-side	
41	A terracotta head of a female figure having a ciicular head dress half of which is broken; with hair marks on the fore-head. Modelling of the eyes, cheek, nose and lips aie very iealistic and beautiful.	,,	,,	
42	A teiiacotta bust of a female figure having a pointed head dress with hair flowing to hei shoulders. Lower portion from her breast is missing. Pecu-liarity of the features :- bony cheeks, heavy eye lids, promi-nent nose and long neck.	,,	,.	
43	A terracotta head of a female figure having a projected head diess with a leaf mark decora-tion on it. Features of the face -- bony cheeks, heavy eye lid, long neck.	,,	,,	
44	A terracotta head of a female figurine having nicely tied head dress with a leaf decoration on it. Features of face as in the previous figurine.	,,	,,	

Serial No.	Description of the object	Depth	Find-spot	Remarks
45	A terracotta head of a female figure having a nicely arranged head dress and a heavy necklace at her neck. Peculiarity of features in agreement with female figurines.	52″	River-side	
46	A broken portion of a terracotta torso showing ornament of neck and ear.	,,	,,	
47	A fragment of terracotta head dress with a decorated wreath on it.	,,	,,	
48	A broken portion of a terracotta plaque with a female figure on relief. Probably connectioned with some cult purpose.*	,,	,,	

* The rest of the list is omitted as dealing with Mauryan and post- Mauryan finds.

NOTE ON THE MATHURĀ INSCRIPTION OF SAṀVAT 299

BY STEN KONOW, ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM, OSLO (NORWAY).

Most of the dated Brāhmī inscriptions from Mathurā are referable to the Kaniṣka era, and their chronology is bound up with the question about the starting-point of that reckoning. I am not going to reopen the discussion of that problem. I have nothing to add to the remarks in the introduction to my edition of the Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, Part I.

There are, however, two Mathurā records which cannot be classed with the rest, viz. Nos. 59 and 78 of Professor Lüders' List of Brāhmī Inscriptions.[1] The former is dated in the year 72 or 42, during the reign of the Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa, the latter in the year 299, during the reign of an unnamed Mahārāja Rājātirāja.

The palæography of Śoḍāsa record shows that it is older than Kaniṣka, and its date is usually, and no doubt rightly, referred to the Vikrama era. The only difficulty with regard to the date is the reading of the decimal symbol.

Professor Lüders [2] has maintained that it must be read as 70, because the same symbol is used in an inscription belonging to the time of Vāsudeva, who cannot possibly have been on the throne in the forties of the Kaniṣka era.

Professor Rapson [3], on the other hand, is of opinion that the symbol, which Professor Lüders has aptly described as a St. Andrews' Cross, stands for 40.

The usual Brāhmī symbol for 40 resembles a Brāhmī *pta*, and the symbol for 70 a Brāhmī *pū*, and there cannot be any doubt that the St. Andrews' Cross is a cursive form of one of these two signs. Professor Rapson thinks that there can only be the question of the former, because a similar (but not identical) cursive symbol for 40

1 Calcutta 1912, Appendix to Epigraphia Indica Vol. X.

2 Ep. Ind. IX, pp. 243ff.

3 Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman, Cambridge, Mass., 1929, pp. 49ff.

is known from the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas, and because he "can hardly believe that it can possibly be a cursive form of 70, when it lacks all the traces of the stem bending to the left with its horizontal stroke on the right which are the distinguishing features of the ... *pā*, or of the loop at the base which has taken their place in its numismatic representative."

It seems to me that such a development is very well possible. A cursive writing of the bend to the left and the horizontal to the right would naturally result in the lower half of a St. Andrews' Cross, and the numismatic variety seems to be derived from such a form. In my opinion the Vāsudeva inscription mentioned and published by Professor Lüders is conclusive. The decimal symbol of that record is damaged, and somebody "has tried to restore the missing portion by adding in pencil a hook turning upwards" in the rubbing which is now our only source. But the greater part of the symbol is perfectly clear and is a distinct St. Andrews' Cross. The upper angle does not in any way remind us of the head of the *pta* symbol, while the head of the ensuing symbol, which stands for 4, is similar to Brāhmī *pa*. Even if Professor Rapson were right in assuming that the restorer who added the pencil strokes "felt justified by traces visible on the stone but not reproduced in the rubbing", we should not be able to account for the shape of the upper portion of the symbol.

I, therefore, think that we must accept Professor Lüders' reading of the St. Andrews' Cross as 70, and take the Śoḍāsa inscription to be dated in the year 72, which, when referred to the Vikrama era, would correspond to 15 A. D.

The inscription of Saṁvat 299 was first edited by Bühler [1], who held that it must be referred to the reign of one of the Kuṣāna rulers of the Kaniṣka group. "The type of the characters", he says, "fully agrees with that of the numerous native inscriptions of the time of the Kushana rule over Mathurā; and it preserves in the broad-backed *śa* with the slanting central stroke, and in the tripartite subscript *ya*, two features which during this period occur only occasionally for the later *śa* with the horizontal cross-bar and the tripartite

1 Academy Vol. 49, 2nd May 1896, p. 367: JRAS. 1896, pp. 578ff. Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes X, pp. 171ff.

ya. These characteristics, as well as the general appearance of the letters, preclude also the (otherwise possible) assumption that the inscription might belong to the time of a later Kushana King, who ruled after Vāsudeva and before the conquest of Mathurā by the Guptas about 400 A. D."

Bühler then proposed to explain the dates of the Kaniṣka era as abbreviated, 74 e. g. standing for 274, and refer them and the date 299 to the same era as the Śoḍāsa inscription and the older series of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, with initial point in the first half of the first century B. C.

Professor R. D. Banerji[1] does not accept Bühler's dating, because the characters of the inscription are, in his opinion, distinctly archaic. He lays special stress on the archaic features mentioned by Bühler, and draws up a useful list, from which we can see that in the inscriptions of the Kaniṣka group the tripartite subscript *ya* is not, with the insignificant exception of two Sārnāth records, used as the only form, the tripartite *ya* being always found side by side with it. "But in the inscription of the year 299, in all cases of subscript *ya*, the *ya* is fully expressed, *i. e.*, it is tripartite." In the same way the archaic *śa* is used throughout, while in the Kuṣāna records it only occurs sporadically, but as such down to comparatively late times, e. g., in the record of the year 90.

His conclusion is that "it is certain that the date 299 must be referred to an era, the initial point of which lies in the third or fourth centuries before the Christian era. Only two such eras are known to have been in actual use in India. The first is the Maurya era which probably was counted from the coronation of Candragupta in or about B. C. 321..... The other era is founded by Seleukos Nikator in B. C. 312..... If referred to the Maurya era, the year 299 is equivalent to 321 - 299 = 22 B. C., and if referred to the Seleukidan era it becomes equal to 312 - 299 = 13 B. C."

Now it is a well-known fact that we do not possess the slightest scrap of reliable evidence to the effect that there ever existed a Maurya era or that the Seleukidan reckoning has, in any period

1 Indian Antiquary XXXVII, 1908, pp. 33ff.

whatever, been used in India [1]. It is of course not impossible that some foreign or national secular era may have been used in India before the advent of the Indo-Scythians, but if such should have been the case, no trace has so far been found. It is only in the old Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Indo-Scythian period that we, for the first time, are faced with a secular era in India, and every theory which operates with secular eras is based not on facts, but on conjecture.

If, however, Professor Banerji is right in his opinion that the type of the characters used in the Mathurā inscription of the year 299 makes it impossible to refer it to the time of the Kuṣāna rulers of the Kaniṣka group, we should have to admit that here we have a certain piece of evidence showing the existence of an older secular era. It therefore becomes necessary to examine his arguments.

It will be seen from what has been said above that Bühler, whose intimate knowledge of Indian Palæography nobody would be prepared to question, had no objection to referring our inscription to the time of Vāsudeva. And it seems to me that the general type of the characters agrees well with such a dating. If we compare, e. g., the Mathurā inscription of the year 80 [2] without going into details, we are at once struck by the great similarity. But we cannot rest content at this first impression.

Before proceeding further it may be useful to quote some of Bühler's remarks about the Brāhmī of the Kuṣāna period, i. e., after the accession of Kaniṣka, from his Indian Palæography § 19 :

"In spite of great variations in the single letters, which occasionally exhibit the more modern forms in the older inscriptions and the earlier forms of the Northern Kṣatrapa type in the later documents, the alphabet possesses a very characteristic appearance, and nobody who once has seen the squat and broad letters of the Kuṣāna period will ever make a mistake by assigning them to other times.

As regards the details, the following innovations deserve special mention : ... (2) The bar denoting the length of *Ā* is attached low

1 The only instance which might be quoted is the well-known Plato coin. According to Cunningham, Numismatic Chronicle, New Series II, 1875, p. 2, however, this piece was found 'somewhere in Central Asia,' and we have no right to assume that Plato ruled in India.

2 Ep. Ind. I, 392 and Plate No. 24.

down ; ... (6) The *kha* ... is mostly triangular below ; ... (9) The lower end of *da* ... is drawn further to the right, and the bulge on the right becomes larger ; ...(11) The horizontal stroke of *na* is curved ... or looped ... ; ...(13) The *va* is occasionally rounded on the left ... the Visarga first appears in these inscriptions ... "

An examination of the plate published by Professor Banerji, l. c. p. 66, shows that the details mentioned above are found in our inscription.

Old forms are found in the first four lines of the record ; cf. the initial *na* and especially the *ya* and the *śa*. Professor Banerji is, however, if his plate is reliable, mistaken when he says that the subscript *ya* is always tripartite, for in *mahāvirāsya*, l. 2, we have the later tripartite form. If we compare the Śoḍāsa epigraph of the year 72, we find further indications of a later age : both *ya* and *śa* are more advanced ; *ka* has the bent bar which is, it is true, already occasionally found in Kṣatrapa records, but not in the Śoḍāsa inscription ; *ja* has the rectilinear instead of the curved shape, which we find in the older epigraph, and the same is the case with *ma*.

With regard to the remaining details we may note the long *ā*, with the bar attached low down, in *ārahatvanam* l. 1, *ārāhāto* l. 2, *[ā]rāhātāyatāne* l. 4 ; the triangular base of *kha* in *Okhārikāye* and *Okhārye* l. 3 ; the typical Kuṣāna *da* in *divase* l. 2, *Śivadīnasya* l. 4, *devakulam* l. 5 ; the curved bottom-stroke of *na* in *śīdhanā ārahātvanam* l. 1, *Ujhanikāye* l. 3, *Śivadīnasya* and *ārahātāyatāne* l. 4 ; the rounded *va* in *svarvaccharasvate* l. 1, *sva(vikābhagīnī)* l. 3, *Śivadīnasya* l. 4 and *devakulam* l. 5, side by side with the angular *va* in *svarvaśīdhanā ārahātvanam* l. 1, *divase* and *mahāvīrasya* l. 2, *(sva)vikābhagīnī* l. 3, and the visarga in *eteḥ*, i. e., *etaiḥ* l. 4, though Professor Banerji takes the two dots after *te* as a stop, because two short strokes are used to mark a stop after the symbols of the date.

Attention may also be drawn to the extreme inconsistency and inaccuracy in forms such as *śīdhanā* for *sidhāna*, *svate* for *śate* l. 1, *svāvikā* for *śāvikā* l. 3 ; *svarva* for *sarva*, *ārahātvanam* for *arahantānam*, *svarvacchara* for *saṁvacchara* and *svate* for *śate* l. 1, *svāvikā* for *śāvikā* l. 3 *vita* for *dhita* l. 3 ; *śīdhanā ārahātvanam* for *siddhānam arahantānam* and *māhārājasya rājātirājasya* for *mahārājasya rājātirājasya* l. 1,

arahâto mahâvirâsya for *arahato mahâvīrasya* l. 2, *bhagīni..* for *bhagini..* l. 3, *Śirihasya Śivādīnasya* for *Śirikasya Śivadinasya* and *arahātnatyatāne sthāpit[ā]* for *arahantāyatane sthāpitā* l. 4; to the form *svarvacchara* i. e. *saṁvacchara*, which also occurs in the Sārnāth inscription of Aśvaghoṣa of the year 41 [1] and in the Pabhosa epigraph of the year 10 of Udāka [2], instead of the usual *savatsara*, and, finally, to the curious shape of the symbol for 9.

On the whole it seems to me that there cannot be any doubt that Bühler was right in his estimate of the period to which our record belongs, and Professor Banerji has not, in my opinion, been able to prove his different theory.

In such circumstances the question about the era remains open. We cannot any more accept Bühler's view that the same era is used in the old Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, the Śoḍāsa record and the epigraphs of the Kaniṣka period. The Amohinī tablet cannot, e. g., be referred to the same era as the Patika copper-plate, and the theory of omitted hundreds is not likely to be revived.

On the other hand no serious objection can be raised against referring the date of our inscription to the era which is used in the old Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Sakas and early Kuṣānas. Whether we have to do with a Saka reckoning or with a Parthian era, it is certain that it was used by Saka rulers in India, and we know from the inscriptions on the Mathurā capital and from the Śoḍāsa records that Sakas held sway in Mathurā at an early date. The use of the old reckoning long after the introduction of the Kaniṣka era has, as I hope to have shown in my edition of the Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, its parallels in the North-west, where palæographical considerations make it impossible to refer the dates of the Loriyan Tangai, the Jamalgarhi, the Hashtnagar and the Skarah Dheri inscriptions to eras such as the Seleukidan or the hypothetical Maurya reckoning.

I, therefore, think that we must accept Bühler's theory in so far as he assumes the same era in our record and e. g. in the Patika plate of the reign of King Moga, dated in Saṁ. 78, which would then be 212 years older.

I shall not here try to add to my discussion of the epoch of this era in the edition of the Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, which has not, in my opinion, been invalidated by Professor Rapson's adverse criticism.[1] I shall only add that, according to the chronology adopted as a working hypothesis in my edition, our record would belong to A. D. 45, corresponding to the year 88 of the Kaniṣka era, and the Mahārāja Rājātirāja would be Vāsudeva, the Kuṣāna Emperor.

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1 JRAS. 1930, pp. 186ff.

AŚOKAN NOTES — BY PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M. A., Ph. D., F. A. S. B.

1. *Dhaṁmacaraṇa* in RE. IV.

This word has been translated by scholars as 'the practice or fulfilment of Dhaṁma.' This meaning however does not suit the different passages of the Edict in which it occurs. The first passage in which the word is met with is translated by Hultzsch thus: "But now, in consequence of the practice of morality (*Dhaṁmacarana*) on the part of king Devānaṁpriya Priyadarśin, the sound of drum has become the sound of morality, showing the representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures." The second passage has been thus rendered : "In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted ...." The third passage has been thus translated "And the practice of morality (*Dhaṁmacaraṇa*) is not (possible) for (a. person) devoid of good conduct (*sīla*)." Now, it will be seen that in the first passage *Dhaṁmacaraṇa* has been taken to refer to the practice of Dhaṁma by Aśoka for his own moral good. In the second *Dhaṁmacaraṇa* refers to the practice of Dhaṁma by the people themselves for their own good. The third passage is meaningless, because it means that we must have *sīla* or virtuous conduct first and then we can practise Dhaṁma or morality, as if 'virtuous conduct' is not the same thing as 'morality'. It is thus clear that the word does not bear one and the same sense in the three passages according to Hultzsch.

All inconsistency and vagueness will be removed if we translate *Dhaṁmacaraṇa*, not by 'the practice or fulfilment of Dhaṁma' but by 'the spread or dissemination of Dhaṁma'. In that case the first passage will mean that Aśoka has utilised representations of aerial chariots, elephants etc. as a means to his missionary object, namely, the promotion of Dhaṁma among the people. The second passage also comes thereby to mean the same thing. The third also attains to full significance, because what is intended to be im-

pressed on our mind is that *Dhammacaraṇa* or dissemination of Dhaṁma among the people is not possible for any man who is himself devoid of *sīla* or virtuous conduct. If the successors of Aśoka want to carry forward his policy of promoting Dhaṁma among mankind, they cannot do it unless they exhibit and develop *sīla* among themselves. In this way alone *Dhaṁmacaraṇa* can be brought to have one and the same sense in the three passages.

2. *Bhaṭamayesu* of RE. V. (Kālsī).

This expression has been translated by Hultzsch as 'servants and masters' and explained as follows : "the *m* between *bhaṭa* (Sanskrit *bhṛta* and *aya* (Sanskrit *ārya*) is euphonic" (C. I. I., Vol. I. p. 10, n. 4). Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji renders it by 'the soldiers and their chiefs'. Evidently he takes *bhaṭa* as a Sanskrit word meaning 'soldiers'. Yet in the foot-note he takes it as equivalent to *bhṛta* (=servant), when he says that "*Bhatamayesu=bhṛta-m* (*euphonic*)*--āryeṣu*" (*Aśoka*, p. 141, n. 1). What is still more strange is that in the same breath in that foot-note he adds "*bhata* (= a soldier) is not the same word as *bhaṭaka* (= a servant) in the expression *dāsabhaṭakasi*" etc., contradicting what immediately precedes it.

It is true that the second letter in this expression is *ṭ* in no less than four recensions, but it is worthy of note that Girnar has *t*, the expression in that copy being *bhatamayesu*. Now if *bhata* is here equal to the Sanskrit word *bhaṭa* (= soldier), how can it become *bhata* in any recension at all ? But, as a matter of fact, we have seen that Girnār has *bhata*, so that the only conclusion possible is that *bhata* of Girnār and *bhaṭa* of other recensions must stand for *bhṛta* (= a servant), just as the word *kata* of Girnar and *kaṭa* of other copies occurring about the beginning of the same Edict has been taken by all scholars and even by Prof. Mookerji as equivalent to *kṛta*.

Nor is the procedure of taking *mayesu* as "*m*(euphonic)-*āryeṣu*" in any way justifiable. If there had been originally an *r* in *mayesu*, it would surely have been preserved in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānserā versions, and *mayesu* should itself have been written as *m-aliyesu* in the Kālsī, Dhauli and Jaugaḍā copies. When none of these changes

is noticeable, it would be setting the laws of philology at reckless naught for any scholar to suppose that an *r* preceded the *y* in *mayesu* in the original. The only reasonable course in the circumstances is to take *bhaṭamayesu* as equivalent to *bhṛtamayeṣu*, take it as an adjective of *baṁbhanibhesu* (*Brāhmaṇeṣu*) which immediately follows it, and render it by " (among the Brāhmanas and Grhapatis) who are hirelings ". This interpretation seems to be confirmed by the reading *bhaṭimayesu* which is furnished by the Dhauli recension and which can only mean ' hired labourers, hirelings ! The word *bhaṭi* of this phrase also shows that we have here nothing to do with *bhaṭa* in the sense of ' soldiers '.

It may be now asked : what is meant by "Brāhmaṇas and Gṛhapatis who are hirelings ? The only reply to this question is that there were some men of these classes who had been reduced to this degraded condition. Thus Rhys Davids says: " Brahmans are also frequently mentioned as engaged in agriculture, and as hiring themselves out as cowherds and even goatherds " (*Buddhist India*, p. 57). As regards the Grhapatis, Fick has the following : "We read of one such *gahapati* who deals in vegetables . . . . of one another *gahapati* who maintains himself and his mother with difficulty by working as a hired labourer . . . . .". (*The Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time* (trans) pp. 255-6). It is with such Brāhmaṇas and Gṛhapatis that Aśoka's Dharmamahāmātras must have been concerned as they were proper objects of commiseration and fit subjects of public charity.

3. NĀSAMTA IN RE. IV.

There is one very knotty passage in this Edict which runs thus:—*Nātikā-va-kāni nijhapayisaṁti jivitāye-tānaṁ nāsaṁtaṁ-vā nijhapayitavedānaṁ-dāhaṁti pālatikaṁ upavāsaṁ-vā kachhaṁti.* There are three difficult words or phrases in this passage. The first consists of the letters *nātikāvakāni* which were divided by Senart into the words *na* + atika + avakāni (=*avvakāni*=*alpakāni*) and by Bühler into *nātikā va kāni* (=*jñātikā eva kāni*[*cit*]). Bühler's treatment of the letters is better and has now been accepted. The second difficult word is *nijhapayisaṁti*. Prof. Lüders has drawn our attention to the word occurring in one verse in the Ayoghara-Jātaka (*Jat.*, Vol. IV

p. 495, v. 334), which has the sense of 'to soften, propitiate'. This suits here excellently as we shall see presently. The third word is *nāsaṁtaṁ* which is taken by Prof. Lüders as pres. part. of *nathi* (= *nāsti*) with construction *nom. absol.* and meaning "there being none", "if there is none". This explanation perhaps is not very satisfactory. Because in the first place, *nāsaṁtaṁ* as a pres. part. form of *nathi* is very unusual. Secondly, what Prof. Lüders understands is that the relatives of the culprit, if there be any, will try to persuade the Rājukas to grant him life, but if there is none forthcoming, the culprit will bestow gifts or will undergo fasts to attain happiness in the next world. This presupposes one of two undesirable things: (1) if the convict has no relatives, no provision is made by the state to induce the Rājukas to reconsider his case, and he stands no chance of being released by means of an appeal: or (2) if he has relatives but they are not able to prevail upon the Rājukas, he is not expected to bestow gifts or to undergo fasts. None of these courses is desirable. Perhaps the more reasonable explanation is suggested by the verse quoted by the Professor from Ayoghara-Jātaka. It speaks not only of an offender but also of the king and Mrtyu or Death. And it further says that *nijjhāpana* is possible in the case of the former, but not so in the case of the latter. Dr. Barua has told us in this connection that the term has been somewhat differently explained by the commentator in the case of each, though the idea of 'propitiation' is present in both the cases. In the case of the king, *nijjhāpana* is "proving the innocence of the culprit through witnesses"; and in the case of Death, it is "causing Mṛtyu to relent by means of sacrificial offerings (*bali-kamma.*)" Turning now to our Edict, we have a culprit and the Rājukas to whom his innocence is to be proved exactly as we have a convict and the king mentioned in the Jātaka. We have also 'making of gifts' and 'facts' corresponding to the *bali-kamma* of the Jātaka. The question now is: have we any reference here also to Death. We are perhaps not far from right if we say that we have that reference in the word *nāsaṁta* if we mean by it "End (*anta*) which is Destruction (*nāśa*)". The above passage may therefore be translated as follows: "(Their) relatives will indeed (in that *yauta* period) propitiate some (*Rājukas*) in order to grant them life; or to propitiate End which is Destruction, they (the convicts) will give alms pertaining to the next world and observe facts."

4. *Dhaṁma-thaṁbha* and a lacuna occurring in RE. VII.

The second part of RE. VII. has not been carefully studied. Soon after my book on Aśoka came out, it occurred to me that the word *Dhaṁmathaṁbhā* of this Edict has been used in a somewhat unusual sense and that further in the text some words also were inadvertently omitted. I thought that perhaps these points might attract the attention of Hultzsch, but he has said nothing about them in his edition of *The Inscriptions of Aśoka*. I am therefore drawing the attention of the scholars to these points in order that they might consider them and express their opinion about them.

Section (P) of Hultzsch's transcript has the following : *etameva me anuvekhmāne dhaṁma-thaṁbhāni kaṭāni dhaṁma-mahāmātā kaṭā dhaṁma-sāvane kaṭe*. What Aśoka here says is that in order that there may be a growth of Dhaṁma, he has resorted to the following means : (1) erection of Dharma-stambhas, (2) appointment of Dharma-mahāmātras, and (3) preaching of Dhaṁma. And he immediately proceeds to explain these terms in their consecutive orders. Thus Sections Q-W gives an account of his charitable works, such as growing of mango-orchards and so forth. Sections X-DD tell us for what different purposes he appointed the Dhaṁma-mahāmātras. And Sections EE-HH explain what sort of Dhaṁma he proclaimed, that is, what qualities and also what practices went to make up that Dhaṁma. It will thus be seen that Sections X-DD expound the second of the measures he adopted for the promption of Dhaṁma, namely, appointment of Dharma-mahāmātras, and that Section EE-HH are in explanation of his third measure, namely, preaching of Dhaṁma (*Dhaṁma-sāvane*). Thus by the Method of Residue, the humanitarian works set forth in Sections Q-W cannot but be taken as describing the first measure that he employed for the growth of Dhaṁma, namely, Dharma-Stambhas. The word Dhaṁma-thaṁbha occurring in this Edict must therefore stand not for any material pillars, but rather spiritual columns. If this line of reasoning is not accepted, the enumeration of charities in this connection becomes unmeaning and irrelevant. Again, the mention of *Dhaṁma-thaṁbha* alone remains unexplained, when the other two items are so fully explained. That such humanitarian works were considered to be of extreme spiritual efficacy is clear from the following text of the Saṁyutta-Nikāya :

Say of what folk by day and night
For ever doth the merit grow ?
In righteousness and virtuous might
What folk from earth to heaven go ?
Planters of groves and fruitful trees,
And they who build causeway and dam,
And wells construct and watering-sheds,
And (to the homeless) shelter give : —

Of such as these by day and night
For ever doth the merit grow.
In righteousness and virtue's might
Such folk from earth to heaven go.

It has been stated above that Sections EE-HH of Hultzch's transcript describe the nature of the *Dhaṁma-sāvane* which Aśoka adopted as his third measure for the promotion of Dhaṁma. But the previous Section, viz., DD, ends with the words *Dhaṁma-padānanaṭhāya dhaṁmānupaṭipatiye* which ought really to be connected with the matter set forth in Sections EE-HH but which have been tacked on to *hohaṁti-ti* of Section DD by the previous translators including Hultzsch, though such a procedure yields hardly any good sense. Besides, this is the fifth time we have the phrase *hohaṁti-ti* in this Edict. In the previous four cases *hohaṁti-ti* ends a sentence. And there is no reason why this *hahaṁti-ti* also should not be taken as ending a sentence. Obviously some words after it seem to have been inadvertently omitted, which formed an introductory portion of the matter described in Sections EE-HH. The lacuna may perhaps be filled up as follows :—

[*Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi havaṁ āhā* (:) *dhaṁmasāvane pi me kaṭe*] *dhaṁmapadānaṭhāyā dhaṁmānupaṭipatiye.* The filling up of the lacuna in some such way can alone make the sense whole, continuous and clear.

A PROPOSED INTERPRETATION OF AN AŚOKAN INSCRIPTION — BY RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M. A., Ph. D., PROFESSOR OF INDIAN HISTORY, LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY

In one of the commemorative Pillar Inscriptions of Aśoka, that at Rummindei, occurs a passage of which the proper interpretation is not yet settled. The passage runs thus: – "*Silā vigaḍabhī chā kālāpita silā-thabhe cha usapāpite hida Bhagavm̐ jāteti.*" All the difficulty in the meaning of this passage centres in the expression '*silā vigaḍabhī chā kālāpita.*' The general meaning of the passage is, however, quite clear. It refers to the fact that Aśoka had two distinct memorials constructed to mark the place where the Buddha was born. That the two memorials were distinct from each other is indicated by the repetition of the word *cha* in the passage. Of the two memorials, the second one in the order of enumeration given in the passage is a Pillar of stone which is appropriately described as being *set up* (*usapāpita*). The corresponding description of the first memorial is simply that it was caused to be constructed (*kālāpita*). The description is vague and general and throws very little light on the nature of the memorial, as in the case of the description of the first memorial. We are, therefore, left to understand the nature of this monument from the words used for it, viz., *silāvigaḍabhī*. The word *silā* shows that this monument, like the second one, was of stone. The difficulty of the passage is, therefore, reduced to the meaning of the words *vigaḍabhī chā*.

The interpretation of these words has itself a history. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar took *bhī chā* to be one word standing for *bhityā* connected with the word *bhittikā* = wall and *vigaḍa* = *vikaṭa*, of unusual size. He thus took the expression to mean 'a wall of unusual size,' a stone surround enclosing the pillar. Other interpretations subsequently suggested agree in treating *chā* as a separate word standing for the conjunction *and*, but they interpret differently the word *vigaḍa*. Charpentier, following the report of the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, that he had seen the capital of this very pillar to be the

figure of a horse (which is no longer to be seen and may be traced by excavation of the ruins) tried to construe the word *vigaḍa* itself into a horse from *vigaḍa* = agaḍa = *agalitāśva*, i. e. a vigorous horse. Recently, Dr. B. M. Barua has sought to interpret the expression in the light of possible Pali passages, a source of great light, no doubt, for many Aśokan obscurities. He has fastened on two such passages: (1) A passage in the *Mahāvaṁsa* [XXVII. 30] which actually refers to pillars bearing figures of lions, tigers and other animals, or figures of gods (*sīhabyagghādirupehi devatārupakehi cha. . . . thambhehi*) (2) The Pali word *pāsādavikatikā* of which the word *vikatikā* is thus explained by Buddhaghosa : *sīhabyagghādi-rūpavichitto uṇṇāmaya attharaka* - i. e., a coverlet of linen decorated with various figures such as those of lions, tigers and the like. The compound *pāsāda-vikatikā* thus indicates a building that is decorated with such figures. Affinity is, therefore, sought to be traced between this well-known Pali word, *vikatikā*, and the Aśokan word, *vigaḍa*, which is derived from Sanskrit *vikaṭa*. The word *vikaṭa* is also interpreted in two ways : (1) as a variant of *vikṛta* which may mean a *vikāra*, a transformation of a material, a carving or figure carved on stone ; (2) as a gigantic or grotesque-figure, as in an arabesque, tapestry, or coverlet. Both Charpentier and Barua agree in taking the *-bhī* of *silā-vigaḍabhī* to be from Sanskrit root *bhṛt*, to bear, to carry. Thus *silā-vigaḍabhī* would imply a stone carrying a figure, the capital of the pillar that was set up (the horse-capital seen by Yuan Chwang). The *-bhī* is in feminine gender in keeping with the feminine noun *silā*. The form *kalāpita* should not present any difficulty. It is a feminine form like the other forms used in the Pillar Edicts such as *daya*, *apekha*, *isya*, in which there is a shortening of the final *ā*.

The only weak point in this interpretation which is otherwise, and grammatically, unexceptionable, lies in the phonetic difficulty of deriving *vigaḍa* from *vikaṭa* = *vikṛta*. There is also the other unsuspected difficulty suggested by the context in which the expression occurs. As already explained, the context requires the two monuments created by Aśoka, to mark the birth place of the Buddha, to be two absolutely different ones. The interpretation suggested on the strength of the Pali supposed parallel passages makes the difference in the character of the two monuments to be a very slight one, that between the pillar and its capital, between its trunk and

top. It thus makes Aśoka's pompous proclamation which was meant to resound for ages a mere piece of royal rhodomontade by making him take credit for two monuments which were really one.

These inherent difficulties of both sound and sense call for a fresh interpretation of the passage which will be more in accord with the requirements of its context as well as phonetics. Such an interpretation suggested itself to me from an actual inspection of the famous *Lumbini-vana* (Rummindei), and a study on the spot of the monuments still existing there. These are (1) the Aśokan Pillar standing undecorated without its capital, and somewhat disfigured by a fissure running along the entire length of the shaft, which is stated by Yuan Chwang to have been caused by lightning; leaving at the bottom inscriptions in 5 lines, of which the last two are now under ground, which were probably wholly buried under ground, and had thus escaped Yuan Chwang's notice; (2) a temple, within a few paces of the Pillar, enshrining an ancient sculpture representing the Nativity of the Buddha, the figure of his mother (Mahāmāyā) standing under the *Sāla* tree after her delivery, with three attendants. The mutilated figure of the mother has been appropriated by the Hindus for worship as the goddess *Rūpaṁ debi* !

This ancient sculpture, the second of the monuments marking the Buddha's birth-place, supplies to my mind a clue to the meaning of the expression *silā-vigaḍa*. That it represents Nativity he who runs may read. It is on the lines followed in later representations of the same subject at Sanchi, Bharhut, Gandhara, Sarnath and Amaravati. An illustration of the sculpture is given at page 204 of my *Aśoka* (Macmillan, London, 1928). It depicts Māyādevī standing to the right, holding with her right hand the branch of the traditional *Sāla* tree and adjusting with her left hand her lower garments. To her right, and below her right hand, stands, a shorter female figure with its right hand raised apparently to help her. This figure may be taken to be that of her sister, Prajāpati-Gautami, on the basis of the Nativity legends. P. C. Mukharji who first published an account of this sculpture in *Arch. Sur. Report*, Vol. xxvi, took the figure to be that of an attendant. The third tall figure is supposed by P. C. Mukharji to be that of Prajāpati but by V. A. Smith [*Ib.* 37] to be a male-

figure, that of the god Indra who in the story receives the infant Bodhisattva on a piece of cloth. The fourth female figure is that of an attendant. Lastly, there is the figure of infant Bodhisattva standing on his legs immediately after his birth, as related in the birth-story.

That the sculpture is an old one will be apparent to those who will examine it closely. We need not be deterred by the statement of Watters [*On Yuan Chwang*, ii. 17] that "as it has not been closely examined, its age is quite uncertain." Two renowned archæologists closely examined it and felt quite certain about its age and antiquity. V. A. Smith recorded his opinion [*ASR*, xxvi. 6] that "probably the Rummindei group is the oldest known example of the nativity subject", which means that it is older than the examples found at Sanchi or Bharhut. P. C. Mukharji who went into the subject thoroughly considered that the sculpture shows "that style of workmanship which is generally associated with the time of Aśoka [*Ib.* 37]. The material of the sculpture also shows it to be Aśokan, "the yellowish kind of stone which was employed in the edict pillars and in the two famous Yakṣa door-keepers of Pāṭaliputra now in the Calcutta Museum" [*Ib.*]. The antiquity of the shrine is also pointed to by the fact that its original floor, as calculated by P. C. Mukharji, was at a depth of more than 20 feet below the present level of the surface.

Lastly, the legends also seem to make out this shrine as Aśokan. These do not make any mention of a Pillar erected by Aśoka to mark out the birth-place of the Buddha, as stated in the inscription. They state that *Lumbini-vana* was the first place of pilgrimage to which Upagupta takes his royal disciple and that on his arrival there he proclaims to the king that this is the place of the Buddha's birth, pointing out even the *particular tree under which Mahāmāyā stood when her child was born.* Then it is stated that the king *set up a shrine* at the place and makes a donation of 100,000 ounces of gold. Watters [*Ib.*], while feeling uncertain about its age for want of a personal examination, has no doubt, however, that the shrine referred to in the legendary text of *Divyāvadāna* must be the shrine still existing at the place. It still shows the translation into stone of the legendary

reference to the tree under which the Mother stood when her child was born.

Thus while story and stone have agreed so far, we have to see how far the inscription agrees with them. The first point of agreement lies in the legendary passage giving the words addressed by Upagupta to Aśoka on their arrival at Lumbini : "*asmin Mahārāja pradeśe Bhagavān jātaḥ*,—in this place, O great king, was born the Blessed one", words which are translated into the following in the inscription : "*hida bhagavaṁ jāteti.*" But a more important point of agreement will be discovered in the interpretation that has suggested itself to me of the word *silā-vigaḍa* as *silā-vigraha,* image of stone such as the shrine actually contains to this day. It is possible phonetically to derive *vigaḍa* from *vigaḍha* = vigarha = vigraha and to treat *--bhī* as a separate word, allied to the Hindi word *bhi* = also. This interpretation will also fit in with the context of the passage. It would justify the declaration of Aśoka that he has commemorated the birth-place of the Buddha by the construction of two different monuments of which the material remains are still extant, viz, (1) the Pillar and (2) the Temple enshrining the representation in sculpture of the Nativity. While the Nativity is directly depicted in sculpture, it is described in words inscribed on the pillar. Thus the two monuments supplement each other and leave no doubt between them as to the genuineness of the place which Aśoka expects posterity to treat as a most important place of pilgrimage. And between the two monuments, the sculpture is more appropriate, important, and enduring for Aśoka's purpose : while his words may fail, his sculpture will not. The sculpture is a perpetual reminder of the place of Nativity with its direct and visible appeal. The words were long lost to people who could not decipher their script. There was no Indian who could correctly interpret them to Yuan Chwang. He was thus left to record only the ignorant guesses of their meanings then current. The superiority of the sculpture to the pillar as a memorial of Nativity is indicated in the inscription itself which gives it precedence in the order of their mention.

DHARMA VIJAYA : A NEW INTERPRETATION

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Numerous are the inconsistent legends which have grown round the mighty figure of the great Mauryan emperor Aśoka. These however are not entitled to full credence at the hands of a serious historian. A portion of the legends has been utilised by scholars as historical material to support the theory that Aśoka was not only a parton of Buddhism but was himself a Buddhist. These legends, which are by the Buddhist writers of the early centuries of the Christian era, try to make out that in his early years Aśoka was a cruel tyrant who ascended the throne by shedding the blood of his kith and kin, and that he engaged himself in bloody warfare of which the Kaliṅga war was the last. The legends continue that, moved by the horrors of the Kalinga carnage, the emperor found his solace in the Buddhist religion, and by adopting it as his faith he completely turned a new leaf. He became intensely religious and consequently a full-timed propogandist of the new faith which he embraced. A century and more of Aśokan scholarship have only endeavoured to strengthen this mass of fiction rather than of fact contained in the Buddhist stories. In other words it seems as though it has been practically established that Aśoka was a Buddhist emperor and a monk to boot.[1]

Side by side with such professed and pronounced views and theories, there has been a misgiving with some scholars whether there was full justification for building a theory like Aśoka's faith in Buddhism. Nay a doubt has been entertained in some quarters whether in early times when Aśoka was emperor, Buddhism attained to the status of a religion at all.[2] The examination of Aśoka's

1. See *C. H. I.* the whole of Ch. XX, esp. p. 496. Hultzsch, *Corpus I. I.* Intro. Ch. IV and V, *History of India* by V. A. Smith - the chapter on Aśoka; D. R. Bhandarkar - *Aśoka* ; R. K. Mookerjee - *Aśoka*, Ch. IV on 'Religion' etc.

2. See Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism.*

religion then largely depends on the evidential conclusion of the latter question.

Elsewhere I have discussed the Early History of Buddhism in India.[1] It has been concluded that Buddhism began as a monastic sect, its original doctrine being purely of a philosophical tenour, that it took no lay disciples and hence did not interfere with the caste system, that the Upāsaka of the Buddhists was not a *de facto* member of the Buddhist Saṅgha, those of the Brahman saṁnyāsins formed the model of its philosophy and ethics, that the Buddha believed in the inexorable doctrine of *Karma*, and that the dharma inculcated by him is that of the ancient *ṛṣis* of whom Asita and Devala were examples.[2] These statements demonstrate that "early Buddhism was not correctly that of the canonical books."[3] If this position is conceded, then there is justification for the assumption that, even in the days of Aśoka, Buddhism was yet a monastic sect, a child of Hinduism with a difference in philosophical notions, and where the lay disciple found no place. In other words Buddhism had not then become a religion in the technical sense of the term. If this is granted Aśoka's conversion to that faith becomes a fiction.

A noteworthy point in this connection is the light thrown by the extant *Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra.* Before the discovery of this invaluable treatise, the Buddhist legends of Aśoka were pressed into service in the interpretation of the Aśokan inscriptions. The terms *dharma, dharmavijaya, saṅgha, upeta, dharmayātra, dharmamahāmātra, dharmadāna, dharmaśravaṇa, dharmalipi* afforded convenient material to stipulate the theory that Aśoka was a Buddhist. It is not possible to examine in a short article like this, all these different terms.[4] Of these we take up only the term *dharmavijaya.* The expression 'dharma' is the much used expression but the least understood, as it admits of wide interpretation. If the established religion of the land was the groundwork of the early Buddhist organisation, then it is reasonable to assume that the *dharma* or articles of morality and ethics formulated by the Buddha were

1. *J. of Bom. His. Society*, Vol. II, pp. 51-74.
2. Ibid.
3. Kern, *Manual of Ind. Bud.* p. 50.
4. For a detailed study af these terms see the author's *Mauryan Polity*, published by the University of Madras (1932).

not antagonistic to those of the earlier form of Hinduism. This assumption is corroborated by a significant statement of an accredited canonical work, the *Aṅguttaranikāya* p. II. p. 51 (P.T.S.ed.). According to this the dharma to the Buddha was the dharma formulated by the ancient seers and sages. It is the correct estimate of Prof. Keith who remarks "Nor in choosing the term *dharma* for the system, was Buddhism without *Upaniṣad* precedent ; the *Bṛhadāraṇya* (1, 4. 14) tells that Brahman created the Dharma, than which nothing is higher, and the *Mahānārāyaṇa* (XXI. 6) asserts that the whole universe is encircled by the Dharma, than which there is nothing harder to describe.[1] After all the original Buddhism was a code of ethics, and an ethical code is the same to whatever religion it is applicable. Thus the *dhamma* of the Buddhists did not differ very much from that of earlier Hinduism.

In the light of this observation on the *dharma* we shall attempt to interpret the term *dharmavijaya* in the inscriptions of Aśoka. The phrase occurs in the thirteenth Rock Edict, immediately after describing the consequences of the Kaliṅga war in which Aśoka engaged himself and won an unqualified victory. According to Aśoka himself[2] one hundred and fifty thousand were the men deported, one hundred thousand slain, and many died or were injured. Among the injured were innocents and non-combatants pursuing a righteous path. These were Brāhmaṇas, Śramaṇas or ascetics and pāṣaṇḍas or members of the heretical sects. It is generally believed that such heavy slaughter including that of the innocents resulted in a change of heart in the emperor. This transformation had a wholesome influence in his administrative policy. For he resolved to pursue what is known as *dharmavijaya*, commonly translated 'the conquest by morality.'[3] Advocates of Buddhism as the faith of Aśoka believe that the emperor substituted conquest by morality for the conquest by arms.[4] In other words Aśoka gave up his arms and became a monk abstaining from all violence towards all beings. It is further added that such principle found acceptance with his vassals and neigh-

1. *Religion* and *Philosophy of the Veda*, II. p. 550.
2. *Corpus* pp. 43-44.
3. *Ibid*, p. 44.
4. See *Corpus*, Intro. p. liii.

bours like the Yona king Antiyoga, Tulamaya, Antekina, Makā Alikyashudala, the Coḷa and Pāṇḍyan kings. The tribes who belonged to the king's territory and who accepted this creed are said to be the Yonas, Kāmbojas, Nabhakas, Nabhapankhas, Bhojas, Pitinikyas, Andhras, and Pāladas.

What is this *dharmavijaya* which won such universal approbation? What is generally believed is that it was the preaching and practice of simple virtues like *ahiṁsā*, toleration etc. which constituted the *dharmavijaya*. It is difficult to accept this for the following reasons:

(1) The Mauryan Empire under Aśoka consisted of different peoples and tribes professing different faiths and creeds. If Aśoka was the imperial patron of Buddhism, and if Buddhism was antagonistic to the established religion as it is alleged to have been, this cult of *dharmavijaya* would not have appealed to all his subjects.

(2) In the same Edicts[1] it is mentioned that envoys were sent to the different kingdoms, which shows that wide international relations existed between the Empire on the one hand and the frontiers and the neighbours on the other. It is not possible to believe that Ptolemy, Antiochus, Antigonus, Magas of Cyrene and Alexander of Epirus approved of a principle, quite alien to their spirit and faith.

(3) But what is more unconvincing is that this *dharmavijaya* found concordance even with peoples and states who had no political connection with the empire. This is evident from the statement "Even those to whom the envoys of Devānāṁpriya do not go, having heard of the duties of morality, — are conforming to morality and will conform to it,[2] it is rather strange that states which were outside the jurisdiction of the empire should have conformed to the so-called religious ordinances of an Emperor with whom they had nothing to do.

(4) In another portion of the Edict Aśoka says that he has succeeded everywhere by extending the *dharmavijaya*. At the same time he expresses that though he feels quite satisfied at this achievement, that satisfaction is of little consequence. If *dharmavijaya* is

1. XIII R. E. 2. *Corpus*, p. 48.

the conquest by morality, then it is certainly the road to heaven From his remarks that *dharmavijaya* is of little consequence, it is reasonable to assume that Aśoka did not mean by the term 'conquest by morality'. If *dharmavijaya* then does not connote the significance attached to it by scholars as 'the conquest by morality', 'true conquest' and so on, the next question arises what it is. Aśoka, as is seen from the Edicts, generally followed the political system of the *Arthaśāstra*. In this celebrated treatise the expression *dharmavijaya* is a political term of much significance. Is it too much then to assume that Aśoka used it in the sense in which the Kauṭalīya uses it. Kauṭalya expresses as follows : [1] 'There are three kinds of conquering monarchs — the just conqueror, the greedy conqueror and the demon-like conqueror. Of these the just conqueror is pleased with mere obeisance or acknowledging his overlordship. Weak kings acknowledge overlordship from the fear of their enemies. The greedy conqueror is pleased with taking away of land and the wealth. Hence a weakling should win his favour by wealth. The demon like conqueror is pleased with the seizure of land, wealth, son, wives and other lives. Him the weak king should approach with territory and treasure so that he might go on without any trouble,[2] according to the *Śrimulam* commentary the weak king acknowledges the suzerainty of the emperor not because he has cause to fear from the emperor but because he is afraid of his neighbours and his own enemies, against whom he could not stand singlehanded. Hence he counts the assistance of imperial power lest he should be hurt by his enemies.[3] According to the *Arthaśāstra dharmavijaya* means acknowledgement of the overlordship of a superior authority by an inferior power. What perhaps Aśoka wishes to make out is that he indulged in the *asuravijaya*, as for instance, the Kalinga war, and having been convinced of the horrors of war, he now takes to

1. त्रयोऽभियोक्तारो धर्मासुरलोभविजयिन इति ।
तेषामभ्यवपत्त्या धर्मविजयी तुष्यति, तमभ्यवपद्येत ।
परेषामपि भयात् भूमिद्रव्यहरणेन लोभविजयी तुष्यति; तमर्थेनाभ्यवपद्येत ।
भूमिद्रव्यपुत्रदारप्राणहरणेन असुरविजयी
तं भूमिद्रव्याभ्यामुपगृह्याप्राह्यः प्रतिकुर्वीत ॥
Bk. XII. Ch. I.

2 Text 4 lines *Trivandrum ed.* Vol. III p. 155.

3. See also *Nayacandrikā commentary*, p. 213 *Punjab Sans.* Series No. IV.

the *dharmavijaya* by which he would be satisfied with mere obeisance, not only from his territory but also from his borderers and neighbours.[1] Aśoka was the powerful monarch of his time and hence the vassal states and other kingdoms holding similar relationship with the Empire found it not very difficult to acknowledge his authority and live in security and peace. Even those chieftains with whom Aśoka had no diplomatic relations were prepared to conform to this arrangement, not because they expected any trouble from Pāṭaliputra but to avert any dangers arising from their own enemies. This is quite in line with the Kauṭalīyan statement *Parēṣāmapi bhayāt*. This interpretation of the term *dharmavijaya* is corroborated by other facts which Aśoka mentions in the same Edict. One is that "even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are included in the dominions of Devānāmpriya, even those he pacifies and instructs. And they are told of the power (to punish them) which Devānāmpriya (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance, in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed." [2] Apparently the foresters were independent or semi-independent. Possessed of martial spirit they might or might not have acknowledged the overlordship of the emperor. It is evident that *dutas* were sent to them with clear instructions that if they should prove refractory, they would be attacked and killed. This demonstrates above anything else that Aśoka had not completely relinquished the conquest by arms. For does he not say that he possesses power to attack them ? But as a noble Kṣatriya he warns them and tells them that he would be pleased with mere obeisance. If they would not heed to it in time he was prepared to fight with them. This is then the ideal underlying the Kautalīyan policy of *dharmavijaya*.

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1. We know from the *Mahābhārata* that Yudhiṣṭhira after the Kurukṣetra carnage, fell down unconscious being overwhelmed with sorrow and resolved to don the ascetic robes and never more be a king. Least was not the difficulty to reconcile him and make him accept the throne. Yudhiṣṭhira wanted to avoid battle ; but when once it was offered, as would befit a Kṣatriya, he came to the forefront. This is the true Kṣatriya ideal and we know from the *Diviyāvadāna* that Aśoka was a Kṣatriya.

2. *Corpus* p. 69 and XI R. E. Shahbazgarhi.

Another noteworthy point in this connection is the purpose for which the Edict has been published. It is for the guidance of his successors who "should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them, they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the dharmavijaya (conquest by morality?) as the only (true) conquest."[1] It is then the pious wish of Aśoka that his successors should not abuse their power and engage themselves in deadly wars like the *asuravijaya* and *lobhavijaya*. That they need not make a fresh conquest has the implication that the land-grabbing ideal must not actuate the minds of his successors. At the same time Aśoka makes it quite obvious that on this account they, his successors, should not disband their army and offer no battle even when the enemy was at their doors. It may be, as he anticipates, that certain states may not be willing to pay homage to the Imperial head-quarters, and may show cause for provocation. In that case Aśoka recommends *righteous* war where the horrors of war could be avoided and where 'mercy and light punishments' alone should be awarded.

Thus then the Edict under examination contains evidences to prove that the term *dharmavijaya* has nothing to do with the doctrine of Buddhism, but is a healthy method of righteous war which Aśoka advocated. It is an historical fact that Aśoka did not make any conquest except that of Kaliṅga but was still the lord of a big empire extending to the Tamil kingdoms in the south, and Greek states in the N. W. of the Indian continent. All the vassal states including the semi-independent neighbours felt the heavy weight of his arms and fully acquiesced in his overlordship. There is justification for Aśoka publicly proclaiming that the whole world has been won over by him by the *dharmavijaya*.[2]

. *Ibid* p. 70.

Ye se (la) dl e etakena hoti savata vi(ja) ye piti- lase se *Corpus* 8. 46.



Surat Plates: Image of Shiva. (p. 287)

SURAT PLATÉS OF CĀULUKYA KĪRTIRĀJA OF ŚAKA 940

— BY D. B. DISKALKAR, M. A., CURATOR, HISTORICAL MUSEIUM SATARA.

These plates were discovered many years back and a brief note on them was published by Dr. H. H. Dhruva in the Wiener Zeitschrift.[1] This note was abridged by Kielhorn in his Appendix to the Fifth Volume of the Epigraphia Indica.[2] The plates are now with a Brāhmaṇa in Surat. They were exhibited at the Gujarati Sāhitya Parishad held at Surat and a short account of them was published in Gujarati by the late Mr. Manilal Bakorbhai Vyas in the proceedings of the Parishad.[3] But the inscription has never been published fully with a facsimile. No apology is therefore needed for my doing so here. Through the good offices of Prof. M. P. Dave of the Sārvajanika College, Surat, I have been able to obtain the plates on loan from the owner.

These are three plates making a complete grant of Kirtirāja, the Cāulukya[4] king (of Lāṭa). A copperplate grant of his grandson Trilocanapāla dated Śaka 972 is already known to scholars.[5] Like it the present grant has a very thick copper ring holding the three plates together, and bearing in a circular surface the image of Śiva in an attitude of meditation. The first and the third plates are inscribed only on the inner side, the former containing 22 lines and the latter 13 lines of writing; while the second plate contains 15 lines inscribed on each of its sides. Each plate measures 10¼″ × 7½″. All

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1. Vol. VII, p. 88.
2. No. 354.
3. R. B. Gaurishankara Ojha has also noted the inscription in the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā Vol. I, p. 216.
4. The spelling of the word is Caulakya or Caulukya and not Calukya. See *Ep. Ind.* vol. V, App. p. 50 *n*. 4. It must, however, be noted that the name was variously spelt in inscriptions and literature. See Ind. Ant. Vol. XII p. 196 and Vol. XLVIII p. 112.
5. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XLVIII p. 196.

of them are in an excellent state of preservation. The characters are Nāgarī of the tenth century. They are smaller in size in the first plate than those in the other plates. The most noteworthy points of orthography are that the letter *ś* is frequently used for *s* as in the Surat plates of Trilocanapāla, and as is the practice even today, of the people of Surat side. In a few cases *s* is wrongly used for *ś* (ll. 19, 30). There is no distinction between *v* and *b*. A consonant is often doubled after *r*. An *anusvāra* is sometimes replaced by the palatal nasal (ll. 30, 35, 37, 38 and 55) and sometimes by the labial nasal (ll. 46, 58). The symbols for the figures 9 (l. 38) 5 (l. 44) deserve to be marked. The letter *ch* (l. 35) is rather peculiar. With reagrd to lexicography the Prakrit word Śimpaka (l. 45) meaning 'a tailor' deserves to be marked. It is now used in the form of 'Śimpi' in the Deccan but now in Gujarat the word for tailor is Darji and not the Prakrit word. The language of the record is good Sanskrit though highly eulogistic of the patrons of the poet. It is partly metrical, the total number of verses being 32, and partly in prose. Of the *Śabdālaṁkāras* used by the poet special mention may be made of the pun on the word तस्मात् in v. 7, first कलस, then काननकुठार then किरण and lastly कीर्त्तिनृप. So also the word शासन is used in two senses in v. 29.

The inscription opens with an invocation to the goddess, who is styled in the first verse as Śakti, at whose pleasure Brahmā creates, Viṣṇu preserves and Śiva destroys everything and who pervades the heart of every individual. In the second verse the jar-born sage (i. e. Agastya), who drank up the ocean is praised. The third verse gives the usual account of the origin of the hero Cāulukya as having sprung from the *añjali* of Brahmā (Vidhi) while he was performing *saṁdhyā*.[1] The next verse states that in his family a king named Nimbārka was born. The fifth and the sixth verses give the names of Bārappa and Goggirāja who ruled in the family as direct descendants. From the seventh to the fifteenth verse Kīrtirāja, son of Goggirāja is described in high terms. Then from the sixteenth to the twentieth verse a Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, evidently feudatory of the above mentioned Cāulukya family, is described, in which Kundarāja, . . . Amṛtarāja and Śamburāja were born

1. *Ibid.*

as direct descendants. The last of these viz. Śamburāja, who was in the service of the Cāulukya king Kīrtirāja, is said in the following prose portion of the inscription to have built a *maṭhikā* for the use of Brāhmaṇas near the temple of Bhagavatī in the village Palāśavānaka. At his request to provide permanent means for the maintenance of the monastery Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kīrtirāja made a gift in the Śaka year 940, on the Udagayana *parvan* day, of the following objects : (1) The village Talavadā (l. 41) included in the group of 42 villages under the name Bilvīśvara (l. 38); (2) Fifty *nivartanas* of land in the village Pallaravaṇa (ll. 43-44) and (3) Seven *prakṛtis* (ll. 45-46).

A large portion of the inscription from ll. 49 to 63 is devoted towards the usual imprecatory verses. The inscription closes with the name of the writer of the grant viz. Sommaiya,[1] the minister of peace and war.

From the grant[2] of Śaka 972 of Trilocanapāla we know of the five rulers of the Cāulukya family of Lāṭa who succeeded each other in the following order : Bārappa, Goggirāja, Kīrtirāja, Vatsarāja, Trilocanapāla. The present grant of Śaka 940 of the time of Kīrtirāja gives the names of the four direct descendants-Nimbārka, Bārappa, Goggirāja, and Kīrtirāja, and thus adds one more name of Nimbārka, who is the earliest member of this Cāulukya family so far known. Of Nimbārka nothing more is recorded than that he was born in the Cāulukya family. Of Bārappa, the son of Nimbārka both the present grant and the grant of Trilocanapāla record no historical event. The other grant leads us to believe that he was the first to get the kingdom of Lāṭa. In some *prabandhas* the fight[3] between Bārappa and Mūlarāja, the Cāulukya king of Aṇahilapāṭaṇa is referred to. In the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* Bārappa is said to be a

1. The true spelling of the name was probably Somaiyyā. He might have been a man from the southern India where such names are still found.

2. Ind. Ant. Vol. XII p. 196.

3. Bom. Gaz. Vol. I. i. p. 159. According to Gujarat Chronicles Bārappa was defeated and killed by Mūlarāja. Even if there was any truth in this it must be said that Mūlarāja and his successors at least upto Bhīma could not conquer Lāṭa as the Lāṭa family continued to rule there upto 1051 A. D.

general of Tailapa, the Caulukya sovereign of the Deccan. The *Dvyāśraya* calls Bārappa king of Lāṭadeśa and Someśvaradeva's Kīrti-kaumudi calls him a general of the lord of Lāṭa. These different statements would best be explained by supposing that when Tailapa II overthrew the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kokkala in A. D. 973[1] and made himself master of his territory which included Lāṭa also, he might have placed Bārappa in the military charge of the country of Lāṭa and allowed him practical independence.[2] But no where among the list of his feudatories the name of Bārappa is found.[3] Goggirāja, son of Bārappa is most probably identical with the Cāulukya king Goggiraja[4] mentioned in the grant of Śaka 991 of the time of the early Yādava king Seuṇacandra. Goggirāja's daughter Nāyiyaladevī, as the record states, was married to the Yādava king Vesugi.[5]

Some time after the date of this inscription Kīrtirāja seems to have been defeated and killed by Durlabharāja, the Cāulukya king of Aṇahilapāṭana, as can be inferred from a verse in the Vadnagar *praśasti* and in the *umārapālacarita*.[6] That he was defeated is inferred also from V.23 of Trilocanapāla's grant which states that he had a thoughtless beloved in Kīrti, who, also, afraid as it were, went over to the house of the enemies. This war between the neighbouring kingdoms of Cāuluk as of Anahilavād i. e. N. Gujarat and the Cāulukyas of Lāṭa i. e. S. Gujarat, may have been due to the aggression of the rising p wer of the N. Gujarat Caulukyas, and seems to have ended in the destruction of the Cāulukya family of Lāṭa. This occurred probably in the time of the Anahilavād king Bhīma I, who was powerful enough to vanquish even the mighty Bhoja of Mālvā. For from the Dhamaḍāchā plates[7] of Śaka 996 (V. S. 1131) of the time of his son Karṇa, we know that Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Durla-

1. Ind. Ant. vol. XLVIII p. 114
2. See Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā Vol. I p. 217
3. Ind. Ant. Vol. XLVII p. 287
4. He was probably also identical with king Goma (gal) who was sumptuously received by the Śilāhāra king Aparājita of Thāṇā. See Ind. And. Vol IX p. 36.
5. Ind. Ant. Vol. XII p. 122
6. Ibid p. 200
7. JBBRAS. Vol. XXVI p. 250

bharāja of a different Cāulukya family was ruling at Navsāri in Lāṭa as a feudatory of the Anahilvāḍ Cāulukya king Karṇa.

Kīrtirāja calls himself Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara in the inscription which shows that he was a feudatory of some sovereign power. Who this sovereign was is not stated in the record but he can be no other than the Caulukya sovereign of Kalyāṇa in the Deccan, a descendant of Tailapa, whose feudatory was Bārappa, the grandfather of Kīrtirāja. But their allegiance to the Deccan Cāulukya was probably only nominal at this time.[1]

The following places are mentioned in the grant : Palāśavānaka (l. 29) Bilviśvara (l. 38), Talavadā (l. 41), Kuruṇa (l. 42), Kohirālā (l. 42), Tembaruyā (l. 42), Eruthāṇa (l. 43), and Pallaravaṇa (l. 43). Of these Bilviśvara, Kuruṇa, Tembaruyā and Eruthāṇa are also mentioned in the grant of Trilocanapāla.[2] The place Palāśavānaka is probably identical with modern Palasanā, the headquarters of the Palasanā sub-division in the Surat district. Bilviśvara is to be identified with modern Balesara or Baleśvara, a small town two miles to the north of Palasanā. In the present grant as

1. We know that the province of Lāṭa, or Southern Gujarat has been a dependency of the Deccan ruled by scions of the ruling family of the Deccan whom they paid at least a nominal homage from the time of the great Pulakeśin II who conquered it in the middle of the seventh century to the middle of the eleventh century when the Cāulukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaṇa annexed it to their Gujarat kingdom. When the earlier Cāulukyas were the supreme power in the Deccan Lāṭa was governed by their scions, as is seen from the Navsāri plates of Śilāditya, Maṅgalarāja and Pulakeśin (See JBBRAS. Vol. XVI p. 2 Proceedings of the Vienna Ori. Congress p. 225 and 230 and Ind.Ant.Vol. XIII p. 75. See also Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā Vol. I p. 208.) When the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the supreme power in the Deccan their scions ruled in Lāṭa as their feudatories, as is evidenced by a number of grants of the Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭas (See Bom. Gaz. Vol. I History of Gujarat p. 119). When again the Cāulukyas succeeded the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as a supreme power in the Deccan their scions governed Lāṭa as their feudatories, as the Surat grants show.

2. These places are already identified by Fleet in Ind. Ant. Vol. XXI p. 256.

also in the grant of Trilocanapāla Bilvīśvara is said to be a division consisting of 42 villages. In the Lāta country the practice of naming small territorial divisions as consisting of so many villages seems to have been common in those days. Until very late Bilvīśvara was an important town and a large class of Kaṇbis in and round about Surat are known as Balesariā. The town lost its importance only since the British rule. Talavadā is modern Talod, one mile and a half north-west from Erathān which is mentioned below. It is spelt Talapadraka in Trilocanapāla's grant. [1] Kurana is Karana, a mile and a half north-west of Erathān. The place is spelt Tembaruka in Trilocanapāla's grant. Eruthaṇa is modern Erathan, two miles north-west from Balesara. The place Pallaravaṇa cannot be exactly identified, but it is probably modern Pāl, which is four miles from Surat and eight miles from Erathān.

The *tithi* and the month of the Śaka year 940 when the grant was issued are not given as in the other Surat grant. But from the expression Udagayana *parvaṇī* it seems that the grant was issued in the month of Pauṣa in which the *makarasaṁkrānti* generally occurs.

The reason why the blessings of the sage Agastya are sought in the second verse of the grant is not clear. But it might have been that like Trilocanapāla Kīrtirāja issued the grant from the sacred place called Agastya *tīrtha* (l. 4 pl. III of Trilocanapāla's grant).[2] It was in the fitness of things that the sage presiding over the sacred place was invoked after the goddess Bhagavatī the presiding deity of the *maṭhikā*.

1. Can this place be the same as Talabhadrika mentioned in the Dhamadachā plates of Śaka 996 (JBBRAS. Vol. XXVI p. 252) ?

2. But curiously enough Agastya is not praised in that grant.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 ॐ नमो भगवत्यै ॥ [2]सृजति कमलयोनिः पाति पीतांबरो [3]यं हरति सकलमीशः किं च यस्याः प्रसादात् । प्रतिजन

2 निहितात्मव्यापिनी सा समस्तानवतु भगवती वः शक्तिरव्यक्तरूपा ॥ [१ *] [4]पायाज्जगंति स मुनिः कलशप्रसूतो यत्पीयमानस[5]

3 लिलेष्वतिसाध्वसेन । अद्यापि लोललहरीनिचयापदेशादभ्रान्तकम्पतरलो जलराशिरेषः ॥ [२ *] [6]धातुः संध्याविधिविरचि

4 तादंजलेर्ज्जायते स्म स्फारत्तेजो दिशि दिशि किरन् कोपि चौलक्यनामा । दृष्टे यस्मिन्नसमरामरत्रासलोलैस्तदानीम्

5 शंके सिंधोः पयसि वसतिः कल्पिता दानवेंद्रैः ॥ [*] [7]तत्रान्वये नरपतिः प्रथमानतेजा निम्बार्क इत्यभवदुज्वलमण्डल

6 श्रीः । मध्यस्थतामुपगतेन जनस्य तापं येनापहृत्य भुवने कृतमत्र चित्रम् ॥ [४ *] [8]एकः कीर्तिसरोजिनीदिनपतिः सर्वश्रि

7 यामाश्रमः । सौजन्यस्थ[9]तशीतरश्मिरभवद्वारप्पराजस्ततः । यन्निर्व्वाशि[10]तवैरिराजवनितानिस्वास[11]धूमोद्गमच्छायाच्छन्न

8 इवावभाति विपिने भिल्लीजनः [12]स्यामलः ॥ [५ *] [13]तस्यापत्यं समजनि दलत्कीर्त्तिपुष्पाव[14]तंसः श्रीमान्विद्याविनयनिचयो गोग्गि

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1. From the original plates.
2. Metre *Mālinī*.
3. Read यद्
4. Read *Vasantatilakaṁ*
5. Read सलिलेष्वति
6. Metre *Mandākrāntā*.
7. Metre *Vasantatilakaṁ*.
8. Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍitaṁ*.
9. Read ᳚स्थित
10. Read ०वासित
11. Read निःश्वास
12. Read श्यामलः
13. Metre *Mandākrāntā*.
14. Read पुष्पा°

9 नामा नरेंद्रः । यद्दोर्द्दण्डापहृतकमलाविप्रयोगोपतप्तः शंके शौरिः [1]शलिल-
शयनास[2]गमंगीचकार ॥ [६ *] [3]रणरसनिवास

10 [4]कलसो मनस्विनीमानकाननकुठारः । शुकृतसुधासितकिरणः श्रीकीर्त्तिनृपोभव-
त्तस्मात् ॥ [७ *] [5]स्वल्पेयं पृथिवी मया थिर

11 न्विता वीरस्य चास्योद्यमः [6] कोप्यन्यादृश एव तेन विपुलामेनां करोमि क्षणात्।
यत्संग्रामसमुत्थितैर्द्दिशि दिशि त्वंगत्तुरंग

12 क्षतक्षोणीरेणुभरैरितीव कुरुते सिन्धोर्व्विधिः पूरणं ॥ [८ *] [7]पलायमाना-
स्तत्काले यस्य विद्वेषिणो रणात् । एकांतमिव कुर्व्वं

13 ति जयश्रीसंगमोत्सवे ॥ [९ *] [8]आकर्ण्य दूरादपि यत्प्रतापं वृन्द्वाजनो दृष्ट-
भविष्यदर्त्थः । यदीयविद्वेषिवधूजनाय स्वभर्तृ

14 [9]भिक्षागुणनां दिदेश ॥ [१० *] रणे च दाने च निवर्त्तमाने विना विपक्षं च
धनार्त्थिनं च । मेने मनःप्रार्त्थितकर्म्मसून्यं [10]आराय यः

15 केवलमात्महस्तं ॥ [११ *] प्रबंधलब्धोपचयाभिरामं वपुर्म्मृणालीधवलं वहंती।
यत्कीर्त्तिरन्तःकृतचंद्रलेखा विभाति कीर्त्यै

16 तरगर्भिणीव ॥ [१२ *] [11]मा मा महाहवक्रीडारसविच्छित्तिरस्तु मे । इति येन
रणे शत्रुर्म्मंदमन्दं हतश्चिरात् ॥ [१३ *] यल्लावण्याम्बु

17 तं पातु सद्यः संतोषसंभवैः अंभोभिर्न्नेत्रपात्राणि क्षालयंतीव योषितः ॥ [१४ *]
[12]अनारतम्बालमृगांकमौलेः[13] पादद्वयीपां

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1. Read सालिल

2. Read संग

3. Metre *Āryā*.

4. Read कलशो

5. Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍitaṁ*.

6. ०न्या

7. Metre *Anuṣṭubh*.

8. Metre *Upajāti*, and in the following two verses.

9. Read गणना

10. Read शून्यं

11. Metre *Anuṣṭubh* and in the following verse.

12. Metre *Upajāti*.

13. Read अनारतं

Surat Plates: Second-plate, one side. (pp. 295–296)

Surat Plates: First-plate. (pp. 293–295)

18 श्रुनिवाससक्तं । निर्द्धौतनिःशेषमलावलेपशुभ्रं मनो यस्य तथापि [1]जातम् ॥ [१५]* | [2]चौलुक्यानां हृदयदयितः संगरे सत्स-

19 हायः [3]श्रीमानाशीदसममहिमालंकृतः कुंदराजः । यस्मिन् जाते स खलु [4]निखिलक्षत्रवंसातिरिक्तां लेभे शोभां किमपि

20 सहसा राष्ट्रकूटान्वयस्तां ॥ [१६ *] [5]तस्मादभूदमृतराज इति प्रसिद्धः सूनुर्निसर्गधवलः स यथार्थनामा । यस्योदये सकल

21 वैरिवधूजनस्य सद्यो भवंति मुकुलानि मुखांबुजानि ॥ [१७ *] [6]प्रचंडरिपुवाहिनीजयविलोललक्ष्मीव

22 धूः सवेगविधृतस्फुरद्भुजतरंडदण्डद्वयः । अजायत [7]जगत्रयी [8]निजयसोभिरुद्भासयन् सम

Second Plate, one side

23 स्तगुणमंदिरं स खलु [9]सम्बुराजस्ततः ॥ [१८ * | [10]न लोकदौःस्थ्यं यदपाकरोति सुराधिपः

24 कल्पतरौ स्थितेपि । तदेष निर्म्मूलयति स्म सर्व्वमेकेन वीरः करपल्लवेन ॥[१९*]

25 [11]निःशेषनिहतवैरिणि यस्मिन् भृत्येपि कीर्त्तिराजस्य । अनवाप्तसमरविक

26 षा दिवसा गच्छंति कृच्छ्रेण ॥ [२० *] अनेन च संसारस्यासारतां [12]विमृश्य कमलिनीदलवोला

27 यमानजललवलोलं च जगज्जीवितमवधार्य कल्पावसानस्थेयसीं कीर्तिमभिलषता मु

1. Read जातम्
2. Metre *Mandākrāntā*.
3. Read ॰नासीद ॰
4. Read वंशा
5. Metre *Vasantatilakam*.
6. Metre *Pṛthvī*.
7. Read जगत्त्रयी
8. Read यशोभि
9. Read शम्बुराज
10. Metre *Upajāti*.
11. Metre *Āryā*.
12. Read विमृश्य

28 कृतसंचयलालसेन द्विजपरिषदधिष्ठिता भगवतीनिकेतमियं [1]पुण्यरासिकोम

29 कलसिका [2]पलासवानके मठिका प्रतिष्ठापिता । अस्याश्च [3]सास्वतवृत्तिविषये राजान

30 मसौ प्रेरितवान् । [4]राज्ञश्च समस्तदानेषु भूदानमेव [5]बहुमतमाशीत् ॥ उक्तञ्च॥

31 [6]त्रीण्याहुरतिदानानि गावः पृथ्वी सरस्वती । आसप्तमं पुनंत्येता दोहवाहनधारणैः ॥ [२१ *]

32 भूमिं यः प्रतिगृण्हाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्गगामि

33 नौ ॥ [२२ *] सर्व्वेषामेव दानानामेकजन्मानुगं फलं । हाटकक्षितिगौरीणां सप्तजन्मानुगं

34 भवेत् ॥ [२३ *] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्ण्णं भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः । लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि द

35 त्तं यः काञ्चनं [7]गाञ्च महीञ्च दद्यात् ॥ [२४ *] इत्यादिस्मृतितंत्रसूत्रावधारणाच्च भूमिदानस्याधि

36 क्यमाकलय्य महामण्डलेश्वरश्रीकीर्तिराजः सर्व्वानेव स्वविषयाधिकारिणः समादि

37 शति । यथा शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु नवसु [8]चत्वारिन्सदधिकेषु यत्रांक

Second Plate, other side

38 तोपि सम्वत् ९४० उदगयनपर्व्वणि [9]बिल्वीश्वरीयद्विचत्वारिन्सद्ग्रामान्तःपातीनिवि

39 ष्टेन [10]चतुःसतीपरिच्छिन्नभूमण्डलः सवृक्षमालाकुलः अभ्यन्तरीकृतसमस्तमार्ग्गण

1. Read राशि……कलशिका
2. Read पलाशवानके
3. Read शाश्वत
4. Read राज्ञश्च
5. Read ॰सीत्
6. Metre *Śloka-Anuṣṭubh* and in the following three verses.
7. Read गां च महीं च
8 and 9. Read ॰रिंशद्॰
10. चतुःशाति

Surat Plates: Second-plate, other side.

(pp. 296–297)

Surat Plates: Third-plate. (pp. 297–298)

40 कः [5]समस्तराजपुरुषाणामप्रवेस्यः [2]श्रीसम्बुराजप्रतिष्ठापितमठिकायै मया तलव

41 दाग्रामो जलचुलुकपूर्व्वकं प्रदत्तः । यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वस्यां [3]दिशि कुरुणग्रामः॥

42 उत्तरस्यां सीम्नि कोहिरालाग्रामः । पश्चिमपर्यन्ते टेम्बरुयाग्रामः । दक्षिणावधौ

43 एरुथाणग्रामः । एवमयं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितो ग्रामः [। *] तथा पल्लरवणग्रामे

44 भूमेर्न्निवर्त्तनानि पंचाशत् अङ्कतोपि [4]भूमिनिवर्त्तन ५० [।*] तथा परिष-
त्कल्पितपा

45 टके वणिग्द्वयमेकैकश्च तैलिकश्छिपको रजकः कुम्भकारश्चर्म्मकारो मापि

46 तश्चेति सप्तप्रकृतयश्च प्रदत्ताः । तदेनं गाममेनां भूमिमेनाम्च [5]प्रकृतीर्भुंजतां
भोज

47 यतां च भगवतीपादपद्मोपजीविनां न केनापि निषेधः कर्त्तव्यः । आगामि-
नृपतिभि

48 रपि सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवगम्य भूदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्मद्दायोनुमंतव्यः ॥

49 तथा हि । सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनो भूमिपालान् भूयो भूयो याचते जामदग्न्यः ।
सामा

50 न्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [२५ *] बहुभिर्व्व-
सुधा भुक्ता राज

51 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ [२६ *]

52 यश्च मोहादिदमपहरेत्स खलु पंचभिरपि महापातकैर्ल्लिप्ये

Third Plate

53 त । किञ्च ॥ [6]इदमविरतवात्यावर्त्तनिर्धूतनृत्यत्तृणतरलमसारं

54 जीवितं जन्मभाजां । हरत तदिह देव्याः शासनग्राममेनं यदि नर

1. Read प्रवेश्य
2. Read शम्बुराज
3. Mark that the poet has used different expressions to carry the same sense.
4. Read निवर्त्तनानि
5. Read ०मेनाश्च प्रकृतीन्
6. Metre *Mālinī*.

55 कनिपाते कौतुकं किञ्चिदस्ति ॥ [२७ *] [1]इदं न विद्मः किल कीदृसीं [2]दसामुपैति भूमे

56 रपहारकारकः । तदीयनामापि हि यस्तु कीर्त्तये त्स कल्पमेकं नरके निलीय

57 ते ॥ [२८ *] अपि च ॥ [3]यः कोपि मंदधीर्ल्लोभादिदं हरति [4]सासनं क्रुद्धा भगवती तस्य करो

58 पि ननु [5]सासनं ॥ [२९ *] उक्तं च ॥

[59 Two verses : स्वदत्तां etc. and षष्ठिं वर्ष etc.]

60 .... अलमतिविस्तरेण ॥ यावन्नाद्यापि चंद्रस्त्यज

61 ति शिशिरतां यावदुष्णः कृशानुर्यावद्देवः सहस्रद्युतिरपि तमसा नायमायाति

62 मैत्रीं । यावद्गाढानुरागा भजति न रजनी वासराश्लेषलीलां तावन्निर्विघ्नमास्तां

63 जगति भगवतीशासनग्राम एषः ॥ [३२ *] इयं च मठिका वरतापीमठिकायाः प्रति

64 बद्धेति ॥ मतं मम महामण्डलेश्वरश्रीकीर्तिराजस्य ॥ यदुपरिलिखितं तत्सर्व्वं

65 प्रमाणमिति ॥ लिखितमिदं राजनियमात्सान्धिविग्रहिकश्रीसोम्मयेनेति ॥

TRANSLATION

Om ! Salutation to Bhagavatī,

Verse 1. May the Divine Śakti of invisible form by whose favour Brahmā creates, Viṣṇu protects and Śiva destroys everything and who pervades the heart of every individual, protect you all.

V. 2. May that sage, born of the jar, quaffed by whom the sea, through excessive fear, looks tremulous even now on account of tremor in the foam of a succession of surging waves protect the worlds.

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1. Metre *Vaṁśastha*.
2. Read किदृशीं दशा॰
3. Metre *Śloka*.

4 and 5. Read शासनं.

V. 3. A certain warrior who spread in all directions his brilliant lustre and at whose sight, I think, even the best of the demons, frightened with the fear of having to face an unequal fight, managed to live in the water of the sea, was born out of the Creator's *añjali* folded at the time of performing the Saṁdhyā ceremony.

V. 4. In his lineage was born the king *Nimbārka*, of excellent lustre and resplendent with a bright halo, who when he became a *madhyastha*, (i. e. a mediator) removed the troubles (*tāpa*) of the people and thus performed a wonder in the world, since the sun with a bright halo is very hot when he becomes a madhyastha (i. e. attains the meridian).

V. 5. From him was born *Bārapparāja* who, being the abode of all splendours, was the sun to the lotus in the form of fame and who was like the moon on account of his gentility which was steady (the same at all times). The Bhilla population in the forest, enveloped, as it were, by the darkness of the shadow in the form of the sighs of wives of the enemy kings' driven (there, i. e. into the forest) by him (lit. whom) appeared dark (in complexion).

V. 6. To him was born a son named *Goggirāja*, who was the ornament of the blooming flower of fame, who was wealthy and was a store of learning and decorum. I think, Śauri (Viṣṇu), troubled (heated) by (his) separation from Lakṣmī[1] who was forcibly carried away by his strong arms (i. e. by the strong arms of Goggirāja) cultivated his attachment for a couch in the water.

V. 7. From him was born *Kīrtirāja* who was, as it were, a jar for keeping the juice in the form of battlefield (i. e. who was the repository of heroic spirit,). who was (like) an axe (to pull down) the forest in the form of the arrogance of proud ladies, and who was of bright rays (emitting) nectar in the form of his good deeds.

1. Mark the bad taste of the poet.

V. 8. "This earth I have created is small and the activity of this hero is something like extraordinary ; I shall, therefore, make it (earth) wide in a moment" (with this idea) the creator fills the sea, as it were, with the clouds of dust which were raised from the earth beaten by the galloping horses and raised in his (king's) battles, in all directions.

V. 9. On the occasion of his meeting the goddess of victory, his enemies, running away immediately from the battle-field, made the place solitary (created for him solitude) for the happy occassion of his union with the goddess of victory.

V. 10. On hearing of his valour, even from a distance, the elderly ladies (who could) see the future events instructed the women folk of his (whose) enemies to consider the asking (in alms) of their husbands. (to consider the desirability of asking that their husband's lives be saved).

V. 11. Useless in the battlefield for want of an enemy, and in giving charity for want of a seeker of wealth, he regards his hand which (could) not fulfil the object dear to his heart, as a burden, as it were.

V. 12. His (whose) fame having lotus-white body and graceful on account of the growth due to *prabandha* (literary attainments) and therefore containing (within itself) the digit of the moon, looked as if it were pregnant with another fame.

V. 13. His enemy was killed slowly on the battlefield so that there should be no want of the pleasure of a great battle.

V. 14. To drink the nectar of his beauty women just wash as it were the pots in the form of their eyes with water (tears) coming out through joy.

V. 15. Though his mind was always attached to living in the dust of the two feet of God Śiva (on whose head is the crescent of the moon) it had become clean by the coating of impurity being completely washed away.

V. 19. There was *Kundarāja*, adorned with extraordinary greatness, who was a beloved to the hearts of *Cāulukyas* and who was a friend of the good in battle; it seemed as if in his birth the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* family at once obtained an honour excelling that of all the Kṣatriya families.

V. 17. From him was born a son who was famous by the name of *Amṛtarāj*a, who being naturally white bore the name appropriately; at whose rise the lotuses in the form of the faces of the womenfolk of all the enemies would at once be faded.

V. 18. After him was born the celebrated (king named) *Śamburāja* who enlightening the three worlds by his merits, was an abode (*lit.* temple) of all (good) qualities; and whose two strong oar-like arms were throbbing as it were, because they had precipitately hugged the bride-Lakṣmī, trembling on account of the speed (swiftness of movements) of the extensive armies of his enemies.

V. 19. The lord of the gods, though seated under the desire-fulfilling tree cannot remove the miseries of the people; but he (Śamburāja) (great) hero as he is, uproots them by his single finger.

V. 20. He being the servant of Kīrtirāja and having destroyed all his enemies, the days of Kīrtirāja are beguiled with great difficulty.

Ll. 26-30 He seeing the worthlessness of the worldly existence and observing that the earthly life is as fickle as the drop of water on a moving lotus-leaf and desiring for fame lasting till the end of the *Kalpa* and longing for a store of merits built a *maṭhikā* (monastery) in (the village) *Palāśavānaka*, resorted by an assembly of Brāhmaṇas and containing a temple of the goddess, which was (as it were) the top of the heap of meritorious deeds, for the permanent maintenance of it he appealed to the king. The king also considered that the gift of land is the best of all charities, for it is said—

V. 21-24. Three kinds of gifts—of the cow, the land and the learning—are considered best and purify (one) upto the seventh generation by milking, holding and possessing (respectively) ; he who grants land and who receives it, both of them do a meritorious deed and surely go to heaven ; the first of all (kinds of) gifts lasts for one life (only) while that of gold, land and speech[1] lasts for seven lives ; gold is the first child of fire, earth of Viṣṇu, and learning of the sun ; it can therefore be said that he who makes a gift of gold, learning and earth makes a gift of the three worlds.

L. 35. Thus finding the greatness of the gift of land from these and other assertions of the maxim of Smrtis and Tantras *Kīrtirāja*, the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, issues orders to all the officers of his territories *in the year 940 - in figures nine hundred and forty - of the era of the Śaka King*, on the Udagayanaparvan day. I have granted with the pouring of the handful of water, the *village of Talavadā*, included in the 42 villages-group under the name of *Bilvīśvara*, towards the *maṭhikā* built by Śamburāja, having its circumference determined on the four boundaries, including wood of trees (near the village), covering (the charities to) all the luggers, and together with a privilege of not being entered into by all the royal officers.

L. 41. The boundaries of which (village) are : the village of *Kohiralu* in the eastern boundary ; the village of Kohirala in the northern limit ; the village of *Temharuya* in the western outskirt ; the village of *Eruṭhaṇa* in the southern extremity. In this way this village marked by the four boundaries (is granted).

L. 43. Also in the village *Pallaravaṇa* fifty *nivartanas*, in figures 50, of land. Similarly the taxes on seven artisans (*prakṛtis*) as instituted by the (respective) communities - one of the two Vaṇikas, one oilman, one tailor,

1. **Mark this unusual meaning of the word *gaurī*.**

one washerman, one potmaker, one worker in leather and one surveyor - are granted. Therefore no body should bring an obstruction to those who enjoy this village, this land and (this income from) artisans while subsisting themselves (by serving) the lotus feet of the goddess. By future kings also, considering that the fruit of the gift of land is common, this our gift, which is in all respects a gift of land, should be acceded.

Vv. 25-31. Moreover Paraśurāma (son of Jamadgni) prays again and again all the future kings — ' This bridge of religion is common to all kings and should at all times be protected by you. [The usual verse *bahubhirvasudhā bhuktā*]. He who by foolishness takes it away, incurs the five great sins. Moreover this life of beings is worthless and fickle like a straw set in motion in a whirling windstorm. If you have the slightest desire for falling in the hell, you may confiscate this granted village. We know this; to what a condition a consfiscator of land really goes; even he who takes the name of such a man falls in hell for the period of one *kalpa*. Moreover a man of dull intellect who through covetousness confiscates this grant will verily be punished by the angry goddess. It is also said — [Two usual verses — *Svadattām* etc. and *Ṣaṣṭim* etc. Enough of more details.

V. 32. May this village granted towards the goddess last so long as the moon does not give up her coolness and hot fire (its heat), so long as the sun (lit. the god having a thousand rays) does not become friendly with darkness, so long as the night with passionate love does not seek the pleasures of embracing the day.

This *maṭhikā* is subordinate (?) to the great *maṭhikā* on (the river) Tāpī. It is sanctioned by me, Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kīrtirāja. Whatever is written above is agreed to by me. This is written by Sommaya, the minister of peace and war, under the instructions of the king.

A FEW GLIMPSES OF ANCIENT PAITHAN—BY PROF. D. V. POTDAR, B. A., POONA.

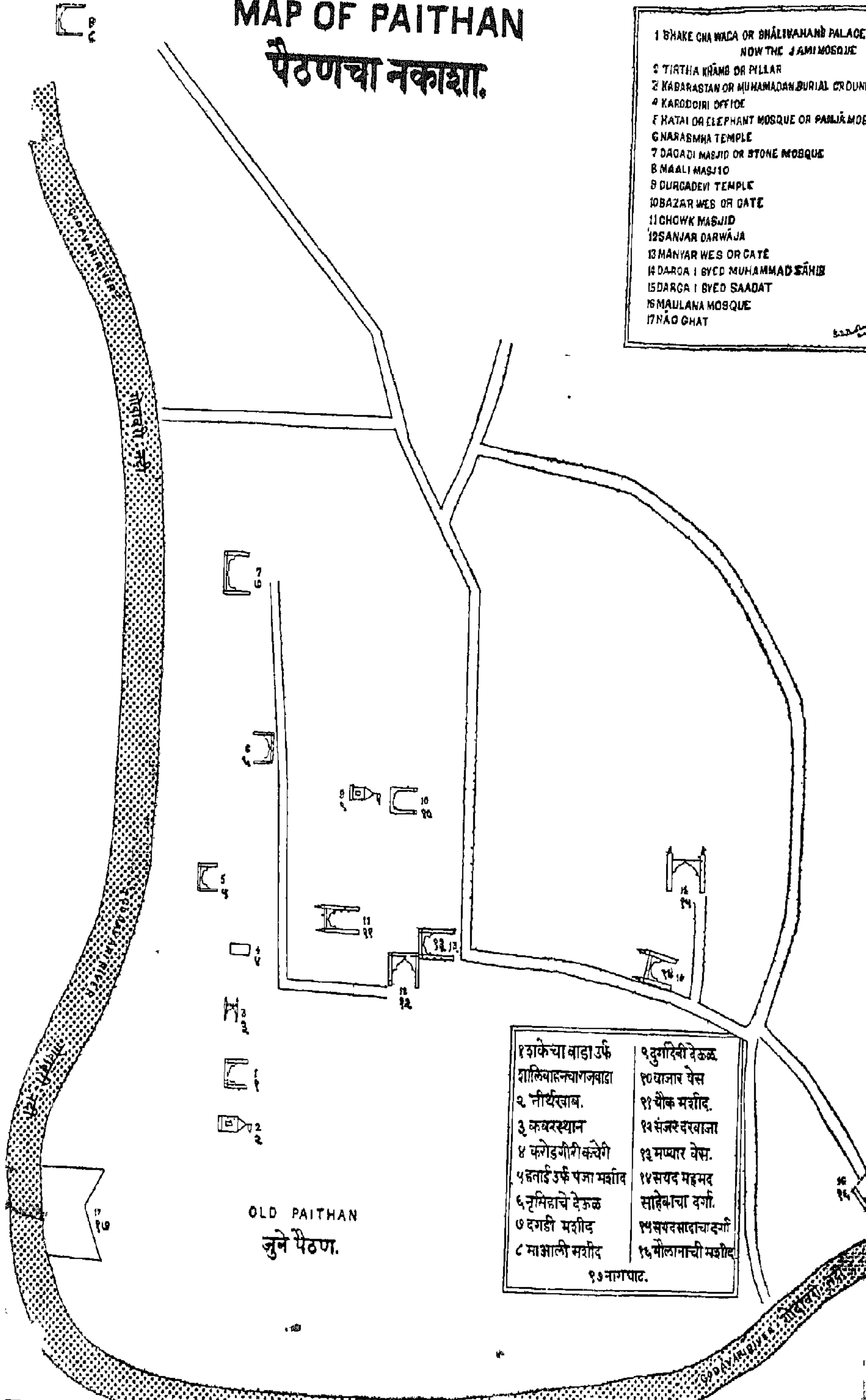
The ancient and historic city of Paithan is at present situated in the dominions of His Exalted Highness the Nizam. The dominions are fortunate in possessing some very ancient and most renowned places of antiquarian interest such as the Ajanta and Ellora Caves or Kalyani, Deogir, Warangal and such other towns and forts.

I happened to visit some of these places during my research tours recently and found Ajanta and Ellora very well cared for and looked after. But I was sorry to see that such a famous, ancient and historical place as Paithan, long known as a capital of the Sātavāhanas, was absolutely uncared for. I hope Mr. Yazdani will soon turn his attention to this dilapidated city. The Department of Archæology apart, scholars also do not seem to have carefully and fully surveyed this old and important spot.

It is, therefore, proposed in this paper to give only a few glimpses I could catch of the place during my visit to it in October 1929. I will confine myself more to the ancient spots than to the many places of importance to the student of Mediaeval, Mahommedan and Maratha history.

What struck me first about Paithan was the excellent and natural situation of the place. A close reference to the accompanying map is requested. It will be seen therefrom that the town is surrounded by the river Godāvarī on two sides over a long distance. The river there makes a deep looplike curve and thus affords both ample supply of pure water and also a natural defence. The river-bed is very extensive even now, when there has come over a great fall in the average rainfall. It must have been considerably larger and deeper in the days of the Śālivāhana kings.

Here on the looplike curve was probably founded the city of Paithan by the great Śālivāhana supposed to be the four der of the Śaka era current even now.



MAP OF PAITHAN
पैठणचा नकाशा.
1 SHAKE CHA WADA OR SHALIVAHANS PALACE NOW THE JAMI MOSQUE
2 TIRTHA KHAMB OR PILLAR
3 KABARASTAN OR MUHAMADAN BURIAL GROUND
4 KARODGIRI OFFICE
5 HATAI OR ELEPHANT MOSQUE OR PANJA MOS
6 NARASIMHA TEMPLE
7 DAGADI MASJID OR STONE MOSQUE
8 MAALI MASJID
9 DURGADEVI TEMPLE
10 BAZAR WES OR GATE
11 CHOWK MASJID
12 SANJAR DARWAJA
13 MANYAR WES OR GATE
14 DARGA I SYED MUHAMMAD SAHIB
15 DARGA I SYED SAADAT
16 MAULANA MOSQUE
17 NAG GHAT
GODAVARI RIVER
गोदावरी नदी
OLD PAITHAN
जुने पैठण.
१ शकेचा वाडा उर्फ शालिवाहनाचा राजवाडा
२ तीर्थखांब.
३ कबरस्थान
४ करोडगीरी कचेरी
५ हताई उर्फ पंजा मशीद
६ नृसिंहाचे देऊळ
७ दगडी मशीद
८ माआली मशीद
९ दुर्गादेवी देऊळ
१० बाजार वेस
११ चौक मशीद.
१२ संजर दरवाजा
१३ मण्यार वेस.
१४ सयद महमद साहेबाचा दर्गा.
१५ सयद सादाचा दर्गा
१६ मौलानाची मशीद
१७ नागघाट.

They still show there a spot known as Śake cā vāḍā or the Palace of Śālivāhana. This is now a Masjid. This Masjid is called the Juma Masjid which "was built about A. D. 1630" (Aurangabad Gazetteer page 592). It is a pretty big quadrangle 175 ft. × 145 ft. with a narrow-mouthed well in one corner. People still believe that the soldiers of clay in the reputed legend about Śālivāhana still dwell in this well. Both Hindus and Mahommedans worship this well. Outside the towered wall of the Masjid but on the same old foundations are seen standing a few ancient pillars of Yādava times which undoubtedly show that during the Yādava regime some palace or big building must have stood there. (Vide A in map). A little to the south of this vāḍā or palace is a beautiful pillar about 25 ft. in height carved with figures standing alone in front of a temple, not very old, popularly known as Tīrtha Khāmba. It is clear that this Tīrtha Khāmba must have formed part of the palace above referred to. A curious legend about this Tīrtha Khāmba was heard by me in Paithan, namely, that when the waters of the Godāvarī will rise to the top of the Khāmba and touch a crow sitting at the top, the whole of the earth will be submerged. That will be the time of Pṛthvī Pralaya ! So goes this legend.

A little beyond this palace, we meet with a place now called the Panjha Masjid. In its front you see some beautifully carved stone elephants half buried in the ground and other old remains. One or two elephants of the same type will be found a little further buried in debris. Broken pillars and columns etc. are to be seen almost on all sides on our way. These elephants have given the appellation of 'Hatai' Mohollа to this place. Proceeding onwards in a straight line right to the end of the lane, you come across a broken temple, some pillars standing, with no image or god within. It is a square little structure and its architecture speaks of its age as that of the Yādavas. It is said that this temple was dedicated to God Narasiṁha. This seems to have been once used as a mosque and called by the name Dagadi or Stone Mosque.

Turning eastward by the road leading to Śrī Ekanātha Maṭha, we will come across a parallel lane along which are two or three modern shrines but the images of Kālabhairava and Narasiṁha in the small houses on the way are fine pieces of sculpture and are no doubt

as old as the ancient Hindu temples. This Narasiṁha is said to have originally belonged to the Dagadi Mosque Narasiṁha temple referred to above from where it was rescued, removed and reestablished in this place. The Kālabhairava was said to have once adorned a temple on the river side somewhere near the Nāga Ghāṭa.

In the centre of the town is an old temple called the Durgā Temple near the Bazar Gate. This does not appear at least in its present form to be more than three or four hundred years old although the site and the shrine both must have been undoubtedly older still. To the South of this temple lies the Chauk Masjid which stands on an elevation. The well and old columns and stones strewn all round clearly show its ancient origin. Nearby is the Sanjar Darvājā and Manyāri Gate; passing through this latter we see the Amin Kutcherry where also lie half buried ancient marks of stone at different corners. Proceeding onwards for about two furlongs from the Amin Kutcherry, we come to a region of Dargas — first on the road the Darga of Said Mahommed Sahib and behind it to its north the ancient Darga of Said Sādat (Vide Aurangabad Gazetteer page 585). This latter is a very imposing structure but the door of the central domed building is the same old Hindu door as it was when perhaps Said Sādat arrived and settled here. The door is evidently the door of an ancient Hindu temple and in a good state of preservation except for the thick layers due to constant white-washing during a period of over five hundred years. On the top and somewhat hidden under the thick white-wash layer is seen a Persian inscription and one need not be surprised if a Sanskrit inscription also comes to be discovered likewise as the story following will show.

Moving out straight from the Darga of Said Mahommed Sahib, we march out of the town into the open and the road leads to an interesting place on a small hill-top. This is the most famous Darga of Paithan popularly known as the Moulanā's Darga. As the Aurangabad Gazetteer points out, this Darga "was originally a Hindu temple dedicated to Ranoka (Renuka) Devi" (page 602). At the backside we still see the Sabhā Maṇḍap (Hall) of the temple which proves its Yādava construction. Even the cusped arch at the entrance has retained the delicately carved old pillars where under-

neath the thin white plaster can be still seen a few Persian lines inscribed. But the most convincing proof of this mosque having once been an important Hindu temple, is the discovery of an old inscription in Sanskrit which I saw fixed in the floor of the Sabhā Maṇḍapa or Hall. For want of time and necessary materials, I could not take a full and clear impression of the whole. The Slab is of black polished stone and is roughly 3ft by 2ft. The inscription has thirtyone lines in clear tenth or eleventh century Devanāgarī characters with the pṛṣṭhamātrā. I hastily tried to read some lines and could clearly make out the following :—

यया धर्ममार्गाद्बहिरात्तवृत्तिः etc.

following by a reference to

रखिलज्योतिर्विदामग्रणी.

A few inches of space are left blank after 26 lines and a few lines are added at the end from which I could easily make out

ब्रह्महंता गुरुदारगामी । गगाभ्रः सुरापः etc.

It appears that this is not a complete inscription. Another fragment of the same is I am told in existence and is put in some inner vault. I have brought with me a pencil rubbing of a few lines.

In this connection it is interesting to note that Goddess Reṇukā Devī is the family Goddess of many old families even at present in Paithan and even the famous Marathi Saint Ekanātha also worshipped her in that capacity.

Right from the Maāli Masjid to Maulana Moaz's Darga, all along the bank of the river Godāvarī and especially on the segment formed by the loop-like curve which the Godāvarī takes behind Śālivāhana's palace, and on the site where at present are situated the Mathas of the Mānabhāvas (who by the bye had, it is proved, intimate relation with the royal family of Deogiri) and the Samādhi of the Kānphātes with their deep underground vaults, there once flourished in ancient times the glorious and far-famed city called Pratiṣṭhāna, now a heap of ruins and known by the name Paithan. Some remains of the old mud-wall surrounding old Paithan are still to be seen by travellers

who approach Paithan by the Shevgaon road, on the oppoiste bank of the iiver.

It would be very interesting here to quote the following from the Aurangabad Gazetteer (pages 412-13)—

"There is a tradition that seven Saids of Arabia were commissioned to deliver Paithan from four Goddesses, Hatai Devi, Durga Devi, Revona (Renuka ?) Devi and Agna Devi. But on their arrival at Paithan they were arrested and imprisoned in a cave. Maulana Muizuddin popularly called Moulana Moaz or Maulana Sahib, a native of Shirāz, proceeded to Mecca at an early age and was directed to liberate seven Saiads. He left for Paitan which was then presided over by Revona Devi (probably a mistake for Renukā Devi) in a battle fought outside its walls lost many faithful attendants and disciples. The Maulana triumphed ; in the end the seven Saids were released. . . . . . . The numerous fanes of the goddess were demolished and her large temple was converted into a mosque."

This short note is written to stimulate interest in the ancient and historic site of Paithan and if it suceeeds in drawing the attention of archæologists and especially the Department of Archæology of His Exalted Highness the Nizam and early steps taken to recover and preserve as much as possible, it will have served its purpose.

VI : Grammar and Philology

THE ETYMOLOGY OF GUṆA — BY A. BERRIEDALE KEITH,

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An interesting attempt has been made by Professor Carlton C. Rice[1] to explain the term *guṇà*, which plays so important a part in Indian philosophical terminology. He suggests that the word was originally an adjective, meaning "bovine", derived from the zero grade of the base *go-*. It is formed by the secondary suffix *-na,* and the *ṇ* is due to Prākritic influence. The derivation of the meaning runs as follows, (1) adjective meaning "bovine", (2) substantive, "bovine sinew", (3) "sinew", (4) "bow-string", (5) "strand", cord (of rope), (6) "quality", and (7) "virtue", the last four of these meanings being actually attested in Sanskrit. The suggestion is interesting; but before a new etymology can be accepted, it requires careful consideration, both on formal and semantic grounds.

The secondary suffix *-na,* added to nouns or adjectives to form an adjective as suggested, is far from richly attested. The best example is *śmaśruṇà* "bearded" from *śmáśru*; *phálguna* possibly, "reddish" and equivalent to *phalgú*, and *śúraṇa*, possibly "heroic", and connected with *śúra*, are both dubious. *Straíṇa* is clearly connected with *strī́*, "woman", but the formation differs from that assumed in *guṇá*. Nor is the case strengthened by the adduction of the Prākritic form *goṇa*, "ox", the origin of which is in itself wholly uncertain; Pischel[2] suggested derivation from *gūrṇà* or *gavana*, and it would certainly be remarkable if *goṇa* really were *go-* with a meaningless *-na* suffix, elsewhere probably unknown.

To operate with a suffix so rarely attested and so limited in usage is clearly adventurous, and to this difficulty is added the further

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1 *Language*, vi (1930). 36–40.

2 *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, § 393.

consideration that it is necessary to adopt *gu*- as the zero grade of *go*-. Now *gu*- is not unknown in Sanskrit, but, unfortunately for the theory, it is found there only as the second member of a compound, and it is a very strong measure to assume that it could be used with the suffix -*na*. If *drôṇa*, "wooden vessel", really is connected with *dru*, "wood", as proposed by Uhlenbeck, we find actually a strengthening as also in *straíṇa*. *Gu*- seems so far unsupported even as a final member of a compound in other Indo-European languages, for, the etymology of *presbŷs* suggested by Bloomfield is very far from being established. Very probably it is the case that -*gu*- owes its origin in Sanskrit to abstraction from forms of *go*- which presented the appearance of connection with -*u* stems, such as *gós*, on the analogy of *dhenós* : *dhenú*. That such a form should be made the base of a derivative with -*na* is clearly very improbable.

From the semantic point of view we have to assume the existence of three meanings, "bovine", "bovine sinew", and "sinew", which unfortunately are never found in the literature, early or late. It is suggested, however, that the supposed meanings may be supported by the fact that *gó* itself is used of bovine sinew. The proof, however, of this supposed meaning is clearly inadequate. That *gó* when used in connection with a bow refers specifically to sinew, used as a bowstring, is held to be established by the fact that in the *Atharvaveda* vii. 50. 9 *snā́van* seems to be used of the bow-string. But to argue that, because sinew is in one passage referred to apparently as used as a bow-string, therefore *gó* means specifically the bovine sinew is clearly inadmissible. The fact that the Indians may have used sinew for bow-strings does not establish that they used solely it for that purpose.

It is impossible, therefore, to feel any confidence in the view that *guṇá* originally denoted "bovine". Moreover there are serious difficulties in the way of accepting the suggestion that the sense "strand" is derived from "bow-string". It is significant in this connection that the Greek term *neûron* which means "sinew, tendon, cord made with sinew for fastening the head of the arrow to the shaft... also a bow-string", does not pass over to the sense "strand". Nor does the Latin *nervus*, nor the German *Sehne*. The fact is suggestive; it points to the probability that the meaning "strand" is

not derived in the manner suggested, and that a more plausible explanation had better be looked for. This, of course, is already available in the connection with the Avestan *gaonō* and its connected words in Iranian, as first suggested by Geiger. The primitive meaning of these words was clearly " hair ", as shown by Bartholomae, and, if this is accepted as the earlier sense of *guṇa'*, it is easy to see how from the practice [1] of plaiting the hair the meaning " strand " might easily come to be that of *guṇa'*. What is certain is that in the earliest passage where it is recorded with a clear sense, the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, vii. 2. 1. 2, it has the sense "strand" as a constituent of a rope, and in the well-known *Atharvaveda* passage (x. 8. 43) it has something like the sense of "constituent". So far from the primary meanings of the words being utterly unrelated, they seem to be identical, and thus the probability of relationship is greatly strengthened. It is worth noting that the Iranian term also assumes the sense of " quality " as well as of "colour"; we have no sufficient means of determining how the semantic change operated.

The evidence of form and meaning alike tends to show that *guṇa'* and *gaonō* must have the same orgin, and the sense of the latter practically excludes the idea of connection with *go'* "ox". Further elucidation is probably impossible. The *ṇ* may quite fairly be set down as Prākritic, for which there are abundant parallels. It is suggested by Walde[2] that the Avestan word is to be referred to the root *geu-*, "biegen, krümmen, wölben", and to this root he refers the obscure Vedic *gavīnī*, "groin". It can hardly be said that the suggestion is attractive. Very possibly we have to do with a word borrowed from a common source by Indian and Iranian, which has no Indo-European explanation. It seems doubtful if it can have been current in the earlier period, so late is its occurrence in the texts.

As it has been suggested that the normal Vedic bow-string was made of sinew, it should be pointed out that this conclusion is far from probable. The words *snáyu*, *snā̀van* etc. are not normally used

1 *Vedic Index*, i. 224; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 264.

2 *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, i. 557, 558.

for the bow-string, and in the epic, where we have abundant evidence of usage [1], the bow-string is made of *muñjva*, hemp. In the *Agni-Purana*, which is an encyclopaedic text, we learn of the use of a string of hemp and hide. Sinew, on the other hand, regularly appears in the epic as used to fasten the arrow head to the shaft. Even in classical antiquity [2] we find leather or horse-hair used as well as sinew, so that the view of Zimmer [3] that in the *Ṛgveda* the term *go* denotes leather, not sinew, appears fully justified.

1 Hopkins, *Journal of American Oriental Society*, xiii (1889), 271, 276.

2 *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, i, 170.

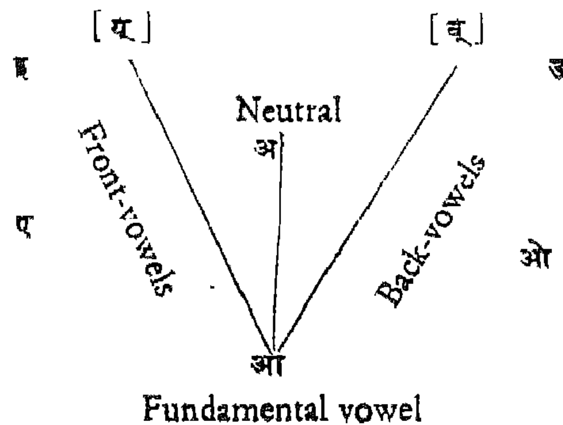
3 *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 228, 298.

SANSKRIT DIPHTHONGS -- BY IRACH J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B. A., PH. D., Principal, The M. F. Cama Athornan Institute, Andheri.

The first two *sutras* of Pāṇini give us the *vṛddhi* and *guṇa* vowels, which include, besides the two simple vowels अ (*a*) and आ (*ā*), the four diphthongs ए (*e*), ओ (*o*), ऐ (*ai*) and औ (*au*). These four have been called "diphthongs" by all grammarians — both indigenous and western. The classification according to the "vargas" also makes it clear that these four were regarded as "double sounds" or "diphthongs". We get the two statements, एदैतोः कण्ठताल्‌ and ओदौतोः कण्ठौष्ठम्‌ from fairly early days, which clearly indicate the original double nature of these sounds. Again all these four are regarded as double in prosody — two *mātrās* in length.

But their pronunciation at present (and indeed through all Sanskrit literature) makes one wonder why ए (*e*) and ओ (*o*) should be called diphthongs, though with ऐ (*ai*) and औ (*au*) the diphthongal nature is quite obvious. And if we bear in mind the relation between *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* it becomes still more puzzling how these sounds, as we now utter them, could be thus related.

It is necessary at the outset to have clear certain fundamental ideas in phonetics. The Sanskrit vowels as they are pronounced today (I am taking the Poona pronunciation that I have learnt) may be arranged as in the accompanying diagram. It may be noted that all these are *simple* vowels. The corresponding semi-vowels are also included.



Fundamental vowel

From this diagram it is clear that though the symbols ए and ओ represented original diphthongs, still their present pronunciation is clearly that of *simple* vowels—half-close front and back respectively.

A comparison with other languages shows very clearly how these two have been made up. The nearest sister language is Avesta and it shows both these vowels as *diphthongs*, except when in the final syllable. Thus, सेना - *haēnā* ; देवेषु – *daēvaēsu* ; सोम—*haoma* ; ओजस— *aojañh* ; but एते — *aētc* ; पुत्रो – *puthro*.[1] When we compare Sanskrit with Greek or Latin or Germanic we find that the ए and ओ each represent three distinct diphthongs. The original Indo-European had three distinct simple vowel sounds, **a*, **e* and **o* and all these three fell together in Sanskrit and are represented by a single sound — the neutral अ (*a*). Thus the Sanskrit ए represents the three diphthongs **ai*, **ei* and **oi* of the Indo-European and the ओ represents **au*, **eu* and **ou*. Examples : एधस् (fuel) — αἴθω ; एमि (I go) — Εἶμι ; भरेः (thou mayst bear) φέροις ; ओजस् (strength) — Lat. *augus-tus* ; बोधामि (I know) πεύθομαι ; रोचस् (light) – λούσσου. Therefore we are quite justified in thinking that the Sanskrit ए originally represented the sound *ai* (अइ) and ओ represented the sound *au* (अउ).

The so-called "long" diphthongs, the *vṛddhi*-diphthongs, show an exactly similar development. First comparing with Avesta we find that ऐ and औ often correspond to *ai* and *au*. Thus अमृतैः— *aməṛətaiš*, गौः—*gāuš*. Then again comparing with Greek or Latin or Germanic we find that I. E. **ā*, **ē* and **ō* have fallen together in Sanskrit and are represented by the Sanskrit आ—probably originally the neutral अ (संवृत अ) lengthened. Hence the ऐ, representing, I. E. **āi*, **ēi*, **ōi*, was originally pronounced *āi* (आइ); and the औ, representing I. E. **āu*, **ēu*, **ōu*, was originally pronounced *āu* (आउ). Examples : सेनायै (dat. sing. fem. ending) – χώρᾳ —Goth. *gibai* ; अदैक्षम् (I showed) ἔδειξα ; वृकैः (inst. plu. mas.)— λύκοις ; नौः— ναῦς—Lat. navis : द्यौः— Ζεύς (Ζηύς) ; गौः— βοῦς.

So from comparisons with other I. E. languages we are definitely led to conclude that the ancient pronunciations of ए, ओ, ऐ and

1. In Skt. the final *visarga* changes to ओ in certain cases but in Av. it changes thus always.

औ were *ai* (अइ), *au* (अउ), *āi* (आइ) and *āu* (आउ) respectively. They had apparently the same pronunciation as they have today (i. e. ए and ओ being *simple* sounds *e* and *o*; and ऐ and औ being *ai* and *au*) even in the days of the Prātiśākhyas. "But their euphonic treatment clearly shows them to have been . . . . at the period when the euphonic laws established themselves, as they . . . . were at their origin, real diphthongs. ... The heavier or *vṛddhi* diphthongs were distinguished by the length of their *a*-element, as *āi* (*ā* + *i*) and *āu* (*a* + *u*)".[1] Now we will try to prove this from the internal evidence of Sanskrit grammar itself, particularly of the rules of vowel *saṁdhi*.

It is rather a remarkable fact that the two *sutras* — इको यणचि and एचोऽयवायावः — should follow each other in the *Aṣṭadhyaī*.[2] Pāṇini's original arrangement of these *sutras* has really some meaning, inasmuch as the latter *sutra* is, as it were, a special case of the former. Unless we bear in mind the *original* sounds represented by the एच्- vowels we cannot appreciate the point. If we pronounce ए, ओ, ऐ and औ as अइ, अउ, आइ and आउ, we see at once that by applying the previous sūtra (इको यणचि) to the second member of the diphthongs we straightaway get अय्, अव्, आय् and आव्.

Similarly the *sūtra* वृद्धिरेचि (vi. 1. 83) becomes clear if we remember the original pronunciation. For here it is only the combination of the अ or आ with the first member of the diphthong—thus naturally giving us the so-called "long" or *vṛddhi* diphthongs.

Apart from these two *saṁdhi*-rules there are evidences of the original pronunciation of these diphthongs in certain derivative forms and in certain conjugations and declensions.[3] The usual locative singular of अ nouns ends in ए, which is obviously अइ originally. So also the ए that occurs in the potentials is due to the same original. Aorist forms like अवोचम् show a similar ओ. Weak stems like मघोन्- from मघवन् and superlatives like ज्येष्ठ point

1. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 28a.
2. VI. 1. 77–78.
3. For those and other cases see Wackernagel : *Altindische Grammatik*, I §§ 32ff.

in the same direction. We may add also words like धेनु compared with धयति. The nominative singular सखा shows the dropping of the second part of an original diphthong. This is evident from forms like सखिभिः, which prove that the vowel-gradation here belongs to the इ- series.

Vedic metre also requires in some places a breaking up of the diphthong into its constituent vowels. Thus त्रेधा is usually to be read as त्रइधा[1], as in त्रिरश्विना सिन्धुभिः सप्तमातृभिस्त्रय आहावास्त्रेधा हविष्कृतम (ṚV. i. 34. 8) and other places. So also the word श्रेणि is to be read श्रइणि, as in ऊर्ध्वा यच्छ्रेणिर्न शिशुर्दन्मक्षू स्थिरं शेवृधं सूतमाता (ṚV. x. 61. 20). Some of the superlatives ज्येष्ठ, श्रेष्ठ, प्रेष्ठ etc. and also देष्ण seem to resolve their diphthongs into the constituent अइ.[2] This resolution is comparatively rare even in the Veda and is confined only to the sound ए. These few cases are probably relics of a very archaic pronunciation, and they prove that the diphthongs have been pronounced very much as they are at present ever since Vedic times.

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1. See Arnold, *Vedic Metre*, § 140. iii.
2. Arnold, op. cit., § 143. 4.

ON THE ORIGIN OF SANSKRIT AND THE PRAKRITS —

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What is it that shines in solitary grandeur amidst the numerous antiquities of the world—that which "equals in extent to the Greek and the Italian Literature put together," that which might reflect credit on any nation irrespective of time and place—that which reflects brilliance of glory upon the ancient Seers of old,—that without which the Indo-Aryans would have crept into the greedy grasp of oblivion as surely as the Celtic races of Wales and Cornwall – and that which "flourished at a time when the greater part of Europe was immersed in darkness"?

The answer probably is "Sanskrit—Vedic and post-Vedic" with the eternal under-current of Prakrits behind.

The term *Sanskrit* as applied to the Indo-Aryan speech had not the narrow, technical meaning which has been attached to it in modern times. It was not applied to the Indo-Aryan tongue either by *Devarājayajvan* the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* or by *Yāska* the author of *Nirukta* or by Pāṇini the author of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. To them this the Indo—Aryan tongue was simply a *Nirukti*–a *Bhāṣā* or a spoken language and nothing more nor less. According to Pāṇini the word means *Bhūṣita* "ornamented." The Indo-Aryan speech is now known as a *Sanskrit-Bhāṣā* a polished refined, high-flown, oratorical speech in contrast perhaps with the later Pali or Prakrits or dialectic languages. In the prime of youth, a literary language outwits, outshines and casts into the shade all other dialects. For instance, there is a peculiar dialect with its peculiar intonation almost in every district of Bengal. Every man in his private capacity talks with his friends and relatives, especially with his female and children relatives, in his own native tongue. But when he speaks standing on a public platfrom as an orator delivering addresses to large gatherings, it is difficult to ascertain to what District he belongs. What this elocution is to hearty utterances in family gossips, that Sanskrit seems to the Prakrits. One is a literary language, a language

of the state, a father language and the other is purely a dialect, a mother tongue. Each district of Bengal may have a peculiar dialect of its own, but the Bengali language is the common language of the whole of Bengal. The influence of a literary language upon dialects is sometimes so great that the latter's growth is stopped by the former. When the students of a College class consisting of recruits from the different districts of Bengal are asked to name a familiar thing of which there is no popular word in Sanskrit, they shrink from giving out the proper dialectic name which they really know. This delicacy has the baneful effect of giving the popular name an ephemeral existence only. The *Bangīya sāhitya Pariṣat* in their attempts to record new dialectic words and thereby to enrich the Bengali language are doing a great service to Bengali by collecting words and phrases peculiar to certain districts only.

By Sanskrit is technically understood the Pāṇini-Kātyāyana-Patañjali language or "Classical Sanskrit," and by Prakrits, the Prakrit of the plays. This meaning of Prakrit is no doubt given by Hemacandra in his Śabdānuśāsana. He says *Prakṛtiḥ Sanskritam : Tadbhavam Tata Āgatam vā Prākritam.* Late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri who is an authority on this subject also says:

> Whatever is derived from Sanskrit is called a Prakrit. A Rock Inscription of Aśoka is a Prakrit, Pali is a Prakrit, the Jain Prakrit is a Prakrit, Dramatic Prakrit is a Prakrit, Marathi is a also a Prakrit.
>
> Bauddha Gāna O Dôhā p. 5

The above definitions of a *Prākrit* seem to be too narrow. They take notice only of those words which are derived from Sanskrit and seem to ignore the Sanskrit or *tatsama* words, which are the common property of Sanskrit and the Prākrits alike, as well as the *Deśī* or indigenous words which can be found in the dialects only of carpenters, cultivators, fishermen and so forth. As a matter of fact the Prakrits are very much enriched by words coming from these two latter sources. A Prākrit is properly speaking the dialect of the common folks, the natural language of the untutored masses or rather the mother tongue as distinguished from Sanskrit which, as we said above, is the highly polished and elegant language in con-

formity with the rules of grammar and rhetoric or rather the father language. It might therefore be better defined as

Prakṛtiḥ Svabhāvaḥ, tata āgataṁ Prākṛtam, or
Prākṛtajanānāṁ vacanaṁ Prākṛtam

The Prākrits of the plays also were the peculiar dialects of the times - dialects that reached the ridge of a literary language, for example *Mahārāṣṭṛī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī*. Man is gifted with speech by nature. His speech is eternally bestowed upon him. He must have a dialect of his own. A literary language may come into existence and die, but the dialect remains for ever. It is constantly changing, it is *Kṣaṇika* or ephemeral. Yet there is a string of continuity that goes on to eternity. A language is a sea of dialects. Dialects rise up into prominence as a literary language, which loses its vital force when cut off from the dialects ; but the potency of dialects is inextinguishable. This is the natute of a Prākrit. Even Sanskrit, in her flourishing days, lived and moved and had her being in the dialects. It is like the holy island of *Umānātha* in the sacred River Brahmaputrā, facing the city of Gauhati ; the dialects that were spoken in the Vedic ages are spoken even now in Northern India and will be spoken till eternity. Words are the grains of sands and drops of water forming the eternal stream ; flowing from the beginning of creation, it will flow on till the end of the world. In it were formed such literary islands as the Vedas, the Upaniṣads, the Avestā, the Rāmāyaṇa of Tulasīdāsa, the Tripiṭaka, the poems of Vidyāpati and Chaṇḍi Dāsa. Truly has it been said by the Prākrit Poet Vākpati.

Sayalā o imaṁ vāā visanti, etto ya ṇenti vāyao ı
Etti samūddaṁ chiya ṇenti sāyarā ochchiya jalāniṁ ॥ Śl. 93

" All words merge in Prakrits. All words come out of Prakrits. They come out of and retire into the Prakrit like waters of the ocean. "

The Vedic and the Sanskrit are no longer living. The Pali and the Prakrits of the plays are no longer spoken. They were, no doubt, spoken some time in the history of the Indo-Aryan speech. But as soon as the grammarians probed and dissected them, in their

attempt to find out the laws of their anatomy, their life was extinct. A sea-fish caught and thrown into a pond can hardly live long. But during the youthful days of these Pali and the Prakrit literatures, the Aryan life-blood was pulsating through their veins and arteries. They are now dead but their corpses still remain.

During the life-time of these literary Prakrits, there were probably other Vernaculars spoken, the latter in their turn were known as *Apabhraṁśas or Deśī Bhāṣās,* (like the *Grāmya Bhāṣās* of modern times). "These Prakrits were of course developed from the Apabhraṁśas and the first beginnings of the Prākrit Literature must be traced back to the old literature in the Vernaculars. Sometimes it might appear that the Prākrits of the plays were not really spoken Vernaculars, but rather literary fictions founded on the Vernaculars. They were perpetually influenced not only by Sanskrit but also by the spoken languages. Most of the so called *Deśī* words found in these plays were derived from these spoken Vernaculars."

In the Prākrits of the Dramas, a different dialect is attributed to each class of characters. The *Sāhityadarpaṇa* enumerates 15 such dialects — Sanskrit being the utterances of high and middle class people and of Pandits and the like. Servants, soldiers, buffoons and the like use one or the other of the inferior dialects. Yet there seems nothing un-natural in this allotment. It might be that the play-writers sometimes mimicked the local peculiarities of the various provinces. But it is quite reasonable to suppose that a "king drew his soldiers from one province, his porters and attendants from another, his dancers and buffoons from a third and so on. All these men when assembled at the capital would doubtless strike out some common language like the *Urdu* of the present day. The servants and artificers collected from all corners of the vast empire would speak the common *lingua franca*, each with his own country twang and the Prākrit of the plays would appear to be an exaggerated representation. It is, therefore, highly probable, even at the time when the dramas were written, that as a matter of fact, every one, in ordinary life, spoke neither Sanskrit nor the dramatic Prakrit but simply the Vernaculars.

THE VEDAS AND THE DIALECTS

. We have seen how "Every literary language presupposes the existence of many spoken dialects. Dialects have always been the feeders, rather the channels of the literary language. Any how they are parallel streams which existed long before the time when one of them was raised to that temporary eminence which is the result of literary cultivation. Dialects exist previous to the formation of literary languages, for, every literary language is but one out of many dialects.

"The first tendency of language must have been to an unbounded variety. Before there is a national, literary language, there have always been hundreds of dialects in districts, towns, villages, clans, classes and families. The *Āṅgirasas*, the *Ātreyas*, the *Bhāradvājas*, the *Kāṇvas*, and the *Vāśiṣṭas* of the Ṛg-Veda were probably different families having peculiar dialects of their own. The *Anus*, the *Turvaśas*, the *Yadus*, the *Drūhyus*, the *Pūrus* mentioned in the Ṛg-Veda were also perhaps different races or tribes having dialects of their own. They were probably the five tribes who opposed the Bhāratas. They perhaps formed a coalition or a confideracy of five allied Aryan Peoples dwelling on the river Sarasvatī. *Asamati* was their overlord and their Governor. The Bhāratas marched against them, and, with the aid of the Tṛtsus, defeated them. That the popular dialects of these Vedic clans were more or less different from one another and gardually grew into a literary language forming the first high head in the history of the Indo-Aryan Language is shown by the unbounded variety and freedom which are the characteristics of a living speech. Those dialects were not understood, were called *Anāsa* or "(mouthless, speechless) ". These dialects were embodied in popular speeches at public meetings, ballads, national laws, religious prayers; and, ultimately, with the codification of the Ṛg-Veda, they were shaped and circumscribed within its narrow limits of speech. Their growth was stunted. The Ṛg-Veda arrested the flow of the language in their countless rivulets of its dialects and gave a morbid permanency to certain formations of speech which now form the subject of the Vedic grammar and which, unless they were given the high honour of a place in the Vedic Literature, could have enjoyed but an ephemeral existence"

A very general comparsion of the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit words will suffice here to show how unfettered the dialects of our Vedic ancestors were. For example:

i. The word *pati* is optionally declined as *muni* (*ghi*).

ii. The Genitive very often stands for the dative.

iii. *Laṅ*, *luṅ* and *liṭ* are used in all the past tenses and moods alike.

iv. *Leṭ* is exclusively the property of the Vedas.

v. The words *pra*, *sam*, *upa* and *udu* are repeated for the sake of metre.

vi. Active present participles are freely used for the passive.

vii. Declensional suffixes are very simple and numerous. e. g.—

Vedic	Classic	Vedic	Classic
Panthānaḥ	Panthāḥ	natān	nataḥ
mati	matyā	yāt	yas
vyoman	vyomni	svapnayā	svapnena
*aśvinā	aśvinau	yuṣme	yuṣmāsu
surathā	surathau	asmā	asmāsu
divispṛśā	divispṛśau	uruyā	uruṇā
nābhā	nābhau	sādhuyā	sādhu
vasantā	vasante	urviyā	uruṇā
dārviyā	dāruṇā	vāhavā	vāhunā

viii. Fifteen suffixes have replaced the single gerund *tumun* of the Classical Sanskrit: e. g.—

Vedic	Classic	Vedic	Classic
vakṣe	vaktum	pibadhyai	pātum
eṣe	etum	dātave	dātum
jivaṣe	jīvitum	sūtave	sotum
preṣe	praitum	kartave	kartum
śriyase	śrayitum	prayai	prayātum
priṇadhyai	pūrayitum	rohiṣyai	rodhum
āhuvadhyai	āhvātum	avyathiṣyai	avyathitum
mādayadhyai	mādayitum	dṛśe	draṣṭum

ix. The final vowels, especially of indeclinables, are lengthened, e. g. tū for tū, yatrā for yatra, evā for eva, nū for nu, atrā for atra, vidmā for vidma.

x. The following irregularities are also very striking :—

Grbhāya	grhāṇa	jabhāra	jahāra
ṛṣyaṁ	dṛśyam	bhotu	bhavatu
mlecchitavai	mlecchitavyaṁ	avagāhe	avagāhyam
paśca & paśca	paścāt	śaye	śete
śṛṇudhī	śṛṇu	vāstvya	vāstava
ṛtvya	ārtava	paridhāpayitvā	paridhāpya
hiraṇyaya	hiraṇmaya	kṛṇutāt	kṛṇuta
vārayadhvāt	vārayadhvam	śṛṇota	śṛṇuta
gamayatāt	gamayata	smasi	smaḥ
emasi	imaḥ	ū̂	eva

xi. Numerous *luṅ* forms deserve notice — e. g.

Vedic	Classic
Abhyūt sādayām akah	abhyūt asiṣadat
prajanayām-akaḥ	prajījanat
cikayām-akaḥ	acaiṣīt
ramayām akaḥ	arīramat

Kātyāyana briefly describes the divergent irregularities in the following way :

Suffixes both declensional and conjugational, *Ātmanepada* and *Parasmaipada*, genders, persons, tenses, vowels, consonants, voices and frequentatives are used in the Vedas variously without any hard and fast rule unlike in Classical Sanskrit.

Such innumerable and diverging forms were possible in the Vedas, because the persons who spoke them were not chained down by the fetters of grammar. There was then no standard of so-called correctness of speech. But as soon as they were recognized as forming part of the literature of the Vedic nation as distinguished

from that of individuals; as soon as the people felt that their language must be understandable not only to individuals with individual interests but also to all members of their large society with common interest, with common vocabulary, with common modes of expression of their ideas, their language began to be stereotyped and cut off from the living and running dialects; and it ceased to be replenished by the main current. At this stage, their language began to lose its unbounded capability of change and its readiness in always supplying instantaneously the wants of the mind and the heart. In short, its natural life was changed into a merely artificial existence. "It seemed to be the leading shoot, but in reality it was but a broken and withering branch, slowly falling from the stalk from which it sprang. In other words, it became a dead language."

We have seen how the different dialects of the different clans of the Aryans might mix together and become prone to a give-and-take policy. It was the natural resultant of the acting and counteracting forces of speech that formed the literary language of the Aryans. It is also quite possible that the hymns of the Ṛg-Veda were not composed all at once, but that some of them were composed at a later time than others, with necessary changes in the formation of their words. It is also highly probable that the spoken dialects of the ṛṣis subsequently deviated from the language of the Vedas and led to the foundation of a new language, which is commonly known as Sanskrit in the present day. We have seen that the expression Sanskrit language is of much later origin. Yāska calls it *Nirukti*. The *Nighaṇṭu* of Devarājayajvan and the *Nirukta of Yāska* form the foundation of the philology of the Sanskrit language, just as the *Prātiśākhyas*, dwelling as they do on Paribhāṣā, Saṁhitā, Svara, Saṁdhi, Nati, Krama, Nipāta, Śikṣā and so on, form perhaps the first attempt at writing a grammar of the popular language. It may be assumed that the Vedas were the literature of the Vedic age. The so-called Sanskrit or more properly the Nirukti or spoken language was the popular dialect. Hemacandra speaks perhaps of this *Ārṣa Prākrita* in his *Śabdānuśāsana*. There must always be some difference between the spoken dialect and the literary language, and whatever forms part of a literature must appeal to a larger body than the men of the author's own circle.

VEDIC DIALECT : THE SUPPOSED ORIGIN OF PRAKRITS

Observing the large variety of forms and idioms in the Vedas, and its similarity to some Prākrit usage, some scholars are of opinion that the Prakrits were offshoots, not of the Classical Sanskrit but of the Vedic dialect itself. The points of similarity are :—

1. Scarcity of *Visarga* and the substitution of *o* in the Nom. Sing. of stems ending in A.

2. Retention of the suffix *bhis* in the Instrumental plural.

3. The omission of final consonants.

4. Scarcity of dative case and its replacement by the Genitive.

5. The hiatus or absence of *Saṁdhi.*

6. In this connection the following comparsion may also be of some interest :—

Vedic	Sans. or Prakrit	Vedic	Sans. or Prakrit
It	i	vayāit	vayāi
bh (e. g. apabhartā)	h (e. g. apahartā)	rapas	rabha
bhūtu	bhodū (or hodu)	tura	turantī
-cit	cit (e. g. kadācit)	udu	mṛdu

There is much force in the above aigument. For, the dialects that preceded the Vedic language did not die after giving birth to the child, but continued to roll on for ages till the Classical Sanskrit sprang out of them. Here also the dialects survived Sanskrit, and Sanskrit partook of only some of the parental virtues and rejected others. And it is these latter features that we find to be the common characteristics of the Vedic Prakrit and the Prakrits of the Drama. One might, therefore, be inclined to say that the Vedic River Sarasvatī, on the bank of which our ancestors composed and sang their hymns, never dried up, but that she has only changed her form. She has cast off her liquid form and assumed an etherial one. She has been flowing continually through the Indo-Aryan tongue. This holy river of Sarasvatī carried in her current and formed the essence not only of the Vedic and Sanskrit literature but also of the ballads,

the Pāli, the Dramatic Prakrit as well as the modern Vernaculars such as the Punjabi, the Guzrati, the Sindhi, the Marathi, the Hindustanti, the Bengali, nay, all the Prakrits of Northern India.

THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE INDO-ARYAN DIALECTS

It is said that our Aryan ancestors were not indigenous in India but have emigrated into this country from Central Asia, where they formed at one time one community with the Progenitors of the Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germans, etc. In proof of this theory are cited the original language, religion and mythology of those earliest nations. It is a well-known fact that the forms of speech of the Zend, Persian, Greek, Latin, and other western tongues are closely related to one another in respect of roots and forms and inflexion. It is also said that the Aryans occupied only the north-west corner of Hindustan and afterwards diffused themselves to the east and south of this Peninsula.

Tilak attacked this theory of emigration and assigned the Arctic region as the cradle of the Aryans. His arguments have subsequently been sufficiently met by our late lamented Dr. N. K. Dutt. A. C. Das also challenges this theory of the Arctic Home of the Aryans and quotes Max Müller in circumvention of the said theory. "Professor Max Müller" says he "gave a final pronouncement on the subject in 1887, when he wrote. 'If an answer must be given as to the place where our Aryan ancestors dwelt before their separation. .... I should still say, as I said forty years ago, somewhere in Asia and no more. "In the hymns of the Ṛg-Veda" the author of Ṛg-Vedic India goes on to say "we do not find any mention or evidence of the ancient Aryans having ever lived in any other country or immigrated thence to Sapta-Sindhu," though it can be shown by quotation from the Vedas that at the period when the hymns were composed, the Indians, though not unacquainted with the central provinces of Northern India were most familiar with the countries, bordering on or beyond the Indus, and the north-west parts of the Hindustan generally.

Depending on the results of Geological investigations Dr. A. C. Das holds that "modern Rajputana was a sea in the Tertiary Era and that the Gangetic trough lying to the east of the Punjab was also a

sea up to the end of the Miocene epoch. Sapta-Sindhu has been admitted by Geologists to be the earliest life-producing region in the whole of India, where the evolution of animal life took place in continuous succession until man was created. This region was peopled by the Aryans from time immemorial and was regarded by them as their original home."

The wars alluded to in the Ṛg-Veda were possibly not those between the Aryans and the non-Aryans but were internecine or inter-racial or even inter-communal wars among the Aryans themselves. The Sapta-Sindhu was the original hive from which the emigrations proceeded to the different parts of Asia and Europe.

Strabo mentions a large part of Persia to have been abandoned to the Hindus by the Macedonians. In discussing the question of the Antiquity of India and her connection with Iran in my paper on 'Trade and commerce of Pre-historic India' I endeavoured to show how about two-thirds of Persia could be included in Ancient India. Again, if it be true that the Ṛg-Vedic Aryans could not and did not go to the Deccan in the south, and Pañcāla, Kosala, Magadha, Videha, Aṅga and Vaṅga in the east, cut off as they were by the Rajputana Sea and the Eastern Sea, it might equally be supposed that their territories were bounded by the Mediterranean Sea on the west, and that the *Paṇis* who were great merchants, who traded both by land and by sea, who constructed ships for their sea-voyages and were great warriors, probably Carried on their trade and commerce both by the Mediterranean Sea in the west and the Rajputana and the Gangetic Seas in the east.

On the whole, there is no reason why Central Asia and not the Sapta-Sindhu including Iran or Persia should be regarded as the earliest home of the Aryans.

Iran and Avesta

The ancient history of Iran and the language of the Avesta justify us to hold that the Iranians and the Indo-Aryans were one people till very early period of the history of the Indo-Aryans.

The Avesta presents to us the last reflex of the ideas which prevailed in Iran during the five centuries which preceded and the

seven which succeeded the birth of Christ. "Zend and Sanskrit are derived from another and older language" says Professor Max Müller," words like *yusmākam* being common to both. The key to the Avesta is the Veda. The Avesta and the Veda are two echoes of one and the same voice, the reflex of one and the same thought. The Vedas were therefore the best commentary to the Avesta."

From the Behinstun inscriptions it appears that Darius made a collection of religious texts known as Avesta and that the persent Avesta proceeded from Darius.

"The Iranians or the ancestors of the Parsis were pure Aryans," says Dr. A. C. Das and originally inhabited Sapta-Sindhu. They shared all the material culture of the Vedic Aryans and were, like them, highly civilised, speaking the same language, worshipping many of the Ṛg-Vedic deities, especially Fire and the Sun, under the name of Mithra, performing the Soma sacrifice and observing many social customs that were followed by the Vedic Aryans also, more especially the holy-thread ceremony.

The Persians call their country Iran and themselves Irani, a word which is the Aiyira of the Avesta and Arya of the Ṛg-Veda, Iran meaning the land of the Aryans. The Iranian plateau means the region lying between the valleys of the Indus on the east and of the Tigris on the west, and Persia fills the western and larger portion of this elevated tract, and the eastern portion is occupied by Afghanistan and Baluchistan.

The term "Persi" is derived from the Classical Persis : This word *Persis* signified the province of Persa (Cf. Pāṇini's Parsvādibhyaś ca) now Fars, which gave birth to the ruling dynasty of the Achaemenians (about 650 B. C.) and in consequence, to Persia and its people. Persia is a Persian word. In Arabic it is Fars."

We drew a short comparison between the Vedic language and Sanskrit on the one hand, and the Vedic with Prakrit on the other. Now we shall compare the Vedic Prakrits and the Avestan and see how far they resemble each other. It will be seen that there is a greater likeness between the Avestan and the Vedic Parkrits than between the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit. We said that the Vedic

Prakrits went by the name of *Svaka Nirukti* or the Vernacular of the Vedic ṛṣis. The comparison will show that the popular dialect or Vernacular of the ṛṣis resembled very much the Avestan and that the Avestan furnishes us with a fine specimen of the dialectic changes which the Vedic tongue underwent. It is highly probable that what is Prakrit to Sanskrit that the Avestan is to the Vedic language.

For example :

Avestan	Sanskrit	Avestan	Sanskrit
Hāvanim (hū)	Savanim (su)	Pairi	Pari
Aisrūyesa	(abhi Śru)	ajem	aham
ahi	asi	ahmi	asmi
ahu	asu	artavā	ṛtāvā (Ṛv)
ahur	asura	amertahe	amṛtasya
aūrvahe	āryasya	aṇhaosemne	aśūṣhyamāne
aparacit	aparecit	amarshenta	amariṣyanta
aim	idam	ahmayi	asmai
āt	atha	ādim	ātam
āśis	āśis	ūpait	ūpait
Ujjayata	Udajāyata	āpaūbbaire	apūrbara
Ko	Kaḥ	kerenayot	akṛṇot (Ṛv) akarot
Kṣatrātha	Kṣatrāt	kṣathre	kṣatre
Paivyaōkta	Pratyavocat	jātanāṁ	jātānāṁ
Pūthro	Putraḥ	phra	pra
yo	yaḥ	ratus	ṛtu
yimo	yamaḥ	yatha	yathā
vivaṇha	vivasvat	perechhat	(a) pṛcchat
Śrayestam	Śreṣṭham	śravayantem	śrāvayantam
haomo	Somah	haomāha	somāya
hā	sa	he	asya
hūnvaṇuha	sūnuṣva	stuidhi	stūdhi (Ṛv) stuhi

From the above it will appear also that

(i) There is the absence of *visarga* in Avestan

(ii) There are cases, three genders, Ātmane and Parasmai Padas

(iii) There is dual, which is absent from the Prakrits

(iv) There is the absence of (a) augment in the past tense

(v) Syncope is illustrated by *astvato* for Sanskrit *asthivato*

(vi) Epenthesis is illustrated by *dadaresa* for Sans. *dadarśa*

(vii) The Sans. ś becomes *s*, *p* is *ph*, *t* is *th*, ṛ is *ar* or *r* in Avestan

(viii) The Avestan has some *tatsama* words e. g. *tat* that, *yat* that, *kā* what, *mām* me.

We must conclude this paper with the opinion of Professor Rhys Davids upon the origin of Sanskrit and the Prakrits. He furnishes us with a very interesting account of the main features of the gradual change in Sanskrit. According to this learned scholar, the Vedic Dialects preceded Classical Sanskrit no doubt, but Classical Sanskrit could not spring up till quite a millenium had passed away after the rise and spread of Buddhism in India. Classical Sanskrit was only elaborated as to form a vocabulary out of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads and was enriched by the assimilation of words taken from the Vernaculars of the Pre-christian Buddhistic era. It was for a long time the literary language only of the priestly schools and used in inscriptions and coins from the 2nd century A. D. onwards. From the 4th and the 5th centuries it became the *literary lingua franca* for all India. This view of Sanskrit being no better than a patch-work or jargon, was also most eloquently preached by the Philosopher Dugald Stewart.

According to Professor Rhys Davids, the Prakrits sprang also not from the Classical Sanskrit but were merely a literary form of the Vernaculars of the 5th century and onwards, spoken by the Kosal officials, merchants and other cultured classes in Hindustan from Delhi to Patna and from *Savatthi* to Avantī.

According to this learned scholar, both Sanskrit and the Prakrits, therefore, dated from the 4th and 5th centuries.

We prefer to reserve for the future any discussion of the unreliability or otherwise of this authoritative statement which, it is hoped, will form the subject of a separate paper supported by quotations from earlier Sanskrit works.

THE PRONUNCIATION OF SANSKRIT — BY PROF. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M. A. (CALCUTTA), D. LITT. (LONDON), UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

The following special letters in this article require a note : ɔ (an inverted c) stands for the sound of Southern English *aw, au,* as in *law, caught* ; v (an inverted ʌ) indicates the Marathi value of अ — an *o* pronounced with open lips ; ʌ (an inverted v) denotes the sound of *u* in English *but* ; ɯ (an inverted *m*) stands for an unrounded *u,* which is heard in Tamil ; ə (= e inverted) indicates the 'neutral vowel' sound, like that of the English *a* in *China, ago* ; ʎ (= *y* inverted) stands for the *voiced h* — the Sanskrit ह, which is to be distinguished from the usual English *h* (which is unvoiced, like the Sanskrit *visarga*) ; and æ stands for the sound of *a* in South English *man, cat* (= *mæn, khæt*). The letters with the apostrophe following, *g', j', ḍ', d', b',* are *implosives, which are stops with glottal stop* accompaniment, and these sounds are regularly substituted for the aspirates *gh, jh, ḍh, dh, bh,* in many modern Indo-Aryan languages.

The pronunciation of Sanskrit is a subject of considerable interest and importance not only for the study of the Sanskrit language itself but also for that of the history of Indo-Aryan ; and the problems which it presents have a bearing on General Phonetics as well. At the present moment, the study of Sanskrit in India may be said to be following two lines--(1) the Traditional, and (2) what in comparison with the traditional method may be described as the Modern. The former is in vogue in the old style Sanskrit schools, in which *Paṇḍits* and *Śāstrīs* of the old type, without any modern or English education, and with their old outlook upon life unaltered, teach boys and young men the Sanskrit language as a sacerdotal and theological discipline. Their method is intensive, and within its narrow limits, it is quite thorough ; and where there has not been any modification, through the present-day standardising tendency, the traditional method can be relied upon as being the repository of the old system of training and culture in Sanskrit. The tradition, however, is not identical everywhere in India. In the various linguistic areas there have occurred divergences, which may be described as dialects or variations (under local conditions of environment and history) of a common arche-type. The traditional

method takes into note only the local line of development, without any reference to the tradition current elsewhere. And we have in the different provincial traditions (provincial in the sense of relating to the various linguistic areas) their own systems of pronunciation of Sanskrit, like their own proper alphabets which are all modifications of the old Brahmī arche-type. It must be said that on the whole there is not a very great difference among the provincial traditions in Sanskrit pronunciation throughout the greater part of India, except in matter of some special sounds or letters, and in some of the outlying tracts like Bengal and Assam. These provincial, traditional schools are continuing still to be in existence, but a standardizing movement is more or less in evidence nearly everywhere. This standardizing movement is coming through the 'modern' method of Sanskrit studies which is followed in the English schools. With the foundation of the Universities, Sanskrit was introduced into the curriculum as a classical language, in Calcutta, in Madras, in Bombay, and later on in Allahabad, in Lahore and elsewhere. Formerly Sanskrit would be seriously studied mainly by those Brahmans who wanted to make Sanskrit learning their profession, and Hindu theology and medicine and ritualism and priestcraft their vocation in life. With the foundation of the Universities, boys of the other castes could take up Sanskrit as one of their subjects. The traditional pronunciation and the local script were used as a matter of course, at least in the junior classes, but the Universities agreed in adopting Devanāgarī for Sanskrit to the exclusion of the local scripts, at least in printing their text-books and their question-papers. This was also done by the learned societies, both within India and outside India. The adoption of Devanagarī as the All-India script for Sanskrit, as the script *par excellence*, or the script for the language, was gradually brought about during the last century; and this is quite a noteworthy thing among present-day Indian intellectual movements, which is helping to remove the babel of alphabets in our country. A hundred or eighty years ago the provincial alphabets, Śāradā, Newārī, Maithilī, Bengali, Oṛiyā, Telugu-Kannaḍa, Grantha and Mālayālam had greater prestige in their native tracts than Devanāgarī; and the most erudite *Paṇḍits* in Bengal and Mithilā, the Tamil country or Malabar might not feel at home in either reading or writing Devanagarī.

As the script of Benares, Mathura and Poona, and of the great *bloc* of Hindu states in Rajputana, Devanāgarī has always had a certain amount of importance, especially in Northern India, but not enough to relegate the local scripts to the background. The first Sanskrit book ever printed was in Bengali characters—the 'Ṛtu-saṁhāra' which appeared from Calcautta in the nineties of the 18th century. But it was the European Sanskritists of Calcutta who, with the support of their Bengali fellow-workers, quickly decided for the script of Benares in printing Sanskrit. The first grammars of Sanskrit by Forster and Colebrooke were in Devanāgarī characters (1800 and 1805). The Asiatic Society of Bengal brought out in Devanāgarī the *editio princeps* of the Mahābhārata in the thirties of the last century. The Brāhmo Samāj of Calcutta helped the movement in favour of Devanāgarī by printing one or two Upaniṣad texts in that character. Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara, Premacandra Tarkavāgīśa, Madanamohana Tarkālaṁkāra and other scholars in Calcutta similarly brought out their editions of Sanskrit texts in Devanāgarī. And a great impetus for the acceptance of Devanāgarī was given by F. Max Müller when he began to publish from England his Ṛgveda with Sāyaṇa's commentary from the fifties of the last century, using that script. All these things have brought about the present position of Devanāgarī in India, so much so that Bengali, Tamil, Telugu and Mālayālī boys have to know Devanāgarī in addition to their own alphabets when they study Sanskrit. In Bengal the movement began over seventy years ago when Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara, himself a great educationist, brought out his primer of Sanskrit grammar in Bengali (*Upakramaṇikā*) in which he gave the Devanāgarī letters at the end ; and about this time he published his Sanskrit primers for Bengali boys (*Ṛju-pāṭha*) in the Devanāgarī character. Certain alphabets have died out or are dying out through the establishment of Devanāgarī for Sanskrit : viz., Śāradā, Newārī, and Maithilī, and Grantha. Nowadays, orthodox scholarship, charmed by the occurrence of the word *deva* in the name (and following orthodox scholarship the bulk of educated and semi-educated opinion in the country) have tacitly accepted the theory that Devanāgarī is the original alphabet of Hindu India, and that the other Indian scripts are descended from it. The late Sir Gooroodass Bannerjee, a judge of the Calcutta High Court and a distinguished

alumnus of the University of Calcutta, wrote a book to show how the Bengali letters were derived out of Devanāgarī: a bit of curiously misapplied scholarship and ingenuity, considering the error in the initial premise. Now, the setting up of Devanāgarī has gone hand in hand with the gradual development of a pronunciation of Sanskrit which seeks to rise above the provincial traditions: in fact, of a *Modern Indian Standard for Sanskrit Pronunciation*, which is more or less sought to be followed everywhere in India. What the nature of this pronunciation is like will be indicated below.

We can thus say that two styles of Sanskrit pronunciation obtain in India now — the old-fashioned, local, dialectal or traditional, differing in the different language and dialect areas; and the standardized new pronunciation. Of the former class, there are the various provincial types, extreme cases being presented by those of Bengal (West Bengal, and the various East Bengal types). The new standardized pronunciation may be described as being on the basis of that current in Northern India (Ganges Valley, excluding Bengal), with some Mahārāṣtra and Āndhra-Karṇāṭaka modifications. It may be said to have originated in Benares during the last two centuries. Benares as the most important Hindu cultural centre in Northern India attracted scholars from all over India, including also Mahārāṣṭra and the South. The old local pronunciation of Sanskrit (the traditional North-Indian one) was modified by the Mahārāṣṭra and Āndhra-Karṇātaka traditions, since these latter were in many respects better and more scholarly than the former: and the pre-eminence in learning of the Mahārāṣṭra Brahmans settling or sojourning in Benares received an additional lustre from the prestige of the Mahrattas as the champions of Hindu religion and culture and as the most puissant political group in 18th century India.

Our first *datum* for the study of Sanskrit pronunciation therefore consists of these present-day pronunciations — the various traditional ones--and the standard one. Herein we have a mass of phonetic material which has not been properly investigated or put to use, and which, being the result of unsophisticated dovelopment, is fraught with immense suggestive and corroborative value. These traditional pronunciations cannot on the face of them be taken to represent the ancient pronunciation of Sanskrit, or, to be more accurate, of Old Indo-Aryan of the centuries immediataly preceding

the Buddha, when the Middle Indo--Aryan or Prakrit stage had not as yet evolved (at least in North-Western India — the land of Pāṇini). There are certain traditional systems which are 'corrupt' from the Sanskrit point of view, e. g. the pronunciations now current in Bengal, which are nearly as bad as the traditional English pronunciation of Latin, now being discarded. When a West Bengal boy in Calcutta or in Nadiya reads the opening verses of the Gītā in the following way —

dhritɔrāṣṭrɔ ubācɔ :

dhɔrmɔkkhettre kurukkhettre śɔmɔbetā jujutśɔbɔh ।
māmɔkāḥ pāṇḍɔbāścoibɔ kimɔkurbɔtɔ śɔnjɔyɔ ॥

śɔnjcyɔ ubācɔ :

driṣṭā tu pāṇḍɔbānīkɔṅ būrhɔṅ durjodhɔnɔstɔdā ।
acārjɔm upɔśɔṅgomno rāja bɔcɔnɔm ɔbbrobīt ॥

or when an East Bengal boy, say at Dacca or Sylhet reads them in the following way —

d'ritɔrāṣṭrɔ ubātsɔ :

d'ɔrmɔkkhettre kurukkhettre śɔmɔbetā dzudzutśɔbɔḥ ।
māmɔkāḥ pāṇḍɔbārcoibɔ kimɔkurbɔtɔ śɔndzɔyɔ ॥

śɔndzuɔyɔ ubātsɔ :

driṣṭā tu pāṇḍɔbānīkɔṅ b'ūrɔṅ duirdzod'ɔnɔstɔdā ।
ātsāirdzɔm upɔśɔṅgoimmɔ radzā bɔtsɔnɔm ɔbbrɔbīt ॥

neither does he nor does his teacher trouble himself in the least that a sad havoc is being worked with the pronunciation of the speech of the Gods. The standard pronunciation has slowly been making its presence felt, however, and the old tradition is going to the wall : thus, old-fashioned pronunciations like *biṣṭū̃*, *kreṣṭy*͠, *jibbha*, *ghrɔtɔ*, *prɔthɔk* (which may pass unnoticed, or may even be the rule, in the Sanskrit *ṭols* or *catuṣpāṭhīs*) would now be openly ridiculed in the English schools, where boys are taught to say *biṣṇu*, *kriṣṇɔ*, *jiuhā*, *ghritɔ*, *prithɔk*. Yet the old-fashioned pronunciation represents a regular line of development, in which many a germ of the past may be detected on close observation. The other traditional schools are much better when compared with the above : nevertheless, they too

are far removed from the Sanskrit norm, or ideal, in this matter, being, equally like the Bengali pronunciations, intimately connected with the habits of articulation characteristic of the mother-tongue—Panjābī or Marāṭhī, Tamil or Mālayāḷam.

To note some points in the traditional pronunciations which deserve consideration. The Mahārāṣṭra style of pronunciation is reputed to be one of the best and most correct in India, and this style has largely influenced the rest of India either directly (as in the Tamil country) or indirectly (through the new standard pronunciation). In it, अ has a unique value unknown in other parts of India; in Mahārāṣṭra, अ becomes an unrounded ओ, i. e. an *o* sound produced with the lips spread out instead of being rounded as normally (Phonetic Symbol for this unrounded *o* = [ɤ]). This was certainly not its value in ancient times, judging from the evidence of the *Prātiśākhyas*. We are on equally insecure ground for the ancient pronunciation of अ when we take into consideration the typical North Indian (which is almost the Pan-Indian, barring Bengal, Assam, Orissa and Mahārāṣṭra) value of the letter, as the sound of the *u* in Southern English *but*, *cut* (Phonetic Symbol [ʌ]), which is a low back vowel, slightly raised towards the [ɔ], and at the same time considerably advanced towards the central position, to give a technical description. The Bengali-Oṛiyā [ɔ], like the sound heard in Southern English *law*, *caught*, is even more problematical for the ancient sound of this संवृत अ. What was the exact position of the tongue and of the lips in pronouning the संवृत अ of Pāṇini? The modern pronunciations are conflicting, while the local traditions show unconscious development, and consequently these are to be checked and supplemented by other sources of information. A similar difficulty is with the ऋ vowel. In the modern traditions, it becomes, usually, *ri* in Northern India and *ru* in Southern India (Orissa and Mahārāṣṭra fall under this); and the pronunciations *rɯ* (*ɯ* being an unrounded *u*, i.e. an *u* made with spread-out instead of rounded lips), as well as *re*, *er*, *ro*, *or*, *rɔ*, *ɔr*, and *ir*, are also heard; and it is said that even *rü* (with *ü* as in German) also occurs. According to some of the *Prātiśākhyas*, it was *ara*. The exact point of articulation and character of the vocalic *r* of Old Indo-Aryan is an important matter in explaining a

good many points of Sanskrit and later Indo-Aryan phonology. Other things which may be mentioned are the pronunciation of diphthongs (*saṁdhyakṣaras*) *e āi o ou*, of the palatals *c ch j jh*, of the dentals *t th d dh*, of the semi-vowel *v*, of the sibilants *ś ṣ*, and of the *anusvāra* and the *visarga*. The *anusvāra*, for instance, has at present the value of *n* (in Northern India), of *ṅ* (in Bengal) and of *m* (in South India) —हंस being pronounced in Hindustan as *ɦʌns*, in Bengal as *ɦɔṅśɔ* and in the South as *ɦʌmsə*. The pronunciation *w̃* — a nasalised *w* — is I believe found in Mahārāṣṭra : *ɦʌw̃sə*: analogous to this must have been the old sound of the *anusvāra* in Eastern India, which gave the Oriya *ũ* as in बाउँश *bāũsə* as the *tadbhava* or Prakritic development of वंश *vaṁśa*.

The present-day local pronunciations of Sanskrit have not been properly studied. A stray monograph, like the excellent and exhaustive study of the phonology of the *naturalised* Sanskrit loan-words in the Dravidian speeches, especially Tamil, by Anavaratavinayakam Pillai (in the *Madras University Dravidian Studies*), gives a mass of material for the usage current in the Drāviḍa lands in early times. But the matter has not been taken up for its own sake. The study of the local pronunciations of Sanskrit of course will go hand in hand with a rigorous phonetic survey of the Modern Indian language and dialects, -Aryan, Dravidian, Austric, and Tibeto-Chinese. This is one of the fundamental things in Indian Linguistics, and it is this fundamental thing that is now lacking. Investigation into this fundamental aspect of speech must at once be taken in hand. So far, a small beginning has been made, — in Bengal, in the Panjab, and in South India. It would be quite an important side-line in our research work in vernacular phonetics — this enquiry into what may be called the connected dialectal pronunciation of the classical languages — Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Avestan and Pahlavi, and Hebrew and Syriac. The traditional Indian pronunciation of Persian, for instance, whether at Lahore or Delhi, at Haidarabad-Sindh or Haidarabad-Deccan, at Lucknow or Jaunpur, at Patna or Chittagong, has some valuable light to throw on the phonetics of Early Modern Persian of four or five hundred years ago.

And this brings up the analogous question of the bearing of the Greater Indian traditions of Sanskrit and Pali pronunciation (which

are still current, though in a fragmentary form, in Indo-China and Indonesia) on the mediaeval pronunciation of Sanskrit in India. Ceylon with its Dravidian Tamil and its Indo-Aryan Sinhalese is culturally a part of India, but the same cannot be said, at least with equal thoroughness, of Burma and Siam, Cambodia and the Malay-land, and Java and Bali. In these latter lands, the Mons, the Khmers and the Chams, the Burmese and the Siamese, the Malays, the Javanese and the Balinese received Sanskrit quite early, and later Pali also followed Sanskrit into Indo-China. The traditions of Indian pronunciation of Sanskrit from the early centuries of the Christian era have still continued , specially in Siam and Cambodia and in Java and Bali. This tradition has often suffered from violent changes through the imposition of the speech-habits of the original languages to which Sanskrit had to accommodate itself: e. g. the Siamese speech-habit, which turns *āditya* into *āthit'*, *nagara* to *nakhon*, *deśa* to *thet'*, and reduces words like *dūra-śabda* and *ākāśa-yāna* (which are the modern Siamese words for the telephone and the aeroplane) into *thoro-sap'* and *āgāt-chān* ; and so forth. In such a case as the above, the type of Sanskrit pronunciation introduced would be an interesting side-study. The traditions still current in Java, in pronouncing the innumerable Sanskrit words present in Old Javanese (Kawi) as well as in the modern forms of Javanese, and in Bali where the *pĕdaṇḍas* or Brahman priests still intone the ancient Sanskrit *mantras*, represent one type of ancient Sanskrit pronunciation, and are more valuable, notwithstanding the Indonesian speech-habits which have imposed themselves as a matter of course. Thus, in these Indonesian tracts, it is interesting to note the pronunciation of the Sanskrit अ as both *a* (the short form of the vowel heard in South English *father*, *art*) and *ɔ*, and of आ as *ɔ*, with modification of final आ to ö in Bali (*mudrö*, *sabö*, *gadö*, = *mudrā*, *sabhā*, *gadā*,) ; ऋ is pronounced as *rĕ*, the *anusvāra* as *ṅ* (ङ), व as both *b* and *w* (representing respectively the North-central and North-eastern, and the North-western, Western and Southern habits of pronunciation). The necessity of the study of these Greater Indian traditions side by side with those of the different language and dialect-areas within India will be easily conceded. This struck me forcibly when, as against the nearly pan-Indian pronunciation of Sanskrit ह्म *hm*; as in

brāhmaṇa, as *mh* (*brāmhaṇa*, *bramhā* etc.), I heard Ceylonese Buddhist monks pronounce the word ब्राह्मण as written in Sanskrit — *brā-h-ma-ṇa* : which brought back to me the pronunciation which the Greeks heard in North-western India when Alexander the Great came in the 4th century B. C., — for the Greeks wrote down the word as *Brakhman-* ; and I think I heard in the island of Bali from the lips of the *pĕdaṇḍas* the more learned form *brāhmana* with *h*+*m*, beside the popular *brɔmana*.

A few remarks on the nature of the present-day standard pronunciation may be made before we can pass on to the other sources of information to be utilised in this connection. This Modern Indian standard, as has been said before, is based on the old Benares pronunciation : that is, on the mediaeval Āryāvarta pronunciation, with some Mahārāṣṭra and other extraneous influences. Its vowel system is based on that of the Eastern Hindī and Bihārī dialects, and this on the whole serves for the rest of India too. Thus, it gives the sounds of ʌ and ə (the latter in unaccented positions) to अ, rejecting the Mahārāṣṭra value of ʌ and the Bengali-Oṛiyā value of ɔ ; ऋ is *ri*, and the other North-Indian variants and the South Indian *ru* are eschewed; ऌ according to the local Benares tradition is *lri*, but that is dropped in favour of *li*, which is current in Bengal ; the Southern *lu* is not permitted. The diphthongs ए ऐ ओ औ are *e ai o au* : the opener sounds as current in the Western Hindustan tracts have not been adopted (e. g. Western Hindi ऐ as *æe* or *æ*, and औ as *ɔo* or *ɔ*). As regards the consonants, the usual Bihārī and Hindī values of the letters are followed. च छ ज झ are palatal or palato-alveolar affricates, and the dental affricate values of *t͜s*, *t͜sh* or *s*, *d͜z*, and *d͜zh* or *z* found in a great many Indo-Aryan dialects, in the North, South, West and East but absent in 'Āryāvarta,' are not at all tolerated. So, too, the recursive or implosive pronunciation of the voiced aspirates घ झ ढ ध भ, i.e. *g' j' ḍ' d' b'* instead of *gh jh ḍh dh bh*, found in many traditional or local pronunciations which keep close to the vernacular, is not all admitted. On the other hand, ण, which is absent in the vernacular dialects of the Gangetic plains, is sought to be given its proper cerebral pronunciation, *ṇ*, in the standard now set up — the traditional pronunciation invariably turning it to the dental *n*: the insistence on the proper value of ण being given to the letter, in the Standard Pronunciation, is due not only to Mahārāṣṭra influence, but also to that

of the Panjab and Rajputana, where *ṇ* is a living sound in the vernaculars. In the Gangetic plains, the proper *ṇ* sound is aimed, but it is usually a substitute that is arrived at — a nasalised cerebral *ṛ* — ड़ँ. One may say, however, that for ण, *ṇ*, *n* and *ṛ̃*, these three are equally allowable in the Standard Pronunciation. The *j* and *b* pronunciation of initial य and व occurs in the North Indian tradition, following the vernacular habits, but the example of Mahārāṣṭra and South Indian as well as Kashmīrī and Panjābī *Śāstrīs* is making the *j* and *b* pronunciation out of fashion, and *y* and *v* are recognised. The old North Indian tradition turned the palatal श *ś* to the dental *s*, and the cerebral ष *ṣ* was altered in it to *kh* (ख): विशेषः *viśeṣaḥ* was *bisekhəɦə*. Mahārāṣṭra and South Indian influence brought in some kind of *sh* sound for both *ś* and *ṣ*. The genuine folk-element in the North Indian dialects possesses only the dental *s*, and lacks not only the Sanskrit *ś* and *ṣ*, but any kind of *sh*-sound altogether: the only *sh*-sound heard and imitated was from Persian and English, and this foreign *sh* is quite different from both *ś* and *ṣ* of Sanskrit. In the Standard Pronunciation, it is this *sh* sound — an imitation of the one obtaining in Persian and English—that is employed for both *ś* and *ṣ* — the earlier *s* for *ś* may be tolerated, but *kh* for *ṣ* is no longer allowed. So that usually in this kind of pronunciation of Sanskrit, there is no discrimination between *ś* and *ṣ*, both being pronounced as *sh*: only a Mahārāṣṭra *Śāstrī* or a Vedic scholar from the South is expected to differentiate properly between *ś* and *ṣ*. For the *anusvāra*, the four variants *n*, *m*, *w̃*, and *ṅ* are all allowed in the standard pronunciation; the last however is the least common, and the second and third are in a vague way regarded as the most correct. In the matter of *visarga*—interior *visarga* simply doubles the following consonant, but when final, it becomes a frank ह — a voiced *h*, after which the preceding vowel is pronounced as a sort of prop : e. g. रामः हरि : मनुः प्रायशः = *rāməɦə*, *ɦariɦi*, *manuɦu*, *prāyaśəɦə*. This sort of articulation is in accordance with both the local tradition and Mahārāṣṭra usage : and it is not the old sound of the *visarga*. For व, a kind of *v* (bi-labial or denti-labial) is heard: usually, it is the bilabial fricative sound, but a semi-vowel *w* is allowed before the back vowels *a ā*, and before the front vowel *e*, specially when the व is post-consonantal. About conjunct consonants, the two combinations क्ष and ज्ञ are to be noted. In the Ganges Valley, Old

Indo-Aryan *kṣ* became *kkh* in Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) ; but the mediaeval Sanskrit tradition in Nothern India pronounced *kṣ* as *cch* (*ch* initially, *cch* internally), and this *cch* tradition is still current in the local pronunciation of Sanskrit. Now the *cch* is no longer tolerated in the Standard Pronunciation *k* + *sh* (of some kind) is only allowed. The North Indian tradition makes *gy* or *gỹ* out of ज्ञ — as if it was *gñ* instead of *jñ* : in the standard pronunciation, this tradition has been accepted, and the Mahārāṣṭra pronunciation *dñ* or *dny* and the correct Sanskrit *jñ* are neither of them allowed (*tat* + *jñānam* gives *taj jñānam* : by *saṁdhi* the standard pronunciation would pronounce it turn to *taj gyānam*). This *gñ* value of ज्ञ seems to have been an old one, and to have also affected the South : witness the Tamil form *kinānam*, often pronounced *gnānam*) beside another, older Tamil form *ñānam* (which may be from either the Sanskrit. or a Prakrit *ñānaṁ*). The stress system followed in the Standard Pronunciation may be said to be the usual North Indian (' Hindi ') one : and vowel-length is usually sought to be retained as in the orthography.

The current pronunciations can thus be questioned as to their faithfulness to the old ones. They are to be checked by other kinds of information. The information of paramount importance, outside of the present-day usages, which is available to us is that supplied by the Sanskrit treatises on pronunciation and phonetics, the *Śikṣās* and *Prātiśākhyas*, which embody both ancient theory and ancient practice. These works, with their commentaries, cover the entire range of Sanskrit phonetics and phonology from the period of the 'Brāhmaṇas' downwards. In the older texts, the actual observations of the Old Indo-Aryan speakers into the articulation and behaviour of the sounds of the spoken dialects—say of the period 1000-500 B. C.—may be said to be embodied ; while in the later works, and in the subsequent compilations and commentaries, later vernacular habits are noticed, and they are sometimes cautioned against and sometimes tolerated. A careful comparison of the present-day usage with the accounts given in the *Śikṣās* and the *Prātiśākhyas* is of vital importance for arriving at the old pronunciation of Sanskrit. I need not discuss this matter in detail here. It is enough to mention the very valuable work recently published by Dr. Siddheshwar Varma --

'Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians' (Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1929, James G. Forlong Fund, Vol. VII). The entire question of the *Śikṣā* and *Prātiśākhya* evidence has been handled here with admirable clearness and philological acumen, and this makes the work indispensable for all students of the Sanskrit language and Sanskrit linguistics. A good idea of the nature of the ancient Indian phonetic theories and observations and some important points in phonetic discussion can be formed from Dr. Varma's book. Among the important points discussed are, apart from the contents and chronology of the extant works, the old Indian theory of the syllable, including syllabic division and syllabic quantity which are so intimately connected with the later development of the Aryan speech and with Sanskrit prosody ; consonantal length (or ' doubling, ' as it is usually called), is another item which engaged the attention of the ancient phoneticians ; as also *abhinidhāna* or incomplete articulation. This habit of *abhinidhāna* undoubtedly made the old pronunciation of Sanskrit strikingly different from the modern ones. Thus, at the present-day in pronouncing words like शक्ति, अब्द, लिप्त we fully explode the first consonant in the group — *śak-ti*, *ab-da*, *lip-ta*; but in ancient i.e. pre-Prakrit times they did not fully pronounce or explode the *k*, *b* or *p* : this is what exactly is done in Modern English (*looked*, *begged*, *slipped* are pronounced in English, not like *luk-t*, *beg-d*, *slip-t*, but as *lukt*, *begd*, *slipt*, with the *k*, *g*, *p* not fully articulated). The nature of the old Sanskrit accent as described in the *Prātiśākhyas* is another subject of utmost philological importance, from point of view also of the Modern Indo-Aryan (vernacular) phonology. In all these and other points it will be seen that modern pronunciations can largely be corrected by a study of the old pronunciations and theories as discussed in the *Prātiśākhyas* and other works.

The remarks of the Prakrit grammarians on pronunciation and the phonology of Prakrit are also to be taken into account.

An important source of information regarding the ancient and mediaeval prounciation is the actual spelling in extant epigraphical and other documents, in Sanskrit as well as the Prakrits. From the inscriptions of Aśoka downwards we find indications of vernacular habits of pronunciation from the actual spellings. Thus it is plain

that certain dialects of the 3rd century B. C. had a palatalised *k* sound; and intervocal *ś s* seem to have become voiced to *z' z* (the former denoted by *y*, the latter by an *s* with a bar below and by the ligature *ys*) in the North-Western frontier tract; and that *y* had become a strong fricative about two centuries before the Christian era. Mistakes in spelling in the inscriptions and in Mss., in using one letter for another, are valuable evidence for the pronunciation, and such mistakes are pretty frequent in these documents. A spelling like *likṣita* for *likhita* in an old Bengal inscription establishes the contemporary pronunciation of *kṣ* as *khy*, as now; and spellings like *tejāṅsi, vaṅśe, haṅsa, prāṅśuḥ*, with *ṅ* or *n* for the *anusvāra* in Gupta inscriptions, would establish the fact that the old sound of *anusvāra* was lost by the first half of the 1st millennium after Christ. The optional doubling of consonants in connection with a nasal or liquid or semivowel is frequent in the inscriptions, and it is found partly in the traditonal spellings current in some of the vernaculars (e. g. Bengali) at the present day. Thus आर्त्त, अर्त्थ, दीर्ग्घ, सर्व्व, आर्य्य, beside आर्त, अर्थ, दीर्घ, सर्व, आर्य and पुत्त्र, पराक्क्रम, पत्थ्य beside पुत्र, पराक्रम, पथ्य. This is to be taken with great caution, as these doublings are sometimes only scholastic, without any reference to the pronunciation (e. g. in the spellings favoured by Bengali— वर्द्धमान, धर्म्म, सर्व्व, पर्य्याय — where the doubling is only the remnant of an orthographical tradition, not true to the pronunciation; whereas in spellings like वाक्य, शुक्र, तक्र, पंक — although in Bengali there is no doubling, in the pronunciation it is actually heard— *bākkɔ* or *bāikkɔ, tɔkkrɔ, śukklc, pɔkk(w)ɔ.)* A survey of our epigraphical records from this point of view, properly arranged chronologically and regionally, will be invaluable for the study of the history of the Sanskrit orthoepical tradition, as well as for that of the phonology of Indo-Aryan.

The above are the internal evidences in this connection. We have in addition some good external evidence, too, to help us. This is obtained from extra-Indian languages, and is from both foreigners devoid of any theory regarding the pronunciation of Indo-Aryan who wrote down in their own scripts the Indian names and words they heard spoken, and from cultured Indians who had to adapt the Indian alphabet to foreign speeches which they reduced

to writing for the first time. All this refers to a period roughly embracing about a thousand years from the 4th cent. B. C. The Greek language and the Sanskrit and other Indian names and words it has recorded should first be considered in point of both time and importance. From the 4th century B. C. down to the first two centuries after Christ, there were important Greek and semi-Greek peoples acting as links between India and Western world. The Greek way of writing down Indian names gives us some indication as to the pronunciations heard by these foreigners during the period say 330 B. C. — 200 A. C. Sometimes complications are brought in by diversity of transcription, which would suggest diversity of pronunciation heard. Thus for च we find both *s* and *ti* (= *ty*) : *Sandrakoptos* = *Candraguptaḥ*, *Prasioi* = *Prācyāḥ*, besides *Tiastenés* = *Caṣṭēna* ; and both *z* and *di* (= *dy*) for ज : *Ozēnē* = *Ujjenī* = *Ujjayinī*, and *Diamouna* = *Jamuṇā* = *Yamunā*; and व is represented by *b* (which about 2000 years ago had not as yet altered to *v* as it did in later Greek), by *hu* = *hw* or *vh* (cf. the Marāṭhī transcription व्ह for the English *v*), and by *ou* = *u* or *w* : thus *Bibasis* and *Huphasis* = *Vipāśā*, *Sōastes* = *Suvāstu*, and *Ouindion* = *Vindhya*. The intervocal ड -*ḍ*- seems to have received its present day pronunciation of ड़ (' cerebral *ṛ* ') as early as the 1st cent. A. C. : witness Greek transcriptions like *Karuophullon* = Pkt. *Kaḍuaphalaṁ* = Skt. *Kaṭukaphalam*, and *Saraganos* = Pkt. * *Sāḍagaṇṇa* from earlier * *Sāṭakaṇṇa* = Skt. *Sātakarṇa*.

The Chinese transcriptions are to be considered next. We have a considerable mass of material for this. There are transliterations of names, personal and geographical ; there are Buddhist terms and words in Sanskrit and Prakrit, and long Sanskrit *sūtras* and prayers transcribed in Chinese ; besides Sanskrit-Chinese dictionaries with pronunciation in Chinese characters. The material is vast enough, but the ground is insecure. The Modern Chinese people have retained the ancient characters, but have altered the pronunciation beyond recognition, in all the different dialectal areas. Scholars at the present day are seeking, and with considerable success too, to rediscover the old pronunciation of Chinese of c. 500 A. C., and even earlier. Thus, the Chinese characters for *Buddha* and *Brahman* are pronounced in North China (Peking) as *Fu* and *Fan*, and in the

South China (Canton) as *Fat* and *Fam* : from the evidence of the Japanese pronunciation of the same characters, respectively as *Butsu Butsu* =, *Butu* earlier and *Bon (= Boṅ)*, and from other reasons, it has been surmised that the 5th-6th century A. C. the pronunciation of these names in the Chinese of the North was **Bhywət* and **Bhywam* respectively. A few centuries earlier these undoubtedly approached more the Indian originals as *Buddh(a)* and *Bamh(a)*. The reconstructed Old Chinese **Bhywət* and **Bhywam* of course are too much altered to be of any help to us for the actual sounds of Indo-Aryan of the 1st half of the 1st millennium A. D. Similarly the two characters transcribing the name *Kāśyapa* are pronounced in Chinese as *Chia-yeh* in the North (Peking) and as *Ka-yep* in the South (Canton) and the Japanese pronounce them now as *Kashyō*, which in their phonetic writing they write as *Kā-si-a-pu*, which shows that *Ka-syapu* was the Old Japanese pronunciation. The Old Chinese equivalents in sound of these characters have been reconstructed as ** Ka-ẓ'yap*. This again would not be of much help for our purposes; but it points to one thing, which is established by other means : viz. internal *ś* had been voiced to *ẓ'* in some of the North-Western dialects some two thousand years ago, the pronunciation of which the Chinese transcription sought to record. And similarly when we find that in Chinese they were careful to record the palatal *ś* and the cerebral *ṣ* by different characters consistently in the same text, we might presume that the pronunciation taught by the Indian translator and followed by his Chinese collaborator preserved the two sounds distinct. Similarly *b* and *v* are found to be kept distinct, and not confused as at present in Gangetic India. It is also noteworthy that sometimes wrong spellings in the Prakritic way, and even Prakrit words feature in two Sanskrit-Chinese dictionaries (the *Fan Yü Tsa Ming* and the *Fan Yü Ts'ien Tseu Wen*, both edited by Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi) which date from the 8th century A. C. The material furnished by Buddhist Chinese sources is from many aspects well worth investigating.

Pahlavī or Middle Persian transcriptions present only a slight amount of material, as the bulk of Pahlavī literature is lost. Persian (or New Persian) and Arabic transcriptions of Indian names and words are later; and owing to the imperfections of the Perso-Arabic

script, especially in the early centuries of Islam when Arabic writing in the Kufic style was a very primitive and unsatisfactory system, these transcriptions are exceedingly puzzling and often valueless: e. g. in a work like Alberūnī's *Al-taḥqīq al-Hind.*

From the beginning of the Christian era onwards (it was perhaps earlier still) the enterprise of Buddhist missionaries, Brahman priests and ordinary Indian merchant-adventurers and settlers carried the Indian script beyond the frontiers of India, and reduced to writing for the first time a number of languages in Central Asia (Serindia), Indo-China and Indonesia (Insulindia). To mention these languages: there were Old Khotanese, Old Kuchean ('Tokharian'), and Tibetan in Central Asia ; Mon, Burmese, the lost Pyu language of Burma, Khmer, Cham and Siamese in Indo-China ; Old Malay of Sumatra (now no longer written in the Indian script), Sundanese, Madureses, Javanese and Balinese, besides a number of minor Malayan dialects in Indonesia including the Philippines. The Indian script was further transmitted from one non-Indian people to another, being sometimes itself modified in this transmission. The adaptation of the Indian script for these speeches was in some cases on the basis of Indian dialectal values of the letters ; and they are very valuable, especially the Central Asian alphabets of Indian provenance, for Indo-Aryan pronunciation of the early centuries after Christ. The spelling of Old Khotanese, for instance, as Leumann has shown, indicates the open or spirant pronunciation of the voiced stops *g d b* in the North-western tracts of India. This can be corroborated by other evidence,—and for a large tract of Aryan India too—in the early centuries of the Christian era. Intervocally, the sound of *g, d, b* were represented by the surds *k, t, p* ; and *kk, tt, pp* evidently were (at best in some cases) a graphic device for a single intervocal *k, t, p*. Moreover, *ś, ṣ, s* intervocally were pronounced as *ẓ́, ẓ, z*. The Kuchean system of writing, as also the Tibetan and the rest, are of very great interest, revealing the nature of the sounds of which the Sanskrit letters had become the symbols in the early Christian centuries, when these letters had also to be modified to represent foreign sounds. The treatment of Sanskrit loan-words in these speeches, which altered clipped and cut them according to their own phonetic habits, can equally be expected to throw helpful light on the matter. This of course is apart from

such meagre traditions of Sanskrit pronunciation as have survived in Indo-China and in Indonesia. Work in this line has been going on in Europe in some of these speeches, but the entire evidence is to be pooled for our purposes.

The materials obtained from the above internal and external sources are finally to be checked by the modern science of Linguistics in two of its branches-Phonetics, and Historical Phonology of Indo-Aryan and Indo-European. By applying the principles of General Phonetics to the information derived from the tradition and from old records and old evidence, certain definite conclusions can be arrived at ; e. g. about the pronunciation of the sonant liquids (*ṛ ḷ*), about the aspirates (including *h* and *ḥ*,) about the dentals, palatals and cerebrals, about *abhinidhāna*, about pitch and stress accent and other things. Comparison of Old Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit) with the other Indo-European languages outside India--Avestic and Old Persian, ' Tokharian ', Old Armenian, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Irish, Old Church Slavic, etc. and with its latest development in India through the Prakrits and the Apabhraṁśas and the modern vernaculars, also will be of a great suggestive value, as we can see at every step.

In the present paper only the problem and the nature of the materials for solving it have been discussed. The subject is capable of being taken up at greater length for a full investigation. It must however be admitted that as a problem the pronunciation of Sanskrit is not of much practical significance : any of the traditional styles, or the modern Indian standard that has now grown up, is quite sufficient for our daily requirements with Sanskrit whether as a cultural discipline or as a language of religious ritual. Yet the investigation will not be a futile one : for a great many interesting and important things in the history of a language are connected with its pronunciation ; in fact, as Patañjali himself has said, ' the sound is the word ' ((*dhvaniś śabdaḥ*) : and a student of language can never minimise the value of the study of the sounds of the language, which, in themselves and in their attributes, in their mutual relationship in the sentence and in their relationship to grammar, form its very body, as it were, at a given epoch in its history.

script, especially in the early centuries of Islam when Arabic writing in the Kufic style was a very primitive and unsatisfactory system, these transcriptions are exceedingly puzzling and often valueless: e. g. in a work like Alberūnī's *Al-tahqīq al-Hind.*

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VII : Kāvya and Alaṁkāra

BHĀMAHA'S VIEWS ON GUṆA — BY DR. S. K. DE, M. A., D. LIT., University of Dacca.

Of all early writers on Sanskrit Poetics Bhāmaha appears to be the most puzzling in the attitude he adopts towards the Guṇa-doctrine. The only passage in which he employs the term *guṇa* is that in which he defines (ed. Trivedī, iii, 52–53)[1] the *bhāvika* as :

bhāvikatvam iti prāhuḥ prabandha-viṣayaṃ guṇam ।
pratyakṣā iva dṛśyante yatrārthā bhūta-bhāvinaḥ ॥
citrōdāttōdbhutārthatvaṃ kathāyāḥ svabhinītatā ।
śabdānākulatā ceti tasya hetuṃ pracakṣate ॥

These verses come practically at the end of the chapter on the classification and definition of poetic figures (*kāvyālaṃkāras*), and *prima facie* the *bhāvika*, coming in this context, should be taken as such. Daṇḍin also follows (ed. Raṅgācārya, ii, 363–65)[2] the same procedure regarding the treatment of the *bhāvika*, repeats the first line of the above definition, amplifying it still further in his own way, and agrees with Bhāmaha in designating the *bhāvika* as a *prabandha-viṣaya guṇa*. Udbhaṭa follows Bhāmaha generally in this respect (ed. Banhatti, vi, 6 p. 79)[3] and defines it almost in the same way, but he appears to regard it more or less as a specific poetic figure and omits the qualification *kathāyāḥ svabhinītatā* as well as the designation *prabandha-viṣaya guṇa*. These definitions[4] are obviously meant to be wider than that of a simple poetic figure, in the course of which the *bhāvika* is dealt with by these writers. It is a characteristic which is said to belong to and pervade the whole composition (*prabandha-vyāpto guṇaḥ*, as Taruṇavācaspati puts it), and it does not (as a poetic figure would apparently do) restrict itself to a part of a composition, i. e., it is not *eka-deśika*, as Jayamaṅgala on *Bhaṭṭi*° xii, 1 explains it, It is thus difficult to regard

1. The reference is the same in the Kashi Sanskrit Series edition, but in the edition of Naganatha Sastry (with Eng. Trs., Tanjore 1927) it is iii, 53–54.
2. ii, 364-66 in both the Bombay Sanskrit Series edition and the edition of Premacandra Tarkavāgīśa (Calcutta, 1881).
3. p. 73 in Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition (Bombay 1915).
4. We are not concerned here with later definitions of the *bhāvika* as a definite poetic figure.

it, as the elements of the definitions themselves also shew, as a limited figure of speech; it should not only be *pada-gata* or *vākya-gata* but also, like *rasa* of later writers, *prabandha-gata*. In spite of a certain novelty or obscurity of the conception, it is clear that the theorists were reluctant or uneasy about treating it as an ordinary poetic figure and therefore defined it in somewhat wider terms at the conclusion of their treatment of such figures.[1] The theory appears also to be reflected in practice. If we are to accept the assurances of the commentators (Jayamaṅgala and Mallinātha), the whole of canto xii of the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* should be taken as an illustration of the *bhāvika* as a *prabandha-guṇa*. It is remarkable also that the *bhāvika* is not mentioned by Vāmana as a poetic figure; nor is it included by him in his elaborate scheme of *guṇas*. Daṇḍin also would not include it in the list of his ten *mārga-gata guṇas* or in their *viparyayas*.

The position is somewhat puzzling. The clue is furnished by the probable supposition that the *bhāvika*, like the *svabhāvokti*,[2] involves the implication of an aesthetic factor to which it must have been difficult to assign a place in a clear-cut scheme of *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras*. The *bhāvika* is defined by Bhāmaha generally as a vivid representation of past and future objects as if they are directly perceptible to the eye, the vividness of the representation depending on the conditions that the theme must have a picturesque, strange and exalted significance and therefore capable of being enacted well, and that the words employed must have a consistency. Daṇḍin's definition[3] is more circumstantial, but it is more illuminating. The

1. The word *prāhuḥ* in the definitions of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin may indicate that the view was probably traditional and was accepted implicitly without much discussion.
2. See my *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, p. 62, f. n.
3. *bhāvikatvam iti prāhuḥ prabandha-viṣayaṃ guṇam |*
bhāvaḥ kaver abhiprāyaḥ kāvyeṣvā-siddhi saṃsthitaḥ ||
parasparōpakāritvaṃ sarveṣāṃ vastu-parvaṇām |
viśeṣaṇānāṁ vyarthānām akriyā sthāna-varṇanā ||
vyaktir ukti-krama-balād gambhīrasyāpi vastunaḥ |
bhāvāyattam idaṃ sarvam iti tad bhāvikaṃ viduḥ ||

The variant reading in the second line is *kāvyeṣvasya vyavasthitiḥ* in the Madras edition for *kāvyeṣvā-siddhi saṃsthitaḥ*; in the first line, *tad bhāvikam iti prāhuḥ* (Cal. ed.) and *bhāvikaṃ tam iti prāhuḥ* (Madras ed.).

bhāvika is said to consist in the mutual favourableness of all the parts of descriptive matter, in the non-employment of redundant or useless qualifications, in describing things in their proper places, and in so arranging the expression that the intended depth of the theme comes out clearly. These are matters of detail, but the most important point in Daṇḍin's definition, which brings out the essential conception, is the statement that the *bhāvika* is so called because it is *bhāvāyatta*, and that the *bhāva* is the intention or rather the inward conception of the poet (*kaver abhiprāyaḥ*) which controls the details and resides in the poem as a whole, and not merely in its isolated parts. This *bhāva* should not be taken as the technical emotional element which Pratihārendurāja, commenting on Bhāmaha's phrase *svabhinītatā*, would apparently read into it by the interpretation *śṛṅgāra-saṃvalitatva*. [1] No such significance is supported by the recognised commentators (Taruṇavācaspati, *Hṛdayaṃgama*, and Premacandra) on Daṇḍin's text. The *bhāva* must be taken as an aesthetic fact, referring to the essential poetic conception of the poem itself (or Sustained Intuition, as Belvalkar puts it), so that the poem is viewed as a product of the poet's mind, and not merely as a more or less external unification of rhetorical categories. This is perhaps what Bharata, as quoted by Abhinavagupta (°*Locana*, p. 29) implies when he speaks of *kaver antargato bhāvaḥ*. The *bhāvika*, therefore, would imply a much wider conception than that underlying a mere *guṇa* or an *alaṃkāra* as such. It is the all-pervading characteristic of the poem as a whole, which controls its subject-matter as well as its expression, as a vivid externalisation of the poet's essential poetic idea. It emphasises that aspect of poetry in general, which is the expression of the poet's mind as an aesthetic fact, and which is the main problem of Western Aesthetic but is practically ignored elsewhere in Sanskrit Poetics. [2]

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1. It is probably in view of such misconceived interpretation that Bhoja, at a much later time, includes the *bhāvika* among his twenty-four *śabda-guṇas* (I, 75) as the conduct of a sentence according to its underlying emotion or sentiment (*bhāvato vākya-vṛttiḥ*, a definition which has been copied by Vidyānātha in his scheme of 24 *guṇas* modelled on that of Bhoja), although his *artha-guṇa bhāvika* is *sābhiprāyokti-vinyāsa* in a narrow sense (I, 86).
2. See *Sanskrit Poetics*, p. 63, f. n.

It is clear that the conception of *bhāvika* belongs properly to Aesthetic and not to Rhetoric; and the early Sanskrit theorisers, who were concerned more or less with external rhetorical categories, found it difficult to pack it within their somewhat limited idea of a *guṇa* or an *alaṃkāra*. They must have been vaguely conscious of the problem, but were unable to find a place for it in their definite scheme, which occupied itself primarily with the objective beauty of representation called forth by a definite adjustment of certain fixed modes of expression. In terms of this scheme they had to prescribe dogmatic details for the realisation of *bhāvika*, but they betray their uneasiness by the admission that the controlling factor is the poet's *bhāva*. They dubiously called it a *prabandha-guṇa* and discussed it at the end of their treatment of poetic figures, but neither the term *guṇa* nor the term *alaṃkāra* in their strict significance could very well comprehend it. It would seem, therefore, that the term *guna*, as applied to the *bhāvika*, can hardly be taken in its usual limited sense, and throws no light on the question of Bhāmaha's attitude towards the definite doctrine of Kāvya-guṇa. His actual employment of the word *guṇa* or *prabandha-guṇa* here is immaterial, for even Daṇḍin, who has a more definite conception of a *guṇa* as an excellence of poetry, uses the same word in the same connection, but apparently not in the usual technically defined sense of a *guna*.

Bhāmaha does not employ the term *guṇa* anywhere else in his work, nor does he directly refer to the idea or the dogmas on the subject. Our data, therefore, for ascertaining his exact views about the *guṇa*-doctrine are, unfortunately, uncertain and unsatisfactory. He does indeed mention and describe (rather than define) *mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda*, but he does not name them as *guṇas*, nor does he connect them in any way with *mārga* or *rīti* as Daṇḍin and Vāmana do. He simply states (ii, 1-3) that intelligent people (*sumedhasaḥ*), desirous of *mādhurya* and *prasāda*, do not employ compounded words in large number, while some (*kecit*), who would express *ojas*, compound many words together. A *madhura kāvya* is desired as something which is agreeable to the ear and whose sense is not compounded too much. A composition is desired as possessing *prasāda* where the meaning can be apprehended by all from the learned down to women and children. All this indicates that the

terms were current in his time and he accepted them as a matter of course; but he is careful in not giving it as his own opinion but as expressed by the practice or theory of others. From the description it appears further that, in the opinion of those who admit *mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda*, they are distinguished according to the presence or absence, in varying degrees, of compound words. These three, among others, are in fact considered as *guṇas* from Bharata's time; but the criterion indicated is not the criterion either of Bharata or of Dandin and the school of Vāmana, although they allow the consideration of compounding in the definition of some of the *guṇas* they mention. On the other hand, the view referred to by Bhāmaha is implied in the tradition which Rudrata's *rīti* and the Dhvanikāra's *saṅghaṭanā* follow in later times. The only plausible inference that can be made from this is that Bhāmaha was probably aware of some theories which approved of *mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda* in poetic composition (in what character it is not clear, but presumably as *guṇas* like the exponents of the *rīti*-theory) chiefly on the basis of the desirability of long compounds; but either he was indifferent to their literary value, or did not think it worth while to treat them as distinct or separate elements of poetic expression.

It is remarkable indeed that Bhāmaha does not think it necessary to connect, as the *rīti*-theorists have since done, the *guṇas* with *rīti*, which term itself (or the term *mārga* which Daṇḍin employs) is never used by him, and which conception, even if it was known to him, does not appear to have been seriously entertained. Nor, like Bharata, does he view the *mādhurya* etc. as independent *kāvya-guṇas*. Bhāmaha refers indeed in another context (i, 31–35) to Vaidarbha and Gauḍīya Kāvyas (and not expressly to *rītis* of those names familiarised by Daṇḍin and Vāmana), in which some theorists of his time have apparently discovered differences of manner and treatment; but from his remark it is clear that he himself would not pay much attention to the alleged differences. If Bhāmaha was aware of some theory of *rīti* or its classification, he did not apparently subscribe to it, nor did he think it necessary to attach as much importance to it in his treatment of Poetics as Daṇḍin did. This is an attitude which is intelligible in view of his

belonging to a different tradition of thought which emphasised the interest and importance of those embellishments of poetic speech which are known as *alaṃkāras*. As a corollary from this it follows that although Bhāmaha was aware of some characteristics of poetic expression, such as *mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda*, which were defined and related as constituent excellences of *rīti* by the *rīti*-theorists and regarded by them as essential elements of poetry, Bhāmaha could do nothing more than casually mention them in deference to such views, and summarily notice them in the way in which he has done. His treatment probably indicates that these characteristics, in his opinion, are not essential qualities of any particular mode of writing, but they should, if admitted at all, belong to all good Kāvyas generally. He would not, therefore, think it necessary to connect them with any specific *rīti*, but if others think them to be desirable excellences they may be recommended as particular forms of expression.

It is also worthy of note that Bhāmaha's brief description of *mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda* precedes in context to his elaborate treatment of specific figures of speech known as *alaṃkāras*. This fact may be taken to imply that probably he regarded these so-called *guṇas* as different from but really analogous to his *alaṃkāras* ; and, as he is not interested at all in any theoretic or practical distinction between *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras* as such (a distinction which is not yet as rigid in Daṇḍin as it is in Vāmana), Bhāmaha would not hesitate to take them in the wider acceptation of an *alaṃkāra* as that which embellishes, just in the same way as Daṇḍin does (ii, 1-3). But he cannot be concerned with Daṇḍin's distinction between *sādhāraṇa* (or *mārga-dvaya-gata*) and *viśeṣa* (or *eka-mārga-gata*) *alaṃkāra*, that is, between the exclusive and the general embellishment which Daṇḍin's theory of *mārga* appears to postulate; Bhāmaha would accept the so-called *guṇas* of other writers (among which *mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda* are named) in the general significance of *kāvya-śobhākara dharma* of Daṇḍin. If they were not *alaṃkāras* in the particular sense (e. g. as possessing *vakrokti*) in which he would take them, they could be regarded as analogous to his *alaṃkāras* and be recommended along with them.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF RĀJAŚEKHARA'S WORKS

—By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M. A., Head of the Sanskrit Department, Nagpur University.

In his wellknown essay entitled "*Rajaśekhara: His Life and Writings,*" written as far back as 1856, Prin. V. S. Apte chronologically arranged the then known works of Rājaśekhara as follows- 1 the *Karpūramañjarī*, 2 the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, 3 the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, and 4 the *Bālabhārata* otherwise called *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*. When Prin. Apte wrote, our knowledge of the age was very meagre. Some of the inscriptions of the Pratihāra and Kalacuri princes at whose court Rājaśekhara flourished were either not discovered or not correctly interpreted. Since then Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[1] has clearly shown that the Gurjara Pratihāra kings who patronised Rajaśekhara must be placed in the beginning of the 10th century. One other work of Rājāśekhara viz. the *Kāvyamīmāṅsā* has, again, been discovered and published in the Gaikwad's Oriental Series. Professors Sten Konow and Keith[3] who have written on the subject have in the main accepted the chronological order first proposed by Prin. Apte. They place, however, the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* before the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* and as the latter play was staged at the Kalacuri court in Tripuri (modern Tewar near Jubbulpur), they suppose that Rājaśekhara visited that court after the death of Mahendrapāla. But as the last drama *Bālabhārata* is left unfinished, they conjecture that the poet returned to the court of the Pratihāras in Kanauj and died there. On the other hand Mr. C. D. Dalal has remarked as follows in the preface to his edition of the *Kāvyāmīmāṅsā*[4] - ' Rājaśekhara began his literary career as a Bālakavi so called from his *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and *Bālabhārata*. These two dramas as well as the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* are his early productions. The *Karpūramañjarī* and the *Kāvyamīmāṅsā* are his later productions as by this time he had achieved fame

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1. ' Gurjaras ' p. 10 *J. B. B. R.A. S.*, Vol. XX.
2. *Das Indische Drama*, p. 84 foll.
3. *The Sanskrit Drama*, p. 232.
4. *The Kāvyamīmāṅsā*, first edition, p. XVI.

as a Kavirāja.' As there is such a difference of opinion among scholars on the question, it is necessary to examine it in the light of the historical and literary data that are now available.

Before proceeding to examine the arguments advanced by different scholars in favour of the priority or posteriority of a particular work it is necessary to state my own view on this question. I would place the works of Rājaśekhara chronologically as follows: — 1 the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, 2 the *Bālabhārata*, 3 the *Karpūramañjarī*, 4 the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* and 5 the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*. As his other works e. g. the *Haravilāsa* and the *Bhuvanakoṣa* are known only from quotations, it is not possible to assign a definite chronological position to them.

The *Bālarāmāyaṇa* — In the prologue to this play Rājaśekhara speaks of his six *prabandhas*[1]. Unless the verse was interpolated later on, which is unlikely, we must suppose that these were his juvenile productions which have been irrecoverably lost. As we shall see later, Rājaśekhara seems to have gone to Kanauj very early in his life. The six *prabandhas* which must have been composed in his boyhood seem to have given him the title of a Bālakavi.[2] This title he has prefixed to his two plays the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and the *Bālabhārata*. Of the two the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* is the earlier as it was staged at the court of Mahendrapāla while the *Bālabhārata* was performed before his son Mahīpāla. The lengthy prologue of the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* in which the poet gives more information about himself than anywhere else, its apologetic tone, the inordinate length of the play, the crude devices such as the introduction of dolls with parrots in their mouths, the anachronisms in the scene of *sītāsvayaṁvara*: all these indicate that it was the first play of our poet.

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1 ब्रूते यः कोऽपि दोषं महदिति सुमतिर्बालरामायणेऽस्मिन्
प्रष्टव्योऽसौ पटीयानिह भणितिगुणो विद्यते वा न वेति ।
यद्यस्ति स्वस्ति तुभ्यं भव पठनरुचिर्विद्धि नः षट् प्रबन्धा-
नेवं चेद्दीर्घमास्तां नटवटुवदने जर्जरा काव्यकन्था ॥ 1, 6,—Benares Ed. p. 8

बालकई कइराओ णिब्भरराअस्स तह उवज्झाओ ।
इअ जस्स पएहिं परम्पराइ माहप्पमारूढं ॥ –*Karpūramañjarī* H. O. S. I. 9

The *Bālabhārata* — This seems to be his next production. As said above it was staged before Mahīpāla to whom it seems to refer in its other title *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*. No satisfactory explanation of the alternative title has yet been given. C. Cappeller, who has edited it, has suggested that the play was so called because it culminated in the rage of the Pāṇḍavas.[1] This is hardly convincing. The real reason seems to be that the author wanted to associate his patron's name with his play as Kālidāsa has done in his *Vikramorvaśīyam*. This will be quite evident from the fact that another court poet of Mahīpāla viz Kṣemīśvara has also named his drama *Caṇḍakauśika* with the same object in view. The early Pratihāra kings of Kanauj are known to have assumed several alternative names. Bhoja I, the grandfather of Mahīpāla, was also known as Mihira, Prabhāsa and Ādivarāha. His son Mahendrapāla was also called Mahendrāyudha, Nirbhayarāja and Bhāka. Similarly his son Mahīpāla is known to historians by his alternative names Kṣitipāla, Vināyakapāla, Herambapāla and Harṣa.[2] The drama Caṇḍakauśika of Kṣemīśvara shows that he was also known as Kārtikeya.[3] It may, at first sight, seem strange that one and the same king should bear such three names denoting different deities as Harṣa, Vināyakapāla and Kārtikeya, but the evidence of inscriptions and the above drama of Kṣemīśvara leave no doubt on the point. Now Caṇḍa is but a synonym of Kārtikeya.[4] So we might suppose that Mahīpāla bore also the name Caṇḍapāla. It was, therefore, evidently to please their royal patron that both Kṣemīśvara and Rājaśekhara have not only incor-

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1. C. Cappeller — *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*, Vorwort ix.
2. Cf V. A. Smith — The Gurjaras of Rājaputana and Kanauj, *J. R. A. S.* for 1909 p. 52 foll. See the Haddālā Copperplate *Ind. Ant.* XII, 190 & XVII, 90 and the Bengal Asiatic society Copperplate *Ind. Ant.* XV, p. 138.
3. Cf. आदिष्टोऽस्मि दुष्टामात्यबुद्धिवागुराऽलङ्घ्यसिंहरंहसा भ्रूभङ्गलीलामात्रकृताशेष-कण्टकेन समरसागरान्तर्भ्रमद्भुजदण्डमन्दराकृष्टलक्ष्मीस्वयंवरप्रणयिना श्रीमहीपालदेवेन &c. in the प्रस्तावना। Also cf. the भरतवाक्य – प्रमुदितसुजना समृद्धशस्या भवतु मही विजयी च भूमिपालः । कविभिरुपहिता निजप्रबन्धे गुणकणिका ऽनुगृह्यतां गुणज्ञैः ॥ अपि च । येनादिश्य प्रयोगं घनपुलकभृता नाटकस्यास्य हर्षाद् वस्त्रालंकारहेम्नां प्रतिदिनमकृशा राशयः संप्रदत्ताः । तस्य क्षत्रप्रसूतेर्भ्रमतु जगदिदं कार्तिकेयस्य कीर्तिः पारे क्षीराख्यसिन्धोरपि कवियशसा सार्धमग्रेसरेण ॥
4. Caṇḍa is included among the names of Kārtikeya in the *Mahābhārata*. Cf. Vanaparvan, Adhyāya 232 Śl. 4.

porated his name in the titles of their works, but have also used the words *caṇḍa* and *pracaṇḍa* several times in their plays [1] just as Kālidāsa has used Vikrama in his *Vikramorvaśīyam*. [2] All the extant Mss. of the *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* have only two acts and it is, therefore, taken to be the last work of our author whose life was cut short before he could finish it. But as against this we might note that one of the Mss. ends expressly with the remark समाप्तमिदं प्रचण्डपाण्डवाभिधं नाटकम्.[3] As we shall see later the *Karpūramañjarī* and the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* were written after the *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*. Again, one of its *Maṅgala-ślokas* is cited in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*.[4] Our author, therefore, either did not complete the work for some reason, or if he did it, its later part has been lost.

The *Karpūramañjarī*—This is generally taken to be the first work of our author 'since it was produced at the request of his wife and not a king'.[5] This argument does not, however, seem to be sound. In this play Rājaśekhara speaks of himself as a teacher of Nirbhayarāja (i. e. Mahendrapāla). [6] So he was already connected with the court of Kanauj, and there does not seem to be any reason why the play could not have been performed at the instance of his royal patron. The poet had, however, already incorporated his own as well as his patron's name in the titles of his two previous works. This time he wanted to associate with his drama the name of his wife who seems to have been an accomplished lady from her opinions cited in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*. [7] Sten Konow takes Caṇḍapāla the hero of this Prākrit drama to refer to Mahendrapāla ; for both Caṇḍa and Mahendra, he says, mean Śiva.[8] We have seen, however,

1. Cf. चण्डकौशिक II— तपति तपनस्तीक्ष्णं चण्डः स्फुरन्निव कौशिको etc.; III, अरे प्रणम इमां तुङ्गतरुकुहरवासिनीं चण्डकात्यायनीम् etc.; The words चण्ड and प्रचण्ड occur nine times in the first two acts of the प्रचण्डपाण्डव.
2. Cf. दिष्ट्या ... .. विक्रममहिम्ना वर्धते भव न् । Act. I-64; अनुत्सेकः खलु विक्रमालंकारः । Act, I, 68 (B. S. S.)
3. Cf. C. Cappeller *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* Vorwort VIII.
4. ये सीमन्तित° of the प्रचण्डपाण्डव is quoted in the काव्यमीमांसा p. 71.
5. So Keith — *Sanskrit Drama* p. 232. Also Sten Konow–*Das Indischen Drama* p. 85. Contrast Winternitz — *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur* Vol. III, p. 240.
6. Cf. कर्पूर॰ Act. I, 10. बालकई कइराओ णिब्भरराअस्स तह उवज्झाओ । etc.
7. See काव्यमीमांसा pp. 20, 46 and 47.
8. *Das Indische Drama* p. 85.

that Caṇḍapāla was another name of Mahīpala. I place this play after the Bālabhārata; for it commemorates the marriage of Mahīpāla with the daughter of a Kuntala King.[1] As I have shown elsewhere [2] the Kuntala king who is called Vallabharāja in this play must refer to a contemporary Rāṣtrakūta king. To understand the full significance of this marriage alliance we must briefly review a few historical events. In the beginning of the 10th century the Pratihāras of Kanauj were contending for supremacy with the Raṣtrakūtas of Malkhed. In 916 A. D. Indra III conquered and devastated Kanauj.[3] Mahīpāla, who fled from his capital, had to seek the aid of a Candella king who must have been either Harṣa or his son Yaśovarman. The feeling of revenge which must have been rankling in the mind of Mahīpāla is reflected in the drama *Caṇḍakauśika* of his court poet Kṣemīśvara. In the prologue to his play the stage manager quotes a saying of persons versed in traditional lore: 'Candragupta, who with the help of the naturally subtle policy of the revered Cāṇakya defeated the Nandaocs annqueredd Kusumanagara, has now been born as the illustrious Mahīpāladeva rich in the pride of his arms to exterminate them (i. e. the Nandas) who have been born on the earth as Karṇātas.'[4] The Karṇāṭas spoken of in this passage evidently mean the Rāṣṭrakūtas who had their capital at Malkhed in a Canarese district of the Nizam's State. With the aid of the Candellas Mahīpāla seems to have made some conquests and again established his power to the north of the Narbadā. In his *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* Rājaśekhara calls him king of Āryāvarta (North India).[5] He is

1. Cf. चण्डवालधरणीहरिणङ्को चक्कवट्टिपअलाहाणिमित्तं । एत्थ सट्टअवरे रससोत्ते कुन्तला-हिवसुअं परिणेइ ॥ कर्पूर० I. 12.

2. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XI p. 367.

3. Cf. येनेदं हि महोदयारिनगरं निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं नाम्नाद्यापि जनैः कुशस्थलमिति ख्यातिं परां नीयते । said of Indra III, in the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 26.

4. चण्डकौशिक –प्रस्तावना––

यः संश्रित्य प्रकृतिगहनामार्यचाणक्यनीतिं
जित्वा नन्दान् कुसुमनगरं चन्द्रगुप्तो जिगाय ।
कर्णाटत्वं भुवमुपगतानद्य तानेव हन्तुं
दोर्दर्पाढ्यः स पुनरभवच्छ्रीमहीपालदेवः ॥

5. तेन च रघुवंशमुक्तामणिना **आर्यावर्तमहाराजाधिराजेन** श्रीनिर्भयनरेन्द्रनन्दनेनाधिकृताः सभासदः &c. प्रचण्डपाण्डवम्–प्रस्तावना ।

also described there as an axe to the Kuntalas.[1] Soon after the above memorable Northern conquest Indra III died and was succeeded by his son Govinda IV who was a weak and lascivious king. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, therefore, ceased to be a menace to the Pratihāra power. It was evidently in the reign of Govinda IV that the marriage alliance commemorated in the Karpūramañjarī took place. It is significant that this Prākrit play contains no such vehement attack on the Karṇāṭās or Kuntalas as is seen in the *Caṇḍakauśika* and the *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* On the other hand the Kuntala king is described as one who has endeared himself to all people.[2] I, therefore, place the *Karpūramañjarī* after the *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*.

The *Viddhaśālabhañjika* — Just about this time the Kalacuris of Tripurī came to the forefront. Yuvarājadeva I who was a grandson of Kokkalla, a contemporary of Mahīpāla's grandfather Bhoja, was an able and ambitious king. He made extensive conquests in all parts of India and must have also dealt a blow to the declining power of the Pratihāra dynasty in the last years of Mahīpāla's reign. Rājaśekhara seems to have come back to Tripurī, the home of his ancestors Akālajalada and others, in the train of the victorious conqueror. Here he composed the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* in about 935 A. D. to commemorate Yuvarājadeva's victory over a confederacy of southern kings headed by the Kuntala king Baddiga—Amoghavarṣa or his son Kṛṣṇa III in the battle of the Payoṣṇī (Painganga in Berar.)[3]

The *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* -- Rājaśekhara seems to have continued to live at Tripurī till his death. The *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* which contains quotations from his Sanskrit dramas was undoubtedly his last work.

We need not suppose that it was composed at Kanauj because in one place it says that directions should be measured from Mahodaya

1. Cf. अजनि जितकुलूतः कुन्तलानां कुठारा हटहृतरमठश्रीः श्रीमहीपालदेवः ॥ प्रचण्डपाण्डवम् प्रस्तावना ।
2. Cf. अत्थि एत्थ दक्खिणावधे कुन्तलेसुं सअलजणवल्लहो वल्लहराओ णाम राआ ।
3. V. V. Mirashi — 'Yuvarājadeva I of Tripurī' *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XI, p. 370.

(Kanauj).[1] Since the days of Harṣa Kanauja had become famous as the Imperial Capital of India and Rajaśekhara had evidently a high regard for it as he had for Mahendrapala, whom he mentions as his pupil even in the prologue to his *Viddhaśalabhanjika* which was staged in Tripurī.

Professors Sten Konow and Keith who consider the *Pracaṇḍa-paṇḍava* to be the last work of Rājaśekhara, suppose that he returned to Kanauj after staying for a time at the Cedi court. But this does not seem to accord with the known dates of Rājaśekhara's two royal patrons Mahīpāla of Kanauj and Yuvarājadeva I of Tripurī. From the Haddālā and Asiatic Society of Bengal Copperplates we know that Mahīpāla was ruling in 914 and 931 A. D. While the Siyadoni inscription[2] tells us that his successor Devapala was on the throne in 948 A. D. V. A. Smith, therefore, places the regin of Mahipala approximately between 910 and 940 A.D. The power of the Pratihara dynasty seems to be declining towards the close of Mahipala's reign. On the other hand as I have shown elsewhere[3] from references in the *Viddhaśālabhañjika* Yuvarajadeva was at the height of his power in about 935 A. D. There does not, therefore, seem to be any reason why Rājaśekhara should leave the prosperous Cedi court for the declining patronage of Kanauj. His *Haravijaya* was probably composed at Tripurī under the patronage of the Kalacuri kings who were great devotees of Śiva, just as his *Balaramayaṇa* was composed at Kanauj at the court of the Suryavaṁśi Pratihara king Mahendrapāla.

Rājaśekhara's works were studied and his style imitated at Tripurī.[4] He seems to have lived to a good old age; for a court poet of Yuvārajadeva II, a grandson of Yuvarajadeva I, and a con-

1. 'तत्रापि महोदयं मूलमवधीकृत्य' इति यायावरीयः । काव्यमीमांसा p. 94.
2. *Ep. Ind.* vol. I, 170.
3. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XI, p. 370.
4. See especially the Bilhari Stone Inscription *Ep. Ind.* Vol I p. 265. The verse यः सत्यस्य निधिः etc. in the प्रचण्डपाण्डव I, 62 occurs *verbatim* in the Benares Copperplate Inscription of Karṇa dated 1042 A. D.

temporary of Vākpati Muñja (whose records are dated 974, 979 & 993 A. D.), says in the Bilharī Stone Inscription that his composition had evoked praise from the wonderstruck poet Rāja-śekhara.[1] If we suppose that Rājaśekhara who was first called Bālakavi on account of his precocious poetic talent was fifteen years of age when he went to the court of his first patron Mahendrapāla in about 900 A. D., he must have been nearly ninety years old at the time of the Bilhārī Inscription. Such a long life is also warrant-ed by his prolific literary activity.

1. सुश्लिष्टबन्धघटना विस्मितकविराजशेखरस्तुत्या । आस्तामियमाकल्पं कृतिश्च कीर्तिश्च पूर्वा च ॥ *Ep. Ind.* vol. I p. 251 ff. I have discussed the meaning of this verse in my article entitled "Notes on the Bilhārī Inscription of the Rulers of Cedi" Mahākosala Historical Society's Papers, vol. I pp. 17-18

DVYARTHĪ AND TRYARTHĪ KAVYAS IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

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" अच्छिन्नमेखलमलब्धदृढोपगूढ-
मप्राप्तचुम्बनमवीक्षितवक्त्रकान्ति ।
कान्ताविमिश्रवपुषः कृतविप्रलम्भ-
संभोगसख्यमिव पातु वपुः पुरारेः ॥ " [छित्तपस्य]

This gem which aptly adorns the top place of the *Sṛngāraprakāśa* of Bhojadeva, that royal bard, grammarian, critic and 'Ālaṁkārika' of blessed memory, is worthy of adorning the same place in the present instance.

In the esteemed opinion of Prof. K. P. Jayaswal,[1] "it is a salutation to the Hindu deification of the ideal and married life and wedded love — the God-with-better-half. The *Ardhanārīśvara* figure of Purāri (Śiva), *Vipralambha* and unity, is painted : not even looking at each other, so close, yet so distant, an apparent and assumed aloofness, but really eternal unity and complete identity, without caresses, without embraces, separated and joint ! — the god of gods, the paragon of husbands, with the holy wife, the goddess of devotion, wife first and goddess afterwards, both in one form in an artificial misunderstanding of love — too delicate to translate."

The probable Origin of Dvyarthī and Tryarthī Kāvyas

A '*Dvyarthī kāvya*' is a poem in which two stories are described simultaneously ; and likewise a '*Tryarthī kāvya*' is one in which three stories are described at one and the same time. Such poems are written by means of 'vakrokti' (equivocation or a turn of expression peculiar to poetry) and 'Śleṣa' (double entendre or paronomasia) which is comprehended by the former. The *ardhanārīśvara*-form of Śiva and Pārvatī might have given hints of 'Śleṣa' to the peculiar oriental genius. Bhoja has been anticipated centuries

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1. 'The Modern Review' for June 1928, P. 723,

earlier by Kālidāsa, who salutes thus this inseparable half-man and half-woman form of God :

" वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ "

[*Raghu*, I. 1.]

Even so Kavirāja rightly compares his poem to the eternal and inseparable 'Ardhanārīśvara' form of God thus :

" रम्या रामायणी यैषा भारती सैव भारती ।
अर्धनारीश्वरमयी मूर्तिरेकत्र शोभताम् ॥ "

[*Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya*, I. 42]

Similarly, the three-fold [Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara] form of Savitṛ might have suggested the *tryarthī kāvya*. Within the limited space at our disposal, we cannot give out here an account of *Vakrokti* and *Śleṣa*. [1]

The earliest reference to *Śleṣa* in Alaṁkāra Literature is perhaps that found in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* where it has been described as a 'prabandha guṇa'. '*Śleṣa*' is here a coalescence of words, connected with one another through the aggregate meaning described by the poet, and consisting of a subtlety which is in appearance clear, but in reality difficult to comprehend. [2]

In earlier poets, we find love of 'Śleṣa' very rarely [e. g., Kālidāsa : K. S. VIII. 22 ; Raghu. XI. 20]. In Bhāravi and Māgha this love of playing with language is obvious. In Subandhu and Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, this 'Śleṣa' obsession is seen perhaps at its height, and its ultimate result reached the zenith in the *Bahulārtha-prabandhas* with which we have to deal here.

Prof. A. B. Keith opines : The " double entendres are beloved in India, and Bhāravi has a fair number ; but it is impossible, while admitting their cleverness, to cultivate a real taste for such tricks.

1. The curious student is, however, referred to P. V Kane's '*History of Alaṁkāra Literature*,' Dr. S. K. De's 'Sanskrit Poetics' vol. II, and to our paper '*Sanskrit Rāghavapāṇḍavīya Vimarśamu*' (*Journal of the Telugu Academy*' – vol. XVII. Nos. 2 and 3.

2. S. K. De ; '*Sanskrit Poetics*', vol. II. p. 15

Moreover, they have a fatal effect on language; if a double sense is to be expressed, it is impossible for the best of poets to avoid straining meanings, constructions, and word-order. The effort leads to constant ransacking of the poetical [1] lexicons extant and turns the pursuit of poetry into an intellectual exercise of no high value to the utter ruin of emotion and thought." [2]

The period in which these poems were written was 'an age of artificial poetry, in which the use of alliterations, fanciful words, strange conceits, ingenious turns of expression, the various बन्धs such as सर्वतोभद्र, महाचक्र, गोमूत्रिका etc., was indulged in by the poets. Really that was a period of deterioration — or development on artificial lines — in the style of poetry'.[3]

The 'Śleṣa' mania was so prevalent among poets that apart from the 'nānārtha' or 'anekārtha' lexicons and the 'nānārtha' sections of the metrical lexicons like the *Amarakośa*, special lexicons[4] were written containing such words as will be helpful in writing *Bahulārthaka-kāvyas*. The third chapter (entitled 'śleṣa siddhi') of the *Kāvyakalpalatāvṛtti*, a 'Kaviśikṣā'-work by Arisiṁha and Amaracandra, gives, apart from other things, a list of 'Śleṣopayogi'-words. [5]

The tour de force and the means of performing it

The gigantic task of composing a 'dvyarthī' poem has thus been alluded to by Kavirāja.

"पदमेकमपि श्लिष्टं वक्तुं भूयान् परिश्रमः
कथाद्वयैक्यं निर्वोढुं किं भरापतितोऽधिकः"

[R. P. I. 42]

Haradattasūri too says thus in his own commentary to his poem '*Rāghava Naiṣadhīya*':

1. Does Dr. Keith mean 'metrical lexicons'?
2. Dr. A. B. Keith: '*History of Sanskrit Literature*' p. 137, (1928).
3. M. R. Kale: Introduction to his Ed. of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* (I-III cantos).
4. Śrī Harṣa: *Śleṣārthapadasaṁgraha* (Burnell : *Tanjore Catalogue*, pp. 48ff. as quoted by Prof. A. B. Keith in his recent 'H.S.L.' p. 412 (1928), *Daśadīpakanighaṇṭu* of Śrī Vedānta Deśika [Arśa press, Vizagapatam, 1894].
5. S. K. De : '*Sanskrit Poetics*' vol. II. p. 365.

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Similarly, the three-fold [Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara] form of Savitṛ might have suggested the *tryarthī kāvya*. Within the limited space at our disposal, we cannot give out here an account of *Vakrokti* and *Śleṣa*. [1]

The earliest reference to *Śleṣa* in Alaṁkāra Literature is perhaps that found in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* where it has been described as a ' prabandha guṇa '. ' *Śleṣa* ' is here a coalescence of words, connected with one another through the aggregate meaning described by the poet, and consisting of a subtlety which is in appearance clear, but in reality difficult to comprehend. [2]

In earlier poets, we find love of ' Śleṣa ' very rarely [e. g., Kālidāsa : K. S. VIII. 22 ; Raghu. XI. 20]. In Bhāravi and Māgha this love of playing with language is obvious. In Subandhu and Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, this ' Śleṣa ' obsession is seen perhaps at its height, and its ultimate result reached the zenith in the *Bahulārtha-prabandhas* with which we have to deal here.

Prof. A. B. Keith opines : The " double entendres are beloved in India, and Bhāravi has a fair number ; but it is impossible, while admitting their cleverness, to cultivate a real taste for such tricks.

1. The curious student is, however, referred to P. V Kane's '*History of Alaṁkāra Literature*,' Dr. S. K. De's ' Sanskrit Poetics' vol. II, and to our paper ' *Sanskrit Rāghavapāṇḍavīya Vimarśamu* ' (*Journal of the Telugu Academy* ' - vol. XVII. Nos. 2 and 3.

2. S. K. De ; ' *Sanskrit Poetics*', vol. II, p. 15

Moreover, they have a fatal effect on language ; if a double sense is to be expressed, it is impossible for the best of poets to avoid straining meanings, constructions, and word-order. The effort leads to constant ransacking of the poetical [1] lexicons extant and turns the pursuit of poetry into an intellectual exercise of no high value to the utter ruin of emotion and thought. " [2]

The period in which these poems were written was 'an age of artificial poetry, in which the use of alliterations, fanciful words, strange conceits, ingenious turns of expression, the various बन्धs such as सर्वतोभद्र, महाचक्र, गोमूत्रिका etc., was indulged in by the poets. Really that was a period of deterioration — or development on artificial lines — in the style of poetry '.[3]

The 'Śleṣa' mania was so prevalent among poets that apart from the 'nānārtha' or 'anekārtha' lexicons and the 'nānārtha' sections of the metrical lexicons like the *Amarakośa*, special lexicons[4] were written containing such words as will be helpful in writing *Bahularthaka-kāvyas*. The third chapter (entitled 'śleṣa siddhi') of the *Kāvyakalpalatāvṛtti*, a 'Kaviśikṣā'-work by Arisiṁha and Amaracandra, gives, apart from other things, a list of 'Śleṣopayogi'-words. [5]

The tour de force and the means of performing it

The gigantic task of composing a 'dvyarthī' poem has thus been alluded to by Kavirāja.

" पदमेकमपि श्लिष्टं वक्तुं भूयान् परिश्रमः
कथाद्वयैक्यं निर्वोढुं किं भरापतितोऽधिकः "

[R. P. I. 42]

Haradattasūri too says thus in his own commentary to his poem '*Rāghava Naiṣadhīya*' :

1. Does Dr. Keith mean 'metrical lexicons' ?
2. Dr. A. B. Keith: '*History of Sanskrit Literature*' p, 127, (1928).
3. M. R. Kale : Introduction to his Ed. of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* (I-III cantos).
4. Śrī Harṣa: *Śleṣārthapadasaṁgraha* (Burnell : *Tanjore Catalogue*, pp. 48ff. as quoted by Prof. A. B. Keith in his recent 'H.S.L.' p. 412 (1928), *Daśadīpakaniɡhaṇṭu* of Śrī Vedānta Deśika [Ārśa press, Vizagapatam. 1894].
5. S. K. De : '*Sanskrit Poetics*' vol. II. p. 365.

" संस्कृतभाषारूपोऽर्थान्तरश्लेषसंघटितो दुर्घटः कव्यन्तरैः स्वप्नेऽपि व्यधायि प्रबन्धोऽयम्"
[Commentary on 1. 7 śl.]

Prof. Macdonell opines thus about a '*dvyarthī*' poem: "A *tour de force* of this kind is doubtless unique in the literatures of the world." [1]

Kavirāja speaks thus about the method of procedure he would resort to in writing his *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya*

" प्रायः प्रकरणैक्येन विशेषणविशेष्ययोः ।
परिवृत्त्या क्वचित्तद्वदुपमानोपमेययोः ॥
क्वचित्पदैश्च नानार्थैः क्वचिद्वक्रोक्तिभङ्गिभिः ।
विधास्यते मया काव्यं श्रीरामायणभारतम् ॥"
[I. 37-38 śl]

Dr. Keith gives out the means by which a *Bahularthī-Kāvya* is produced: "The feat (i. e. the composition of a *Bahularthī* poem), which at first sight appears incredible, is explained without special difficulty by the nature of Sanskrit. Treating each line of verse as a unit, it is possible to break it up very variously into words by grouping together the syllables. Then the meaning of compounds is often vitally affected by the mode in which the relations between the words composing them are conceived, even when the words are understood in the same sense and the compound is analysed into the same terms. Further, and this is of special importance, the Sanskrit lexica allow to words a very large variety of meanings and they supply a considerable number of very strange words which have a remarkable appearance of being more or less manufactured, in the sense that the meaning or form ascribed may have been derived from some mere misunderstanding or in some cases from a mere misreading." [2]

Sir William Jones, the eminent western orientalist once remarked: "The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure, more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either."

1. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 331.
2. Dr. A. B. Keith '*History of Sanskrit Literature*' pp. 137-8 (1928).

The wonderful and wax-like flexibility of the Sanskrit language makes possible any kind of literary composition. These linguistic capabilities of Sanskrit are its special monopoly. Indian languages, in which Sanskrit takes a lion's share, also share these advantages with Sanskrit.

The difference between a 'Śleṣa'-kāvya and a 'dvyarthī'-kāvya

The difference between a *'śleṣa'-kāvya* and a *dvyarthī-kāvya* must not be lost sight of. Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* and Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* are *śleṣa kāvyas* for they are replete with the various kinds of *śleṣa*, but do not tell us two stories in the same breath as, for instance, Kavirāja's poem does. Subandhu and Bāṇa are *śleṣa* Kavis but not *dvyarthī* Kavis, ; while Kavirāja may be called both a *śleṣa* Kavi and a *dvyarthī* Kavi. From the *Viśvaguṇādarśa*, *Lakṣmīsahasra* etc. their author Venkaṭādhvarin can be called only a śleṣa Kavi, but from his *Yādavarāghavīya*, he is also called a *dvyarthī* Kavi. [Cf. The Telugu *Vasucaritra*, (a *Śleṣa* kāvya) by Rāmarājabhūṣana, and the *Hariścandranalopākhyāna*, by the same poet, which is a *dvyarthī* poem.]

Even though Subandhu's boast 'that he is a store-house of cleverness in the composition of works in which there is a pun in every syllable

प्रत्यक्षरश्लेषमयप्रपञ्च-
विन्यासवैदग्ध्यनिधिं प्रबन्धं ''

is not an idle one, as can be attested from his work. His *Vāsavadattā* is simply a *śleṣa* kāvya but not a *dvyarthī* kāvya. The simultaneous treatment of two themes makes a *dvyarthī* kāvya what it is. Thus the absence of this fundamental requisite of a *dvyarthi* kāvya, in the works of Subandhu and Bāṇa, makes their works merely *Śleṣa* Kāvyas. A *dvyarthī* Kāvya is also termed a *Vyasta* Kāvya in view of the fact that it is divided (व्यस्त) between two themes which are treated simultaneously. Thus says Daivajñasūrya Sūri in one of the concluding ślokas of his *Rāmakṛṣṇaviloma Kāvya* –

" समाक्षरांघ्रिर्विषमाक्षरार्धं
द्वेधा भवेद्व्यस्तकवित्वसीमा "

[P. 20, 7 śl.]

The growth and consequent complexity of Bahulārthaka Kāvyas

The love of 'śleṣa,' we have seen, led in course of time to the composition of *Bahulārtha* poems. Bāṇa points out 'that the poets of particular countries exhibit only a few poetic excellences in their works, but not all.' Among the northern poets, for instance, a literary composition exhibits 'śleṣa' most ['श्लेषप्रायमुदीच्येषु *Harṣacaritam*, I, Introductory śloka 7].

A few poets who knew the mental exertion they were subject to, when composing a *Bahulārtha* poem, added a commentary of their own, with a view to enlighten the burden of the readers in grasping what the poet really meant (कविहृदय) [e. g. Haradatta-sūri's commentary on his own *Rāghava-Naiṣadhīya*]. As time went on, this love for *Bahulārtha* poetry made that poetry more and more complex. In the *Dvisaṁdhāna* of Dhanañjaya, we find *tryarthaka* ślokas,[1] *caturarthaka* ślokas,[2] and *pañcārthaka*[3] ślokas, or verses having three, four and five interpretations respectively. Thus was paved the way for the *tryarthī*, *caturarthī* and *pañcārthī* poems. The very first śloka of Cidambarasumati's *Rāghava-Pāṇḍava-Yādavīya* has as many as ten interpretations :

" वाग्देवी रचयतु सवदान्तरङ्ग
गाङ्गेयः सरसनयोदयां दधानः
सत्यासो बुधकुलमौलिबन्धुरोजः
श्रीरामः स्तुतगुरुमाननाब्जहंसः "

The commentator who is no other than the poet's own father remarks at the end of the commentary to this śloka :

" चतुर्मुखश्रीपतिचन्द्रशेखरा-
षडाननो दाशरथिर्हलायुधः
भृग्वात्मजः श्रीतनुजाऽजजाह्नवी-
सुता दृशैते क्रमशोऽत्र वर्णिताः "

Thus we see that Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Kumāra, Śrī Rāma, Bala Rāma, Paraśu Rāma, Manmatha, King Aja, Bhīṣma are described in the same verse.

1. XVI. 13
2. XVI. 15
3. XVI. 16

This complexity is not limited to the *Śravya Kāvyas* alone; the *dṛśya kāvya* too seems to have been vitiated by this *dvyartha* obsession. ' A modern Sanskrit drama constructed on a similar principle ' has been alluded to in Scherman's *Orientalische Bibliographie* [vol. IX. 1896 ; p. 258 ; No. 4605]. [1]

From the ' *Bahulārthaka* Kāvyas known to us, this mania seems to have stopped with the *pañcārthī kāvya*. Though the application of the ' dvyartha ' principle to a *Dṛśya kāvya* (or a work which is to be represented on the stage) is really deplorable, we can at least appreciate it for the poet's fancy which knows no end. It would perhaps be proper to call this work a *Śravya-dṛśyakāvya* (or a dramatic poem).

Bahulārthaka kāvyas—A general estimate

The Sanskrit grammarians are proverbial for their straining after brevity. They delight as much in the saving or economy of even a short vowel (मात्रालाघव) as in the birth of a son (पुत्रलाभः). It cannot perhaps be rightly opined that such a love of brevity (the soul of wit) of expression was the motive for the production of the *Bahulārthaka* poems; for such a work taxes the ingenuity of its creator as also of the dilettante who wishes to appreciate it. We have seen, in the early pages the effects of such a work on language and poetry in general. Dr. Macdonell says about such a work:- ' A *tour de force* of this kind is doubtless unique in the literatures of the world, ' while Prof. Keith calls it ' a triumph of misplaced ingenuity.' [2] Regarding Kavirāja and his poem, the latter scholar opines in his earlier work. [3] " It is fair to say that considering the appalling nature of the task undertaken (composing a *dvyarthī* poem), [4] the poet whose name is lost to the obloquy he merits, shows very considerable skill, and might have produced a meritorious work, had he devoted his efforts to a more legitimate end. "

1. Prof. A. A. Macdonell : ' H. S. L.' p. 447 *Bibliographical Notes*, (1913)
2. Keith : *History of Sanskrit Literature* p. 137.
3. Keith ; *Classical Sanskrit Literature* p. 56 (Heritage of India Series, 1923).
4. The *italics* are ours.

Such works are 'to be admired rather than imitated. It might perhaps be true that in those ages of artificial poetry, he who thinks himself capable of astonishing the intellect might have written such a work, but he that hopes of appealing to the heart must resort to a more legitimate end. But these *Bahulārthī* poems may be supported on the ground of the difference of taste [भिन्नरुचित्व] of the world.

Now let us turn our attention to the second part of our paper, dealing with an account of the various *Bahulārthaka* poems and their authors. As the date of most of the following 'Kāvyas' has not been fixed beyond the possibility of cavil, I have in dealing with them, mostly observed the alphabetical order of their names.

DVYARTHĪ KĀVYAS

I कविराक्षसीयम् [1] By Kavirākṣasa

Kavirākṣasa, a native of Dākṣarāma in the East Godāvarī Dist., was posterior to Nannaya Bhaṭṭa [1050 A. C.] the first Telugu poet and the father of Telugu poetry, and Tikkana Somayāji [1220--90 A. C.], another Telugu poet of equal eminence. We may thus safely assign him to the last quarter of the 11th century and the first quarter of the 12th century. He has been wrongly identified with the renowned Telugu poet, Vemulavāḍa Bhīma Kavi. *Kavirākṣasīya* is a *dvyarthī* poem. His other work is a Telugu poem *Ādinārāyaṇacaritam*, now lost.

II द्विसंधानम् [2] By Ācārya Daṇḍin [6th cy. A. C.]

Bhojadeva in his glorious *Sṛṅgāraprakāśa* [IX दोषहन गुणप्रकाशः] alludes thus to Daṇḍin's *Dvisaṁdhāna* as also to that of Dhanaṁjaya as exemplars of *Dvarthī Kāvyas* :

" दण्डिनो धनंजयस्य वा द्विसंधानम् "

Further he cites the following śloka from one of the aforesaid poems, without, however, giving the author's name.

1. Printed in Telugu characters; with Telugu notes by Vavilla & Co., Madras. I regret I could not get a copy of the same.
2. B. S. O. S. III. 282, Keith; 'H. S. L.' preface, p. VI. Prof. M. Rāmakrishna Kavi's Intro. p. 2 to A. S. Śāstri's Telugu translation of *Kāvyādarśa*.

" उदारमहिमारामः प्रजानां हर्षवर्धनः ।
धर्मप्रभव इत्यासीत् ख्यातो भरतपूर्वजः "

These references of Bhoja furnish us with interesting facts about some of the Sanskrit poets. This śloka is not found in the extant *Dvisaṁdhāna* of Dhanaṁjaya. Hence, it must have been from the now lost *Dvisaṁdhāna* of Daṇḍin. We are thus led to know that Daṇḍin wrote a *Dvisaṁdhāna* Kāvya, the theme of which, as can be learnt from the above couplet, is the same as that of Dhanaṁjaya's poem. We know that Dhanaṁjaya [let us call him Naighaṇṭuka Dhanaṁjaya as distinguished from Dhanaṁjaya of *Daśarupaka-fame*] was prior to Bhoja. Of Daṇḍin's '*Dvisaṁdhāna*' nothing more is known. His other works are the *Daśakumāracarita* and the *Kāvyādarśa*.

III द्विसंधानम [1] By Naighaṇṭuka Dhanaṁjaya

He was a Jain, and son of Śrīdevī and Vāsudeva [XVIII. canto, 146 śl.]. As such, he must be distinguished from Daśarūpaka Dhanaṁjaya, a Brāhmaṇa, son of Viṣṇu and a protége of King Muñja [975-95 A. C.]. There has been raging a controversy as to his date. Arguments for an early date [750-800 A. C.] have been shown by us elsewhere. [2] Prof. K. B. Pathak opined, [3] in the light of 'some statements contained in Kannaḍa inscriptions and books' that the poet who had the cognomen of Śrutakīrti, composed the *Dvisaṁdhanamahākāvya* in 1123--40 A. C. These conclusions have been accepted and echoed by Prof. Winternitz in his *Gesch. der. Ind. Litt*, Vol. III, P. 75, and Prof. A. B. Keith [*H. S. L.* P. 137; 1928]. Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah has recently exploded these views [4] and concluded that the '*Raghavapāṇḍavīya* of Dhanaṁjaya was not the same as that of Śrutakīrti, that therefore the authors of the two books, Dhanaṁjaya and Śrutakīrti, were not identical' and the *Dvisaṁdhana* of Dhanaṁjaya was written some-

1 Kāvyamālā 49, 1895.

2 Journal of the A. H. R. Society, vol. II, parts 3 and 4; pp. 181-84; Rajahmundry.

3 J. B. B. R. A. S. XXI. 1ff.

4 J. B. B. R. A. S. (New Series), vol. III. pp. 134-47 ; 1927,

time between 960-1000 A. C. This view has been corroborated by Bhoja's reference (op. cit) to Dhanaṁjaya's *Dvisaṁdhana*. Bhoja came to the throne in 1005 A. C. and died before 1054 A. C. or as Prof. Keith suggests, after 1062.[1] The *Dvisaṁdhāna* must have become famous before Bhoja. So, 960-1000 A. C. may safely be accepted as the date of the poem. Prof. Macdonell opines "Dhanaṁjaya's *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya* quoted in *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* of Vardhamāna (1140 A. C.) is an imitation of Kavirāja's work." This only goes to confirm our date of Dhanaṁjaya ; for unless Dhanaṁjaya's work was well known by the time of Vardhamāna, it is far from probable that he would cite as an authority in his grammatical work, the work of a poet who becomes almost his coeval, if Dr. Pathak's view be accepted. The late Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar[2] and Prof. Macdonell make Dhanaṁjaya posterior to Kavirāja, while Prof. Pathak and after him Dr. A. B. Keith and Dr. A. V. Subbiah hold quite the opposite view. With profound deference to these Orientalists, I adhere to Dr. Bhandarkar's view ; apart from other reasons, the comparative simplicity alone of Kavirāja's work suggests a date anterior to that of Dhanaṁjaya. The *Dvisaṁdhāna* is in 18 cantos and contains on the whole 1105 ślokas. Due to exigencies of space, we are obliged to postpone to a future occasion even a concise critical appreciation of the poem.

IV पार्वतीरुक्मिणीयम्[3] By Vidyāmādhava[4]

This 'Vidvatkavi' of unknown date was a poet in the court of Somadeva of Cālukya family. In the introductory stanzas, he states that besides himself, three other poets only — viz. Bāṇa, Subandhu, and Kavirāja—were skilled in writing works capable of double significance :

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1 Apart from Bilhaṇa (11th cen.) Kalhaṇa too (VII, 259) treats Bhoja as alive in 1062 A. C.

2 *Reports* 1884-87. pp. 19 ff.

3 'D. C. S. Mss.' Vol. XX. R. N. 11606

4 His other works : a treatise on horary astrology (ed. Bibl. Skt. 63) and the *Vidyāmādhavīya*, a commentary on Bhāravi (Vide Keith : 'H. S. L.' p. 139, footnote 3).

"बाणः सुबन्धुः कविराजसंज्ञः
विद्यामहामाधवपण्डितश्च ।
वक्रोक्तिदक्षाः कवयः पृथिव्यां
चत्वार एते न हि पञ्चमोऽस्ति ॥"

This is obviously an echo of Kavirāja's śloka :

"सुबन्धुर्बाणभट्टश्च कविराज इतित्रयः ।
वक्रोक्तिमार्गनिपुणाश्चतुर्थो विद्यते न वा ॥"

[R. P. I. 41]

Pārvatīrukmiṇīya is in 9 cantos. As can be known from the name itself, this is 'a poem the stanzas of which are so worded as to be capable of giving double meaning and thus it describes at the same time, the marriage of Śiva with Pārvatī and that of Kṛṣṇa with Rukmiṇī.' The indicatory words of this poem are 'Saṁpadānanda' (संपदानन्द) and 'Śrīśabda' (श्रीशब्द) like 'Ānanda' in the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*, Pañcaśikha's *Śūdraka-kathā* and the *Avantisundarīkathāsāra* ; as also 'Lakṣmī' in Bhāravi and 'Śrī' in Māgha.

V राघवनैषधीयम् [1] By Haradattasūri.

He was the son of Jayaśaṁkara of 'Gargagotra'. A native of Nīlālaya, near Guṇavatī, he was well versed in *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, Chandas and Literature (II. 22). Lest others should misinterpret his poem, he added to it his own commentary. He is later than Bhattojī Dīkṣita [17th cen.], for, Haradatta in his own commentary cites both from the *Siddhāntakaumudī* and the *Prauḍhamanoramā* (p. 62). Our Haradattasūri must be distinguished from Haradatta, author of the *Padamañjarī*, a comment on the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, from the author of *Ujjvalā*, a comment on *Āpastamba* and of the *Bhāṣya* on the *Mantrapraśna*. The poem is in two cantos and 148 ślokas. As the name itself indicates, it perpetrates in a short compass a simultaneous treatment of the stories of Rāma and Nala.

VI राघवपाण्डवीयम् [2] By Kavirājasūri

1 Kāvyamālā 57, 2nd Revised Ed. 1926.

2 Kāvyamālā 62; 1897, with the commentary of Saśadhara; also with the *Kapāṭavipāṭikā* of Premacandra Tarkavāgīśa, 'Sanskrit press,' Calcutta 1885, and also, with a commentary - Gopal Narayan & Co, of Bombay.

His name is as familiar as his date is dubious : Arguments for his early date have been shown by us eleswhere.[1] Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, assigned him to 1000 A. C. [Report, 1884-87, P. 20]. Dr. K. B. Pathak opines[2] that Kavirāja was later than the Naighaṇṭuka Dhanaṁjaya, that he wrote his poem in 1182-97 A. C. ; and that his real name was Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, and Kavirāja merely a title. Dr. A. V. Subbiah [J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. III] accepts Dr. Pathak's view about Kavirāja's posteriority to Dhanaṁjaya, but controverts the rest of his opinions. He says that Kavirāja's poem was written in 1236 (or 1267) and 1307, but not in 1182-97 as Dr. Pathak suggests, as also that the poet's real name was Kavirāja, but not Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, for the word ' Sūri ' [I. 35] is added at the end of personal names and not of titles. Prof. Keith [' H. S. L. ' P. 137] echoes the opinion of Prof. Pathak.

Now, I agree with Dr. Subbiah that Kavirāja was the real name of the poet. But the comparative complexity of Dhanaṁjaya's poem suggests a later date than that of Kavirāja. In my opinion, Kavirāja was a contemporary of Muñja [Bhoja's uncle 975-95] whom he compares with profound respect to his patron Vīrakāmadeva.[3] The allusion to Muñja evinces a contemporary interest ; else, the poet would have referred to either Harṣavardhana or Bhoja, who have very few examples in the literary history of India. The Telugu poet, Pālkuriki Somana (1190-1260 A. D.) refers to Kavirāja in his *Paṇḍitāradhyacarila* (P. 272)

" हरदत्त वररुचि वग्भट्ट माघ जयकीर्ति कविराजशाकटायनविजयदत्त कौमारसर्ग-
कोत्प्रेक्षवल्लभादि कवीन्द्र वरकविता सम्मुल्लास रचनासम्मुन्नाति "

Sanskrit Literature knows no other poet whose name is Kavirāja ; so, it is highly probable, if not certain that the reference is to our poet. Hence, Dr. Subbiah's opinion [i. e. 13th cen.] does not seem to be probable at all. The poem is in 13 cantos and

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1 Journal of the Telugu Academy. Vol. XVI Nos. 5 and 6

2 J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXII, pp. 11 ff,

3 श्रीविद्याशोभिनो यस्य श्रीमुञ्जादियती भिदा ।
धारापतिरसावासीदयं तावद्धरापतिः ॥ " Canto, I, R. P.

contains 668 ślokas. His identity with the authors of the *Pārijātāpaharaṇam*, *Kavirājastuti* and *Mṛgayācampu* has yet to be settled.

VII रामचरितम्.[1] By Saṁdhyākaranandin

'This is intended to refer in each stanza to the history of Rāma and also to the King Rāmapāla, who flourished at the close of the 11th cy. in Bengal.' M. M. Prof. Haraprasāda Śastrin observes that this is written in imitation of the *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya* in *double entendre*. The author himself wrote a commentary on it. The principal value of the discovery of this poem lies in the commentary which is a mine of historical information, and it supplies the details of the events of Rāmapāla's regin.

VIII द्व्यर्थिनाटकम्:[2] By an unknown author.

Tryarthī, Caturarthī and Pañcarthī Kāvyas

I राघवयादवपाण्डवीयम्[3] By Rājacuḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita.

The poet, a polymath of South India, belonged to the 17th cen. Among his many works, *Kamalinīkalahaṁsa* and *Kavyadarpaṇa* are well known. He was the first poet, within our knowledge, to compose a *Tryarthī-kāvya* in Sanskrit. This poem perpetrates at one and the same time the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhāgavata* and *Mahābhārata*. There are at least four such works in Telugu Literature.

II राघवपाण्डवयादवीयम्[4] of Cidambarasumati.

This 'Vidvatkavi' had the title of 'Kavisārvabhauma.' He was the son of Anantanārāyaṇa Sumati, and grand-son of Sūryanārāyaṇa

1 M. A. S. B. III. pp. 1—56

2 Scherman's *Orientalische Bibliographie* [Vol. IX. 1896, p. 258; NO. 4605] op. cit.

3 *Kamalinīkalahaṁsā* Intro. p. V (Vāṇīvilās Sanskrit Series, No. 7, Śrīrangam 1917.)

4 D. C. S. Mss Vol. XX, p. 7829.
Also printed in Madras, "Ādisarasvatī" Press. I canto only with commentary, 1st ed. 1861; 2nd. ed. 1874.

of the 'Kauśikagotra.' As the name itself indicates, the poem describes simultaneously the story of the '*Rāmāyaṇa, Bhārata* and *Bhāgavata*, each śloka being so composed as to be capable of being interpreted in three different ways'. A commentary, *Arthapradīpikā*, which is essential in such works is written by Anantanārāyaṇa, the poet's father. Prof. Keith opines: " A doubtless quite late *Rāghava-Pāṇḍava-Yādavīya* by Cidambara adds the absurdity of telling three stories, the third being the legend of the *Bhāgavata* Purāṇa. The deplorable folly of such works is obvious, but it remains true that Kavirāja at least shows some very fair talent and might have written something worthy of consideration, if his taste had not led him to this extravagance. " Other works of Cidambara are a *Bhāgavatacampū* [1] and the *Pañcakalyāṇacampū*.

III नलयादवपाण्डवराघवीयम् [2] By an unknown author.

Thank God, we know only a solitary instance of the kind.

IV पञ्चकल्याण चम्पू [3] By Cidambara Kavi

This narrates the story of the marriages of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Subrahmaṇya, Viṣṇu and Śiva in the same breath. It is in two 'stabakas'. The poet himself wrote a commentary on it, called *Śabdaśāṇopalā*. The mania for '*Bahulārthaka Kāvyas*' seems to have stopped with this. Thus, we see, how the soul of poetry has been sacrificed for mere verbal jugglery.

Viloma kāvyas

We have now only to say a few words about *Viloma-Kāvyas* or poems the verses in which read in the proper order give one story and read in the reverse order give another story. They are also known as 'गत-प्रत्यागत-काव्य' or 'प्रतिलोम काव्य'. They are no doubt *dvyarthī-kāvyas* but with the aforesaid peculiarity. We are sorry, that due to exigencies of space, we could only mention the names of such poems.

1 D. C. S. Mss. Vol. XXI. No, 12327, p. 8258.

1 Oppert. 6595. The source for this information is the Intro. to the *Nalavilāsa* of Rāmacandrasūri (Gaekwad Oriental Series).

3 A Triennial Catalogue of Mss. Vol. IV, part i. Skt, A., p. 4257; R. No. 2940 and R. No, 2940 (b).

I नल-हरिश्चन्द्रीयम् [1] By an unknown poet.

II यादव-राघवीयम् [2] By Veṅkaṭādhvarin.

III रसिकरञ्जनम् [3] By Rāmacandrakavi (1524 A. C.)

IV राघवपाण्डवीयम् [4] By Śrutakīrti.

V राघवयादवीयम् [5] By Viñjamūri Someśvara Kavi.

VI राम-कृष्ण-विलोम-काव्यम् [6] By Daivajñasūrya Sūri.

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1 A Trien. Cat. Mss. Vol, II, part i, Skt. B, R. No. 1348;with com. p. 1716.

2 D. C. S. Mss. Vol. XX, Nos. 11891-94; pp. 7956-9.

3 Kāvyamālā, IV, Gucchaka No. 5; Also Ed. & Trans. R. Schmidt, Stūttgart. 1896.

4 J. B. B. R. A. S (N. S.) Vol. III. pp, 134-47, Dr. A. V. Subbiah's paper.

5 A Trien. Cat. Mss. Vol. II, part i, Skt. C., No. 1859, p. 2604.

6 Jñānasāgara press-Bombay, Saṁvat 1962.

TANTRA — Does the word mean a treatise in general, or an authoritative treatise in any subject, as perhaps in a somewhat specialised application of the term? — By Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M. A., Ph. D.

The question arises with respect to the name Pañcatantra for the well-known work so-called. The suspicion perhaps, that the word Tantra in the word means a book or treatise, is heightened when we consider the alternative name Tantrākhyāyika, that which is named Tantra. The St. Petersburgh Dictionary, I understand, gives the word the meaning "treatise", and I find even ordinary dictionaries give a meaning somewhat similar, as for instance V. S. Apte gives it the meaning "a scientific treatise", with the alternative, a chapter of a treatise like that. This aspect of the meaning of the word seems borne in upon us when the Mālavikāgnimitra refers to the authority of the Arthśāstra, Kautilya's according to the commentary, by the term Tantrakāra, thereby making it clear that Tantram there is an authoritative treatise—an authoritative treatise on the subject under discussion.

What we wish to point out here is principally that the great commentators of Tamil have a notion somewhat akin to it, and this prevalent notion of the commentators in Tamil may be a reflex merely of a corresponding usage in Sanskrit. A standard work in Tamil like the Kural applies the term *Nūl*, which is an exact equivalent of Tantra, admitting that it has the sense of an authoritative treatise upon any particular subject. The author of the Kural uses the term *Nūl* in several places, and in each one of them it seems to be referring actually to the most authoritative treatise connected with the subject, at any rate, prominently it stands in one set of contexts with the sense the authoritative religious treatise of the Brāhmaṇas, the Veda. In another set of references, it seems to stand for the Arthśāstra, the treatise of Kauṭilya, at any rate, so the commentator does explain it. Therefore generally

there seems to be warrant for the use of the term *Nūl* in the sense of a treatise of authority in any particular subject. The discussion occurs in connection with the composition of works of literature and what a work does actually mean. The discussion is found in the earliest and the most authoritative Tamil grammar Tolkāppiyam under Sūtra 94 of Marabiyal in the larger section Poruḷ or Artha. The commentator Nilakaṇṭhan of Muśiri, commenting on a work of erotics said to have been composed by no less an authority than Śiva himself, for which a commentary was made by the Tamil celebrity Narkirar, also does so. This commentaor Nīlakaṇṭhan is said to be the twelfth in legitimate teaching succession from the original commentator, and his commentary takes up the discussion. The meaning of the Tamil word, *Nūl,* is given as a treatise formed by the continuous treatment of a subject, just as a large number of pieces of cotton do get to be thrown together and twisted into a continuous thread.

Just as the skill of the hand of the workman joins together many a scattered staple of cotton in one connected thread through the skill of his workmanship, so a learned poet through his intellectual skill gathers together intricate ideas scattered in a vast ocean of words, and strings them together in a connected work of which the divisions are *Piṇḍa, Paṭala, Ōttu* (Sanskrit Adhikaraṇa) and Sūtra. Here he offers the illuminating comment that *Nūl* in Tamil is made here to give exactly the sense of the Sanskrit word *Tantra* and is used as such in the Tamil language.

The great commentator Pērāśiriyar whose commentary on the standard grammar Tolkāppiyam is accepted as a high authority has a discussion on the same subject. Under Sūtras 478ff. of the section on poetry (Śeyyuḷ) he does not use the word Tantram here as the equivalent of *Nūl,* or of even of an important section of it, although the term as such gets to be used in other connections in the course of that commentary. It is not likely that such a usage had become known to Tamil commentators without a corresponding usage, and quite an authoritative usage, among the Sanskritists. That

there was such use for the word seems to be borne out by the use of the word tantram in the last section of Arthaśāstra where the final chapter is headed 'Tantrayukti'. There the term 'Tantram' is used according to Mahāmahopādhyāya Ganapathy Sastri as synonymous with Arthaśāstra. In Shama Śāstri's translation this seems the meaning given to it. Only this latter seems to go a little further and makes it equivalent to treatise, not specifically Arthaśāstra. The name Mahānirvāṇa Tantram for the work, which is not Tantraic in character, seems again to support the view.

GLEANINGS FROM THE ABHINAVABHĀRATI OF ABHINAVAGUPTA—BY PROF. P. V. KANE, M. A., LL. M., BOMBAY.

All lovers of Sanskrit are under a deep debt of gratitude to the authorities responsible for the Gaekwad's Oriental Series for undertaking to bring out an edition of the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata with the remarkable commentary of Abhinavagupta and to the editor of the work, Prof. Ramkrishna Kavi. So far only the first volume containing seven chapters of the Nāṭyaśāstra has been published and it will be several years before the whole work in four volumes is out. The learned editor promises an extensive introduction when the whole of the text and the commentary will be published. Instead of waiting for years till the learned editor's Introduction comes out it would be better for scholars to examine the volumes as they come out and set out what informtion can be gleaned from Abhinavagupta's learned commentary. An attempt in that direction is made in the following so far as the first volume is concerned. Wherever I could add nothing more to what the learned editor has indicated, I generally omit the names of authors and works.

The learned editor adds at the end of the first volume a list of works and authors mentioned therein. That list requires correction in a few places. He mentions Jīmūtavāhana as an author named on p. 339, but Jīmūtavāhana is there only the hero of the Nāgānanda. Similarly it is not clear why he includes in the list of authors the Apsarases, Mañjukeśī and others, who are said on pp. 22-23 of the text to have collaborated with Bharata in the staging of a play. There is apparently no reason why the hundred sons of Bharata, or Nārada, Bhadramukha, Bali, Prahlāda, Rāma, Rāvaṇa, Vijaya or Hanumān should find a place in the list of authors and works. He omits the drama 'Chalitarāma' which is mentioned by Abhinavagupta on p. 39 and Setubandha (on p. 326). When the learned editor says in his brief preface (at p. 6) 'Abhinava, the commentator of the present work, clearly says that it represents three different schools of opinion, viz. of Brahman, Sadāśiva and lastly

Bharata i. e. the author's own views[1] ', he is clearly wrong. What Abhinavagupta really says is this : a certain learned man foremost among atheists said that this Śāstra that expounds which out of three views is weighty or otherwise was composed for establishing the soundness of the views of Brahmā by setting out three views viz. those of Sadāśiva, Brahmā and Bharata and that portions of the works of the three are inserted herein ; this view is refuted by this (the preceding discussion)'. So Abhinavagupta's own view is that the whole embodies the views of Bharata himself. Who this ' nāstika-dhuryopādhyāya' was it is difficult to say.

The authors and works will be arranged in alphabetical order (Sanskrit) and then a few remarks will be made on certain topics of importance in dramaturgy. References are given to the pages of the first volume. Where an author or work is not expressly named, but quotations can be traced, this fact is noted.

Abhijñānaśākuntala : on p. 39 it is said that in a drama in a certain portion of it ' dharma ' is delineated as the principal topic and cites the passage (in Śākuntala Act I) ' api nāma kulapater ';[2] on pp. 280-281 two verses of the Śākuntala ' grīvābhaṅgābhirāmam ' (Act I) and ' ramyāṇi vīkṣya ' (Act V) are cited, the first for the purpose of indicating how ' bhayānaka rasa ' presents itself to the mind of the imaginative reader and the second for saying that the word 'smarati' suggests simply ' apprehension by the imagination ' and not remembrance as defined by logicians.

Amaruśataka : p. 304 cites the verse ' ekasmin śayane &c ' (verse 23) as a specially charming example of śṛṅgāra.

Ānandavardhanācārya : p. 295 says that Ānanda summed up the position about ' rasa ' in the verse ' śṛṅgārī cet kaviḥ ' and

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1 एतेन सदाशिवब्रह्मभरतमतत्रयविवेचनेन ब्रह्ममतसारताप्रतिपादनाय मतत्रयीसार(रा?)-सारविवेचनं तद्ग्रन्थखण्डप्रक्षेपेण विहितमिदं शास्त्रं न तु मुनिविरचितमिति यदाहुर्नास्तिकधुर्योपाध्यायास्तत्प्रत्युक्तम् । p. 8.

2 तथैकत्रापि नाटके क्वचिदंशे धर्मो यथाभिज्ञानशाकुन्तले ' अपि नाम कुलपतेरियमसवर्णक्षेत्रसंभवा स्यात् ' । p. 39

explains that 'kavi' is the seed, 'kāvya' is the tree, the abhinaya of the actor stands for the flowers and the fruit is the enjoyment of rasa by the cultured audience. This verse occurs on p. 222 of the Dhvanyāloka (Kāvyamālā ed.) and also in the Agnipurāṇa (339. 11). Vide under Dhvanikāra below.

Indurāja : p. 287 cites a verse of Indurāja as an example where the anubhāvas are prominent while the 'vibhāva' (Kṛṣṇa) and the vyabhicāribhāvas are subordinate. It is to be noted that Indurāja (who was Abhinavagupta's teacher) is styled 'dvijarāja' here ; p. 306 contains another verse of Indurāja, where, although the description of 'vibhāva' is prominent, there is no strikingness and no rasa.

Upādhyāya : Abhinavagupta frequently refers to the explanations of Nāṭyaśāstra given by his teacher. The teacher meant is certainly Bhaṭṭa Tota or Tauta. Vide pp. 14, 24, 37, 65, 109, 207, 220, 332, 337 (here the word 'asmad-gurubhiḥ' occurs).

Audbhaṭāḥ : p. 266 shows that the school (or followers) of Udbhata thought that nātya has eleven aṅgas according to Kohala and not according to Bharata ; while Lollata was opposed to the view of the Audbhatas. [1]

Kaśyapācārya : p. 239 shows that Kaśyapa's work was based on Bharata's dicta and was in verse (at least partly). Kāśyapa is mentioned by writers on Alaṁkāra as one of the most ancient authors on Poetics. Vide my 'History of Alaṁkāra Literature' pp. I-II.

Kālidāsa : p. 287 cites a verse of Kālidāsa 'āttam-āttam' &c. as an example of the prominence of vyabhicāribhāvas, Kālidāsa being styled 'mahākavi' ; p. 308 speaks of Kālidāsa as one whose speech was rendered pure by the grace of God. [2] On p. 311 Kālidāsa is styled 'the emperor of the assembly of poets'.

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1 अनेन तु श्लोकेन कोहलमते एकादशाङ्गत्वमुच्यते न तु भरते तत्संगृहीतस्यापि पुनरत्रोद्देशात्, निर्देशे चैतत्क्रमव्यत्यासनादित्यौद्भटाः । नैतदिति भट्टलोल्लटः । p. 266

2 तत एव च भगवदनुग्रहपवित्रवाचा कालिदासेन रघुवंशे etc. p. 308.

Kāvyakautuka : This is a work of Bhaṭṭa Tota, the teacher of Abhinava. On p. 291 the view of Tota is stated and three lines ($1\frac{1}{2}$ verses) are quoted from the Kāvyakautuka. His view was that rasas are not confined to nātya, but they occur also in *kāvyas*, that *rasa* becomes so by being as it were visualised, because in the case of a poetic composition *rasa* arises when there is perception of the things (described in the poem) as if they were present before the eye ; then three lines are quoted. [1] On p. 37 we are told that the Kāvyakautuka held the same view as that of Abhinava on the question whether nāṭya consists in the actor merely imitating the actions of the original characters whom he is representing. [2] Vide under Tota and my history of Alaṁkāra Literature, p. LXXVI.

Kīrtidharācārya : page 208 contains a view of his on the last verse of chapter 4 which is not clear.

Kohala : On p. 18 of the text Kohala is named as one of the 100 Bharataputras. On p. 25 Abhinava says that Kohala described the verse ' Jitam-uḍu-patinā ' &c. from the Ratnāvali I as an example of Nāndī in accordance with the rules of Bharata [3] ; p. 103 cites a half verse of Kohala defining ' nikuṭṭana ' ; from page 173 it appears that Kohala included Dombikā &c. under Nāṭya and made no distinction between nṛtta and nāṭya ; p. 173 cites a pāda from Kohala for establishing that Kohala accepted *sātvika* abhinaya ; p. 182 contains the verses of Kohala on the origin and nature of Tāṇḍava nṛtta ; on p. 184 a verse of Kohala is quoted with reference to what are called ' rāgakāvyas ' ; on p. 266 the view of

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1 नाट्यात्समुदायरूपाद्रसाः यदि वा नाट्यमेव रसाः रससमुदायो हि नाट्यम् । न नाट्ये एव च रसाः काव्येपि नाट्यायमान एव रसः काव्यार्थविषये हि प्रत्यक्षकल्पसंवेदनोदये इत्युपाध्यायाः । यदाहुः काव्यकौतुके–'प्रयोगत्वमनापन्ने काव्ये नास्वादसंभवः' इति । ' वर्णनोत्कलिकाभोगप्रौढोक्त्या सम्यगर्पिताः । उद्यानकान्ताचन्द्राद्या भावाः प्रत्यक्षवत्स्फुटाः ॥ इति । pp. 291–292

2 तस्मादनियतानुकारो नाट्यमित्यपि न भ्रमितव्यम् । अस्मदुपाध्यायकृते काव्यकौतुकेप्ययमेवाभिप्रायो मन्तव्यः । p. 37

3 जितमुडुपतिना …… नरेन्द्रचन्द्रः ॥ इत्येषापि भारतीयत्वेन प्रसिद्धा कोहलप्रदर्शिता नान्द्युपपन्ना भवति । p. 25.

Audbhaṭas that according to Kohala there are only elĕven constituents of Nāṭya is cited. The above references make it clear that Kohala's work was in verse (mostly Anuṣṭubhs), that it dealt with the topics of Nāṭya and that it was earlier than Udbhaṭa (who flourished in the latter half of the 8th century). Vide my ' History of Alaṁkāra Literature' for Kohala, p. VIII. If my interpretation of the reference to Kohala on p. 25 is correct, then Kohala would be later than the Ratnāvali i. e. than 650 A. D. So he probably flourished between 650 and 750 A. D.

Guṇamālā : On p. 177 a brief Prakrit passage (which is very corrupt) is cited from this which is said to be a ' dombikā '. [1]

Gāndharvaveda : p. 268 shows that in this Upaveda a certain air was styled ' Oveṇaka [2] ', which looks like the Marathi word '*ovī* '.

Cūḍāmaṇi-dombikā : *p. 173 has a corrupt Prakrit passage from* this.

Chalitarāma : p. 39 shows that this was a drama in which the principal topic was 'dharma' i. e. the Aśvamedha sacrifice performed by Rāma.[3]

Ṭīkākāra : p. 318 mentions the view of a Ṭīkākāra about Karuṇarasa ; p. 328 cites the explanation of Ṭīkākāra on the word ' Sattvasamuttha ' (in VI. 88) and disapproves of it.

Taṇḍu : p. 90 says that the words Taṇḍu and muni are respectively synonymous with Nandi and Bharata.

Tāpasavatsarāja : p. 297 says that after (the delineation of) Śṛṅgāra, Karuṇa invariably follows, that the former is employed in giving rise to the latter, as in the Tāpasavatsarāja, the king of the Vatsas (Udayana) is overwhelmed with grief by the burning of Vāsavadattā and the verse ' utkampinī bhaya &c ' is quoted from that drama as an example. [4]

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1 गुणमालायां ' जामि हराधोलिं गिअपुण्णं चिसमि' इत्यादौ । तत्र सा नृत्यती etc, p. 177

2 यथा गान्धर्ववेदे गीतकविशेषे ओवेणकादिशब्दः । p. 268

3 तथा क्वचिन्नाटके धर्मः प्रधानं यथा छलितरामे रामस्याश्वमेधयागः । p, 39.

4 शृङ्गारानन्तरं नियमेन करुणं(णो) व्याप्रियते स्वसौ तज्जन्मनि यथा तापसवत्सराजे वासवदत्तादाहाद्वत्सराजस्य । pp. 297-

Tumburu : On p. 165 a half verse of Tumburu defining 'recaka' is quoted and Abhinava says that Bharata was of the same opinion on that point. [1]

Tota : The fourth introductory verse shows that Abhinava based his commentary on what he learnt about the Nāṭyaveda from the lips of the learned Tota ; [2] on p. 187 again Bhaṭṭa Tota's opinion is quoted ; on p. 310 a half verse is quoted (probably from the Kāvyakautuka) as that of Abhinava's teacher Tota; p. 275 shows that Tota disapproved of Śaṅkuka's view of rasa.

Daṇḍin : p. 274 cites the view of Lollaṭa on rasa and says that the ancients held that view and gives the dicta of Daṇḍin as examples. This shows that in the 10th century Daṇḍin had come to be regarded as ' ciraṁtana ' . [3]

Dattilācārya : p. 205 quotes a verse and a quarter of this ācārya. A Dantila is mentioned along with Bharata and Viśākhila in Dāmodaragupta's Kuṭṭanımata as one of the authors studied by accomplished *hetaerae*. Dattila and Dantila are probably different readings of the same name. There is a Dattasūtravṛtti by a king of Gaṅga-vaṁśa (vide JRAS for 1911 p. 183). A work called Rāgasāgara in which there is a dialogue between Nārada and Dattila is noticed at No. 13014 p. 8742 (Descriptive Cat. of Madras Govt. Mss. for 1918). Vide my ' History of Alaṁkāra Literature ' p. VIII.

Dhvanikāra : On p. 344 it is said that Dhvanikāra and others have expounded that rasas should not be mentioned by their very

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1 तुम्बुरुणेदमुक्तम् – अङ्गहाराभिधानात्तु करणे रेचकान् विदुः । इहाप्येतन्मुनेर्मतमिति लक्ष्यते etc. p. 165

2 सद्भिप्रतीतवदनोदितनाट्यवेदतत्त्वार्थमर्थिजनवाञ्छितसिद्धिहेतोः । माहेश्वराभिनवगुप्तपदप्रतिष्ठः संक्षिप्तवृत्तिविधिना विशदीकरोति ॥ p. 1

3 तेन स्थाय्येव विभावानुभावादिभिरुपचितो रसः । स्थायी त्वनुपचितः । स चोभयोरपि मुख्यया वृत्त्या रामादावनुकार्येऽनुकर्तरि च नटे रामादिरूपतानुसंधानबलात् ... इति । चिरंतनानां चायमेव पक्षः । तथाहि दण्डिना स्वालंकारलक्षणेऽभ्यधायि । रतिः शृङ्गारतां गता रूपबाहुल्ययोगेनेति, अधिरुह्य परां कोटिं कोपो रौद्रात्मतां गतः इत्यादि च । p. 274

names (i. e. there should be no labels such as 'here is śṛṅgāra or vīra &c.' in a poem, but they should be conveyed indirectly by appropriate description). Abhinava refers to his own commentary on the Dhvanyāloka called Sahṛdayāloka-locana for the elucidation of the meaning of the Dhvanikāra. On p. 301 he quotes the verse 'yā vyāpāravatī &c.' without specifying the author, which occurs in Dhvanyāloka III. p. 227 (Kāvyamālā ed.). It follows from this that Abhinavagupta composed his Abhinavabhāratī when he was of mature age. He composed his com. on Bharata after his com. on the Dhvanyāloka, while the latter in its turn was written after works of his such as the Tantrāloka and the com. on the Kāvyakautuka.

Nandimata : On p. 171 a verse is cited from Nandimata that the Aṅgahāra called 'recaka' is of two kinds and should be employed in 'tāṇḍava.' As shown above Taṇḍu and Nandin are synonymous and Nandimata stands for the views of Taṇḍu.

Nāgānanda : On p. 221 this drama is named in connection with the definition of 'Trigata'; on p. 42 a portion of Nāgānanda (I. 15) is cited as an example of the use of kalā in a drama and on p. 338 the verse 'śayyā śādvalam &c.' (Nāgānanda 4. 2) as an example where 'utsāha' reaches the highest pitch though the pervading rasa of the drama is śānta.

Nāyaka or *Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka* : On pp. 4-5 Abhinava quotes his explanation of the words of Bharata 'Brahmaṇā yad-udāhṛtam' (I. 1) and a verse from his work called Sahṛdayadarpaṇa. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka appears to have been a follower of Advaita Vedānta and the verse quoted seems to be the first verse of his work ;[1] on p. 278 and the following the views of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka about rasa are examined at great length. Vide my History of Alaṁkāra Literature pp. LXXVII-LXXVIII for his views. In all works on Alaṁkāra

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1 भट्टनायकस्त – ब्रह्मणा परमात्मना यदुदाहृतमविद्याविरचितं निःसारभेदग्रहे यदुदाहरणीकृतं तन्नाट्यं वक्ष्यामि । यथा हि कल्पनामात्रसारं तत एवानवस्थितैकरूपं ... ... रामरावणादिचेष्टितं कुतोऽप्यभूताद्भुतवृत्त्या भाति तथा भासमानमपि च पुमर्थोपायतामेति । तथा तादृगेव विश्वमिदमसत्यनामरूपप्रपञ्चात्मकमथ च ... ... तदनेन पारमार्थिकं प्रयोजनमुक्तमिति व्याख्यानं सहृदयदर्पणे पर्यग्रहीत् । यदाह–नमस्त्रैलोक्यनिर्माणकवये शम्भवे यतः। प्रतिक्षणं जगन्नाट्यप्रयोगरसिको जनः ॥ इति । pp.4-5.

including the Locana of Abhinava where Nāyaka's views are referred to his work is said to be Hṛdaya-darpaṇa, while on p. 5, the present volume makes it to be Sahṛdaya-darpaṇa. It is not unlikely that instead of reading 'sa Hṛdaya-darpaṇe' the editor wrongly reads 'Sahṛdaya-darpaṇe'.

Patañjali : On p. 284 we have a passage ascribed to Patañjali 'Because Caitra is enamoured of one woman it does not follow that he has no interest left in other women.'[1] This is not a passage of the Mahābhāṣya, but it is part of the bhāṣya on Yogasūtra II.4 (Bombay Sanskrit Series,) which is attributed to Vyāsa by so early a writer as Vācaspati. So it follows that Abhinava held that Patañjali was the author of the bhāṣya on Yogasūtra and not Vyāsa. This is further corroborated by another reference to Yogasūtra on p. 335. There Abhinava quotes Yogasūtra I. 16 and then remarks that the venerable Lord serpent has also said 'a vairāgya (passion lessness) of that sort is the utmost limit of knowledge (i. e. furthest point reached by correct knowledge)'.[2] Now these words occur in the Bhāṣya on Yogasūtra I. 16. We know that tradition (at least from the 10th century, if not earlier) regarded Patañjali as an *avatara* of Śeṣa, the great Serpent, and credited him with having written on grammar (the Mahābhāṣya), Yoga and medicine. Vide Vāsavadattā p. 239 (ed. by Hall) and a quotation from Śivarāma thereon and Bhoja's commentary on the Yogasūtra.[3] This raises an important question whether Abhinava is right and the

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1 उत्साहादयस्तु संपादितस्यावश्यकर्तव्यतया प्रलीनकल्पा अपि संस्कारशेषतां नातिवर्तन्ते कर्तव्यान्तरविषयस्योत्साहादेरखण्डनात् । यथाह पतञ्जलिः 'नहि चैत्र एकस्यां स्त्रियां रक्त इत्यन्यासु विरक्तः' इत्यादि । p. 284 ; योगसूत्रभाष्य has 'रागश्च कचिद्दृश्यमानो न विषयान्तरे नास्ति । नैकस्यां स्त्रियां चैत्रो रक्त इत्यन्यासु विरक्तः । '

2 ननु तत्त्वज्ञानिनः सर्वत्र दृढतरं वैराग्यं दृष्टम् । तत्र भगवद्भिरप्युक्तं 'तत्परं पुरुषख्यातेर्गुणवैतृष्ण्यम्' इति (योगसूत्र I. 16) । भवत्येवम् । तादृशं तु वैराग्यं ज्ञानस्यैव परा काष्ठेति भुजङ्गविभुनैव भगवताभ्यधायि । p. 335

3 The words of वासवदत्ता are यदि भुजगराजायते कथकः . The 4th introductory verse of भोज's com. on योगसूत्र is 'शब्दानामनुशासनं विदधता पातञ्जले कुर्वता वृत्तिं राजमृगाङ्कसंज्ञकमपि व्यातन्वता वैद्यके । वाक्चेतोवपुषां मलः फणभृतां भर्त्रेव येनोद्धृतस्तस्य श्रीरणरङ्गमल्लनृपतेर्वाचो जयन्त्युज्ज्वलाः ॥

bhāṣya on the Yogasūtra must be attributed to Patañjali or whether Vācaspatimiśra is right and the Yogabhāṣya must be ascribed to Vyāsa. I would certainly prefer the testimony of Abhinava to that of Vācaspati who does not appear to be very critical in matters of history and chronology. As far as I am aware, no scholar has yet commented on this aspect of the connection of Patañjali with the Yogasūtras. The bhāṣya on Yogasūtra (III. 44) quotes the views of Patañjali.[1] If Patañjali be the author of the Yogabhāṣya, he would be here quoting his own view in the third person.

Pādatāḍitaka : p. 178 shows that this was a bhāṇa.

Pūrvācāryas : On p. 328 Abhinava furnishes the interesting information that the ' aryā ' verses in the 6th chapter placed after the exposition of each of the rasas were read in one place by ' ancient teachers ', but that they were distributed in their places as they now stand by Bharata.[2]

Bharata : We gather a good deal of information about Bharata. As said above under Taṇḍu, the word *muni* stands for Bharata. His work, though for the most part consisting of verses, is styled ' a sūtra of 36 ' (adhyāyas) by Abhinava-gupta in several places.[3] Therefore according to Abhinavagupta, it is not possible to suppose that an original prose work of Bharata was later on recast into verse. It is no doubt true that Abhinava-gupta on p. 8 notices the view of others that the first six verses were composed by a pupil of Bharata, but he brushes aside this and similar views. In the sixth chapter the sentence defining rasa is styled a sūtra by Abhinavagupta. The words on p. 288 beginning 'ko dṛṣṭāntaḥ' are styled bhāṣya by him. Similarly on p. 301 the sentence 'tatra śṛṅgāro veśātmakaḥ' is styled sūtra by him and the portion that follows is styled bhāṣya by him. So also on p. 303 Abhinava explains that the word ' ratisthāyibhāvaprabhavaḥ ' occurring in the sūtra ' tatra śṛṅgāro nāma &c.' (on p. 301) is made clear by the bhāṣya (on p. 302) ' sa ca strīpuruṣahe-

1 अयुतसिद्धावयवभेदानुगतः समूहो द्रव्यमिति पतञ्जलिः । भाष्य on योगसूत्र III, 44

2 ता एता ह्यार्या एकप्रघट्टकतया पूर्वाचार्यैर्लक्षणत्वेन पठिताः । मुनिना तु सुखसंग्रहाय यथास्थानं निवेशिताः । p. 328

3 षट्त्रिंशकं भरतसूत्रमिदं विवृण्वन् । p. 1; ' मध्येन षट्त्रिंशदध्याय्याम्' p. 8.

tuka uttamayuvaprakṛtiḥ'. All that is meant is that in certain chapters there are passages in the ancient sūtra style in prose which are explained by Bharata himself in the bhāṣya style (as in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya or Śabara's bhāṣya, where the words 'ko dṛṣṭāntaḥ' &c. frequently occur). Then we have Āryā verses which were borrowed by Bharata from 'ancient teachers' and embodied in his work at appropriate places (vide under Pūrvācāryas above). Besides these there are certain ślokas and āryās which are styled 'ānuvaṁśya'. This is explained as meaning that they are 'kārikās' handed down through a succession of teachers and pupils which Bharata has incorporated. Vide p. 291 for explanation.[1] So according to Abhinavagupta the whole of the Nāṭya-Śāstra in 36 chapters is Bharata's own composition except the Āryās composed by 'pūrvācāryas' and the 'āunvaṁśya Ślokas and Āryās'. The words 'sutrānuviddhe' or sūtrānubaddhe ārye' mean that Bharata composed 'āryās' that briefly expounded and summarised what was laconically put by him in the sūtra form. For 'ānuvaṁśya' compare Vanaparva 129. 8 (Bom. ed.). It appears that Śrīharṣa wrote a vārtika on the Nāṭyaśāstra and it is probably another writer who is referred to as Vārtikakāra. Then a Ṭīkākāra of Bharata is mentioned. Rāhulaka seems to have composed a work in the nature of a vārtika on Bharata. Vide under Rāhulaka, Vārtikakāra and Śrīharṣa.

Bhāsa: On p. 320 a verse is cited from the 'Mahākavi' Bhāsa to illustrate the view "Resentment arises principally towards those who are wrong-doers; as regards the latter class of people, all at least mentally desire to suck even their blood; so people say 'if such a person (a wrongdoer) were caught, there would be no satiety (of revenge) even by drinking his blood."[2] On p. 251 a quotation

1 'अत्रेति भाष्ये अनुवंशभवौ शिष्याचार्यपरंपरासु वर्तमानौ श्लोकाख्यौ वृत्तविशेषौ सूत्रार्थसंक्षेपप्रकटीकरणेन कारिकाशब्दवाच्यौ भवन्तौ' p. 291; वनपर्व । 129. 8 'अत्रानुवंशं पठतः शृणु मे कुरुनन्दन।'

2 अधुना रौद्ररसं लक्षयति रौद्रो नामेति। ...... तथा चाह लोकः तादृशो यदि लभ्यते तत्तदीयं रुधिरमपि पीत्वा न तृप्यते। महाकविना भासेनापि स्वप्रबन्ध उक्तः 'त्रेतायुगं तद्धि न मैथिली सा रामस्य रागपदवी मृदु चास्य चेतः। लब्ध्वा जनस्य यदि रावणमस्य कायं प्रोत्कृत्य तन्न तिलशो न वितृप्तिगामी॥' इति। p. 320

is cited from Śrīharṣa in which the Mss. present the reading 'hāso nāma,' while the editor rightly conjectures that it must be 'Bhāso nāma.'

Bhejjala : On p. 216 a portion of a verse from this poet's drama is quoted under his name to illustrate the purpose of certain aṅgas behind the curtain. On p. 42 the whole verse is cited (without name) as an example of the fact that even combinations of kalās may be dwelt upon in Nāṭya (in this verse there is a combination of skill in ātodya and gīta).

Mahāvīracarita : On p. 298 the verse 'Dordaṇḍāñcita' is cited (without name) from the 2nd Act of this play to illustrate the proposition that 'vīra' is one of the rasas the delineation of which is resorted to with the result that another (viz. vismaya) is produced therefrom.

Mārīcavadha : On p. 183 this is mentioned as a 'rāga-kāvya' along with Rāghavavijaya and on p. 184 we are told that Mārīca-vadha has 'kakubhagrāma rāga'.

Yantrabhaṭṭa : On p. 208 this rather unusual name is cited on the difference between nṛtta and nātya.

Yogasutra : On p. 332 Yogasūtra (II. 33), on p. 335 Yoga-sūtra (I. 16), on p. 338 Yogasūtra (III. 10) and on p. 340 Yoga-sūtra IV. 27 are quoted.

Ratnāvali : This is one of the works most frequently cited. On p. 25 the verse 'jitam-uḍupatinā' (1. 5) is cited as an example of Nāndī put forward by Kohala as in accordance with Bharata's dicta; on p. 98 the verse 'pādāgrasthitayā' (I. 1.) is referred to as an example of the Karaṇa (posture) called Talapuṣpaputa ; the same verse is again mentioned on p. 170 for illustrating the proposition that the various deities are to be propitiated by dancing in which postures of the body are to be assumed imitating the various weapons or *vāhanas* of the deities ; the verse 'bhāti patito' (II. 11) is quoted on p. 275 in the examination of the view of Śaṅkuka on rasa for showing that the sthāyibhāva 'rati' resting in Udayana is suggested by apt acting and is not expressly conveyed by this verse ; on p. 299 the verse 'dṛśaḥ pṛthutarīkṛtāḥ' (II. 15) is referred to

for refuting the idea of some that from śṛṅgāra 'adbhuta' may arise; on p. 305 the Ratnāvali is expressly named and the verse 'rājyaṁ nirjita' (II. 10) is cited as an example where almost all the vibhāvas of *rati* are present (viz. the palace, going to the park, the worship of Kāmadeva, spring &c.). On p. 310 the Ratnāvali is impliedly referred to by saying that when there is *rati* (between the hero and heroine) the ten *avasthās* (stages) of love are the aṅgas of 'vipralambha' as in the case of Udayana since the moment he saw the picture board (in the 2nd Act).

Rāghavavijaya: On p. 174 it is said that this is a Rāgakāvya in which all the four puruṣārthas are inculcated, while in Dombikā only Kāma is dwelt upon; p. 183 again says that Rāghavavijaya is a 'rāgakāvya' and p. 184 says that it is in 'Thakkarāga;' p. 200 says that the Tāṇḍava nṛtta is not inappropriate in Rāghavavijaya even at the time when Sītā is described as swooning.

Rāhula or *Rāhulaka*: On p. 115 a verse of Rāhulaka is quoted on 'recita'; on p. 172 a verse of Rāhula is quoted in which Bharata is expressly mentioned[1] and immediately thereafter a verse of the Vārtikakāra is cited; on p. 197 Rāhulaka's view is mentioned as corresponding to Bharata's. These quotations show that Rahulaka was an author on the same topics on which Bharata, wrote but was different from the Vārtikakara referred to by Abhinavagupta and was probably the author of an independent work on Nāṭya. In the learned com. of Bhaṭṭotpala on the Bṛhat-saṁhitā (in the 'Vijianagram series, chap. 77.12 p. 966) there is a quotation from Bāhulaka (one verse and a half) on the ten *bhāvas* natural to women[2] followed by Āryās and Anuṣṭubhs defining these ten bhāvas (which also are apparently taken from the same author). These three half verses are the same as Daśarūpaka II. 32-33. Bāhulaka is almost certainly a wrong reading for Rāhulaka. It appears therefore that Rāhulaka was an authoritative writer on dramaturgy.

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1 यथाह राहुलः । परोक्षेपि हि वक्तव्यो नार्या प्रत्यक्षवत्प्रियः। सखी च नाट्यधर्मोयं भरते-नोदितं द्वयम् ॥

2 अत्र भावानां लक्षणं बाहुलकाल्लिख्यते । लीला विलासो विच्छित्तिर्विभ्रमः किलकिंचितम् । मोट्टायितं कुट्टमितं बिब्बोको ललितं तथा । विहृतं चेति विज्ञेया दश स्त्रीणां स्वभावतः ॥

Lollaṭa : On p. 208 Bhaṭṭalollata is cited in connection with the relation of nṛtta to nātya. Lollata's view was that nṛtta is a mere matter of convention when employed in nātya just as in marriage &c. music is employed as auspicious ; on p. 266 Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa is said to be opposed to the Audbhatas, the latter holding that, according to Kohala'a view, there are eleven consituents of Nātya, but not according to Bharata ; Bhatta Lollata's explanation of the sūtra on rasa is set out on p. 274 ; on p. 299 is set out the view of Lollata that though the rasas are numberless, yet these (nine) only are employed following the convention of leading men (of taste). From these passages it appears that Bhatta Lollata wrote a commentary on Bharata.

Vārtikakāra : On p. 31 in explaining the word 'Mitra' (in Bharata I. 84) Abhinava first explains Mitra to mean Āditya (the *sun*), *cites the explanation of the vārtikakāra* (*which as printed is* not very clear) and remarks that what the Vārtikakāra says is due to his not having well considered the matter ; on pp. 67-68 about five or six mutilated āryās are quoted on the construction of the 'nepathya-gṛha and raṅgapīṭha' ; on p. 172 an āryā is quoted from the Vārtikakāra (who is indicated to be not Rāhula), wherein it is suggested that there is no distinction between nṛtta and nāṭya ; on p. 174 another āryā from the Vārtika is cited on the same topic ; on p. 212 a prose passage is quoted from the Vārtika on pūrvaraṅga. From the foregoing it follows that the Vārtika explained difficult passages of the Nāṭyaśāstra, contained āryās and also prose passages, that its authority was open to examination and dissent in the days of Abhinava. The author of the Vārtika seems to have written in the style of the Tantra-vārtika of Kumārila (i. e. in prose and Kārikās) and he appears to have been different from Śrīharṣa and Rāhula.

Vikramorvaśīya : On p. 87 this drama is expressly mentioned ; on p. 42 the verse 'Avilapayo &c.' (V. 8) is quoted as an example of the combination of vaidyaka (here knowledge of herbs) with śṛṅgāra : on p. 307 the second half of the same verse is cited for showing that though the vyabhicāribhāvas 'ālasya', 'jugupsā' and 'augrya' are to be avoided in śṛṅgāra, that is so only when they are described as coming over the vibhāva of śṛṅgāra (viz. a

young woman &c.) and not otherwise ; on p. 311 the curse on Urvaśī (in the drama) is said to be meant by the great poet as an incident in śṛṅgāra.

Vindhyavāsin : On p. 11 it is said that Vindhyavāsin and others explained that the divine and human worlds are meant to be useful to each other. For Vindhyavāsin vide Journal of Indian History for 1927, pp. 35-49. Vindhyavāsin is mentioned even by Kumārila (latter half of 7th century) in connection with the ' antarābhava ' body.

Viśākhila: On p. 199 it is said that ' lāsyagāna ' treated of by Viśākhila is included in the ' catuṣpadā described by Bharata '. Viśākhila is mentioned in Vāmana's Kāvyālaṁkārasūtravṛtti (I. 3. 7) as an author on singing &c. and also in the Kuṭṭanīmata.

Veṇīsaṁhāra : On p. 42 it is expressly mentioned for showing that the highest knowledge (viz. of the self) may be embodied in a drama (as in ' ātmārāmā ' &c. I. 23) : on p. 297 a verse of the drama (last verse of Act IV) is quoted in full for elucidating the proposition that *raudra* is a rasa which after its own purpose is fulfilled is followed by another rasa (here karuṇa) ; on p. 298 a prose passage from the 4th Act of the Veṇīsaṁhāra is quoted and also a pāda from V. 5, pp. 320-321 refer to the incident of Bhīmasena's drinking the blood of Duḥśāsana and its explanation.

Śaṅkuka : He is one of the authors most frequently mentioned. On p. 67 Śaṅkuka's explanation of Bharata II. 97-98 is set out ; on p. 75 Abhinava finds fault with Śaṅkuka's lengthy explanation of Bharata III. 22 ; on pp. 216-217 it is noticed that Śaṅkuka had other readings of the Nāṭyaśāstra (29th chap.) than those of Abhinava ; on pp. 274-278 Śaṅkuka's view about rasa is set forth and criticized ; on pp. 285 and 293 Śaṅkuka's view of rasa is again briefly refuted ; on p. 298 it is stated that from Vīrarasa bhayānaka arises, as in Veṇīsaṁhāra (5. 5) and that Śaṅkuka's remark on this verse that in this there is no functioning of *utsāha* (the sthāyibhāva of vīra) is wrong ;[1] on p. 318 Śaṅkuka's view

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[1] एवं वीराद्भयानकोत्पत्तिः । यथा 'कर्णस्यात्मजमग्रतः शमयतो भितिं जगत्फाल्गुनात्' । यस्त्वत्र श्रीशङ्कुकेनोक्तं नात्रोत्साहस्य व्यापार इति तदसत् । एवं हि निर्विषय एवोत्साहः स्यात्कर्तव्यानानुसंधानात् । p. 298 .

about karuṇa is set forth and refuted. Śaṅkuka says 'the sense of pity that is in the heart of a person is known in ordinary life as karuṇā ; that karuṇā is styled karuṇa in the case of the audience who apprehend by appropriate signs sorrow in the (actor) who imitates (the state of sorrow)'. Abhinava replies that this statement blazons forth Śaṅkuka's forgetfulness of the sequence of things ; karuṇa is a reflection (or corresponding sentiment), of sorrow and 'dayā' really means 'the desire to protect or help ; how can dayā be an imitation of sorrow and towards what is the 'dayā' of the audience directed ?. The foregoing establishes that Śaṅkuka commented upon the Nāṭyaśāstra and did not merely compose an independent work like Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, that he was later than the Veṇīsaṁhāra. For Śaṅkuka vide p. X of my History of Alaṁkāra Literature.

Sahṛdaya : On p. 173 there is a reference to 'sahṛdayāḥ' and the following text is, as printed, quite corrupt. We should probably read "अत एव सहृदयाः स्मरन्ति 'वधसम चूडामणिआ' ". Abhinava is probably quoting some Prākrit Āryā of Sahṛdaya who is either the teacher of Ānandavardhana or Ānandavardhana himself.

Sahṛdayadarpaṇa : Vide under Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka.

Sahṛdayālokalocana—Vide under Dhvanikāra above.

Setubandha : On p. 326 in explaining the word 'utsāha' (in Bharata, VI. 84) it is said that 'utsāha' means 'encouraging one who is weak and almost sunk in despair, as in the poem called Setubandha'.[1]

Svapnavāsavadattā : On p. 39 it is said that in certain nāṭakas, dharma is prominent as in Chalitarāma where the Aśvamedha sacrifice is predominant so far as Rāma is concerned, in some (nāṭakas) playfulness (krīḍā) is prominent as in Svapnavāsavadattā'; on p. 87 Abhinava says that popular usage allows the juxtaposition of two nouns in different genders as in 'Svapnavāsavadattā nāṭakam.'

Harṣavārtika : On p. 207 a prose passage is quoted from Harṣavārtika on the difference between nṛtta and nāṭya ; on p. 211 Śrīharṣa's explanation of 'pūrvaraṅga' (occurring in Bharata V. 7) is cited and an āryā is quoted from him ; on p. 251 Śrīharṣa is again quoted (in prose) as referring to a poet Hāsa (Bhāsa ?) These

1 उत्साहनमुत्साहोऽबलस्य विषण्णप्रायस्योत्तेजनं यथा सेतुबन्धकाव्ये p. 326

quotations show that Śrīharṣa wrote a Vartika on the Nāṭyaśāstra which was partly in prose and partly in verse (Aryas principally). Who this Śrīharṣa was it is very difficult to say. He was probably from Kashmir. If a conjecture may be hazarded, the Harṣavārtika may be the same as the work of Mātṛgupta on dramaturgy. It is remarkable that Mātṛgupta who is profusely quoted by Rāghavabhaṭṭa on the Śakuntala is nowhere cited by Abhinava in this volume. Mātṛgupta was a protege of Emperor Vikramāditya Harṣa, who bestowed on him the throne of Kashmīr (Rājataraṅgiṇī III. 129-323).

Besides authors and works Abhinava's work contains some striking remarks on various interesting matters. A few will be noted below.

On p. 272 he points out the distinction between 'gāna' and 'gāndharva'; on p. 250 he points out that the sūtradhāra and sthāpaka are identical, the first epithet being used till the pūrvaraṅga is finished; on pp. 26 and 219 he explains why ancient poets write in their books the works 'nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ'.[1] This explanation goes a great way towards answering the arguments of those who rely on the occurrence of similar words in the thirteen Trivandurm plays as one of the main planks of their theory of Bhāsa's authorship. Abhinavagupta quotes on p. 305 the well-known verse 'asamāptajigīṣasya' which occurs in Rājataraṅgiṇī IV. 441. This shows that it is a verse of some early author and not Kalhaṇa's and that my conjecture (in 'History of Alaṁkara Literature' p. XI) that it is Kalhaṇa's was wrong. Abhinava frequently refers to several explanations of the same verse in the words 'kecit', 'anye' and gives no less than four explanations of Bharata IV. 169 and at least six different views on IV. 331. In various places he notes and discusses various readings; vide pp. 50, 93, 96, 226, 241, 269, 340.

I Bharata's words (I, 56-57) are पूर्वंकृता मया नान्दी ... ... तदन्तेनुकृतिर्बद्धा etc.' अभिनवगुप्त explains 'तदन्ते इति नान्द्यन्ते परिसमाप्तौ । अनुकृतिरिति नाट्यं तत्र च बद्धेति गणनिका योजिता । न तु प्रयोग इति। एतच्चासत् तत्पूर्वोत्तरव्याघातात् । ...' ... प्रस्तावना तावत्प्रयुक्तेत्यर्थः, अन्ये त्वनुकृतिरिति नाट्यानुकाररूपा प्रस्तावनमाहुः कृता तदन्तेनुकृतिरिति च पठन्ति । एतदुपजीविनेनैव चिरंतनाः कवयो नान्द्यन्ते सूत्रधार इति पुस्तके लिखन्ति स्म । p. 26

VASANTARĀJĪYAM : A FORGOTTEN WORK ON INDIAN DRAMATURGY—BY N. VENKATARAO, B. A.,

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This treatise on Indian Dramaturgy, one of the most important, if not one of the earliest Āndhra contributions to Alaṁkāra literature, was the work of Kumāragiri, a Reddi king who ruled in Telugu country in the closing years of the fourteenth century. This work from its inception seems to have attracted the attention of well known South Indian Sanskrit scholars and commentators. Kātayavèma, the author of Kumāragirirājīya commentaries on the three famous dramas of Kālidāsa, proposes to follow it ; Mallinātha Suri and Kumārasvāmi cite it ; while [1] Nādindla Gopa Manthri, author of Candrikā commentary on Prabodhachandrodayaṃ, makes full use of it. But it is highly regrettable that such an important and valuable addition to Alaṁkāra literature has been lost and we are to be satisfied with the small rays of information gleaned from the commentators.

It has been already pointed out that the author of Vasantarājīyam was a Reddi King. The Reddi kings[2] were a powerful clan of Āndhra chieftains, who came into prominence after the downfall of Kākatīyas at Orangal about 1330 A. D. and ruled a large tract of Telugu country for over a century. They were great patrons of learning and it will not be out of place to give here a brief summary of their history and culture, when dealing with Vasantarājīyam. The founder of Reddi kingdom seems to have been Komati Prolaya Reddi, who was at first a commander under the last Kākatīya king Pratāpa Rudra and founded the Reddi kingdom with his capital at Addanki in 1320. Next came Prolaya Vema Reddi, one

1 The name of the Commentator in the printed edition (Nirnayasagara Press 1924) should be नाद्रिंड्लगोपमन्त्री and not नाण्डड्लगोपमन्त्री as printed therein. That the surname नाद्रिंड्ल is correct is known from a Telugu work called Rājaśekhara Carithram written by Madayyagāri Mallanna and dedicated to Nadindla Appamanthri brother of Gopamanthri (Rājaśekhara Carithram, Cintāmaṇi Magazine July 1898, page 1 verse 4)

2 Genealogy of these is given on p. 408.

of the greatest in the line, and built nearly twenty-four forts at places like Kondapalli, Kondavidu and Dhānyavati. He was mainly instrumental in constructing the steps to Pātālagaṅgā at Śrī Śailam, the famous South Indian Śaiva Shrine. This fact is known from the introduction of Śṛṅgāradīpikā commentary on Amaru Śatakam by Pedakomati Vema :

राज्यं वेमस्तु चिरमकरोत्प्राज्यहेमाद्रिदानो
भूमीदेवैर्भुवमुरुभुजो भुक्तशेषामभुङ्क्त ।
श्रीशैलाग्रात् प्रभवति पथि प्राप्तपातालगङ्गा-
सोपानानि प्रथमपदवीमारुरुक्षुश्चकार ॥

He was a great patron of letters and honoured Y rrā Pragada known as Prabandha Parameśvara, who wrote in ' elugu Rāmāyaṇam, Narasiṁha purāṇam, Harivaṁśam and completed the Āraṇya Parva portion of Mahābhāratam. His Rāmayaṇam is now lost.

[1] Lolla Mahādevakavi was the Sanskrit poet who adorned his court.

यः कर्णाटवसुन्धराधिपमहास्थाने सुवर्णायितो
यो नित्यं निकषायितो नृपगृहे वेमाख्यपृथ्वीशितुः ॥
श्रीमल्लोल्लटभट्टशिष्य इति यो लोल्लाख्यया श्रूयते ।
श्रीशेषान्वयशेखरस्सहि महादेवो विपश्चिन्महान् ॥

Prolaya Vema Reddi reigned till 1350 and was succeeded by Ana Potha Reddy (1350-1366). In his time one Bālasarasvatī became famous as the writer of Inscriptions, and many inscriptions describing the charities of Ana Pota were written in Sanskrit by him. Ana Pota died in 1366 and his son, Kumāragiri, the author of

1 It is evident from the above that the surname Lolla was derived from the fact that the progenitor of the family was a disciple of Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa the famous commentator of Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstram (790 A. D.) The seventh descendant of the line Lolla Lakṣmīdhara was a great Sanskrit scholar and poet, and was at the courts of Virarudra Gajapaty King of Orissa and afterwards at the court of Kṛṣṇa Devarāya of Vizianagar (1509—1530 A. D.). He was the author of Sarasvatī Vilāsam, which is some times attributed to his first patron Virarudra Gajapaty, a portion of Daivajña Vilāsam and a commentary on Saundaryalahari. He must however be distinguished from Lakṣmīdhara, author of Ṣaḍbhāṣā Candrikā, the prakrit grammar, who was at the court of Thirumalaraja to whom the Śruti Rañjanī commentary on Gīta Govinda is sometimes attributed. Vide Introduction to Trivikrama's Prakrit Grammar, K. T. Laddu, B. A., Ph. D., translated form German by Prin. P. V. Ramanujaswamy, M. A., (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona, Vol. X. pp. 178-184.)

Vasantarājīyam, being a minor the kingdom passed to Anavema, who was known as Dharmavema for his many charitable acts. A Sanskrit scholar known as Thrilocanācārya was a writer of inscriptions in his time. Ana Vema reigned till 1383 and was succeeded by Kumāragiri who reigned, as we will see later on for a short period. Kumāragiri had a minor son and after Kumāragiri, Peda Komati Vema, a grandson of the brother of Prolaya Vema, came to the throne. In his time Telugu and Sanskit literatures flourished side by side. Peda Komati Vema himself was a great scholar and known as Vīra Nārāyaṇa. He was known as Sarvajña Cakravarthi for his great learning.

चूडामणिर्नृपाणां
    दुर्मदपरिपन्थिशिखरिदम्भोलिः ।
सर्वज्ञचक्रवर्ती
    वेमकोमटिवेमभूपतिर्जयति ॥

Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa known as Gadyakavi Sārvabhauma, and Śrīnātha the great, also known as Kavi Sārvabhauma, adorned his court as Sanskrit Poet and Telugu Poet respectively. The latter is also known as Vidyādhikāri and was the author of many an inscription in time of Peda Komati Vema. Of the works of Pedakomati Vema the commentary on Amaru Śataka called Śṛṅgāradīpikā is well known throughout the Andhra country and South India. Sāhitya Cintāmaṇi was a great work on Alaṁkāra, and was cited by Kumārasvāmi. A commentary on Hāla's Saptaśatī seems to have been written by Pedakomativema as is evident from the colophon.

हालः प्राकृतसप्तशतीं गाथाकोटेर्व्यधत्त संप्रति तु ।
सोयं वेमनृपालस्तस्या अपि शतकमहरत्सारम् ॥

Besides [1] Saṁgīta-cintāmaṇi a work on music and Vīranārāyaṇa-carita a Bhāṇa (not Vīranārāyaṇa-carita which is an Ākhyāyika) by Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa are also attributed to him.

Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, was the author of the following works.

Dramas : Pārvatīpariṇayam Śṛṅgāra Bhūṣaṇa Bhāṇam.

Kāvyas : Raghunāthābhyudayam and Nalābhyudayam.

Prose works : Vemabhūpāla Carita.

Lexicons : Śabdaratnākaram and Śabda Candrikā.

1 Pandit V. Prabhakarasastri's Śṛṅgāra Śrīnātham. (Telugu) page 77. This book is the life of Śrīnātha as quoted above and contains valuable information regarding the historical as well as cultural aspect of the times we are now dealing with.

Śrīnātha (1385-1475) was one of the greatest of Telugu Poets whose influence on his successors was most marked. He translated Harṣa Naiṣadham into Telugu besides Kāśīkhaṇḍam and Bhīmakhaṇḍam. His earlier works like the Telugu translation of Hāla's Śaptaśatī, Maruttaratcaritra, Paṇḍitāradhya Caritra, were lost. His other independent works like Śivarāttri Māhātmyam, Haravilāsam and Krīḍābhirāmam are well known. Mamidi Singaya, the minister of Pedakomati Vema was a great scholar in Astronomy and wrote a commentary on an astronomical work, the Soma Siddhānta, in 1418.[1] Kāṭaya Vema as already referred to wrote commentaries on the three famous dramas of Kālidāsa. Though he often speaks of Kumāragiri as his patron, yet he is the brother-in-law of Kumāragiri, being the husband of Mallāmbikā, daughter of Potareddy, as known from the Kaluva Ceru inscription of Anithalli, the daughter of Kāṭayavema in 1423—

श्रीमत्काटयभूपतेर्भुजभृतो नप्ता प्रतापोन्नतेः
पौत्रो मारमहीश्वरस्य तनयः श्रीकाटयोर्वीविभोः ।
जामाता प्रभुरन्नपोतनृपतेर्वेमक्षमाधीश्वरो
यस्यासीत्स कुमारगिर्यधिपतिः श्यालः पतिर्दैवतम् ॥

Kāṭayavema was a powerful personality, and Kumāragiri being aware of his power appointed him as his minister and gave him Rajahmundry portion for the help rendered by him in establishing peace and order in his kingdom. After the fall of the Reddy kings with the death of Rachavema son of Pedakomativema in 1424 the successors of Kāṭayavema became independent and ruled that principality for some time. They were also patrons of learning and Śrīnātha dedicated his Kaśīkhaṇḍam to Vīrabhadrā Reddy, a member of this line, and Bhīmakhaṇḍam to Bendapudi Annā manthri, his minister.

Thus we see that the period when the Reddi kings reigned was a period of great literary activity and each king did his best to keep up the noble traditions of culture during his regime.

The work, Vasantarājīyam, was already introduced to the literary world through Prof. S. K. De's History of Sanskrit Poetics

1 A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library vol. II. part I, see pages 2428–29.

Vol. I, pp. 310 & 311. In Vol. I, page 130, it is stated that the author of the work is Kumāragiri, but it is curious how the learned professor stated in Vol II, (additions and corrections to Vol. I, page 385) that Vasantarāja ruled over Kumāragiri. That Kumāragiri is the name of the person who composed Vasantarājīyam is known from the Kumāragirirājīya commentary on Śākuntala by Kātayavema.

मुनीनां भरतादीनां भोजादीनां च भूभुजाम् ।
शास्त्राणि सम्यगालोच्य नाट्यवेदार्थवेदिनाम् ॥
प्रोक्तं वसन्तराजेन कुमारगिरिभूभुजा ।
नाम्ना वसन्तराजीयं नाट्यशास्त्रं यदुत्तमम् ॥

Kumāragiri during his regime completely handed over the administration to his brother-in-law and minister Kātayavema, who kept the whole kingdom in peace and order. Having been completely relieved of the onerous duties of administration Kumāragiri spent his time in literary pursuit and Vasanta festivals. It is his absorbing interest in the latter vocation that brought him the name of Vasantarāja by which he was widely known, and the name of the work Vasantarājīyam can be cited as an instance. His delight in the performance of the Vasanta festivals was so great that he used to have a big place called Sugandha Śālā, containing the requisites, and it was superintended by one Avachi Thippayya, a merchant to whom Śrīnātha dedicated his Haravilāsam. In the introduction of the work Śrīnātha states that Kumāragiri used to perform the Vasanta festivals every year in great eclat, and Avachi Thippayya used to supply him with the necessary requirements. Śrīnātha further states that the family of Avachi Thippaya is well known for their sea-borne trade and that they used to get perfumes not only from places like Punjab, Goa and Ceylon but also from places like China and Java.

From Haravilāsam, we get a clue to the time of Kumāragiri. Kumāragiri was stated in the work as a contemporary of Harihararāya of Vizianagar dynasty and Ferojshah of Delhi. Of the three Harihararāyas of the Vizianagar dynasty Harihara II who ruled from 1377-1404 A. D. seems to be the contemporary of Kumāragiri, as Ferojshah of Delhi reigned from 1397-1422 A. D. The Āndhra Historians and biographers have come to a closer approximation of the date of Kumāragiri. Pandit Prabhākaraśāstri assigns

Kumāragiri a period of nearly nine years from 1391-1400 A. D. while the late Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu in his lives of Poets (vol. I, revised 1917, page 430) states that Kumaragiri reigned from 1383-1400. But all scholars have agreed that Kumāragiri reigned only for a short period and we can say with some exactness that he lived from 1365-1400 and that he reigned for a period of seven years.

As the work is completely lost, we are not now in a position to state the exact aim and scope of it. Some of the citations listed below clearly show that it not only deals with the principles of Dramaturgy but also deals with Rasa and Śakuna Śāstram. The name Nātya Śāstra suggests that Kumāragiri perhaps thought of writing a big work modelled on Bharata's Nāṭya Śastra. But we must differ from giving any opinion as regards the range of the work, until it is found—if ever it happens by the indefatigable industry of any Oriental scholar.

यन्नाट्यवस्तुनः पूर्वं रङ्गविघ्नोपशान्तये ।
कुशीलवाः प्रकुर्वन्ति पूर्वरङ्गः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

Mallinātha, Commentary on Māgha Kāvya, Second Canto, 8th verse.
(Nirnaya Sāgar Edition 1927)

मदेन मदनेनापि प्रेरिता शिथिलत्रपा ।
योत्सुकाभिसरेत् कान्तं सा भवेदभिसारिका ॥

Vikramorvaśīyam (Kātayavema Kumāragiri Rājīya Commentary).

धृतातपत्रः शुभशुक्लवासाः
पुष्पार्चितश्चन्दनचर्चिताङ्गः ।
विप्रद्विशखावान् कृतभोजनश्च ।
ददाति दृष्टः पथि सर्वसिद्धिम् ॥

Kumārasvāmi Ratnāpaṇa Commentary on Pratāpa Rudrīyam.

यद्यप्यङ्गानि भूयांसि पूर्वरङ्गस्य नाटके
तेषामवश्यं कर्तव्या नान्दी नान्दीश्वरप्रिया ॥

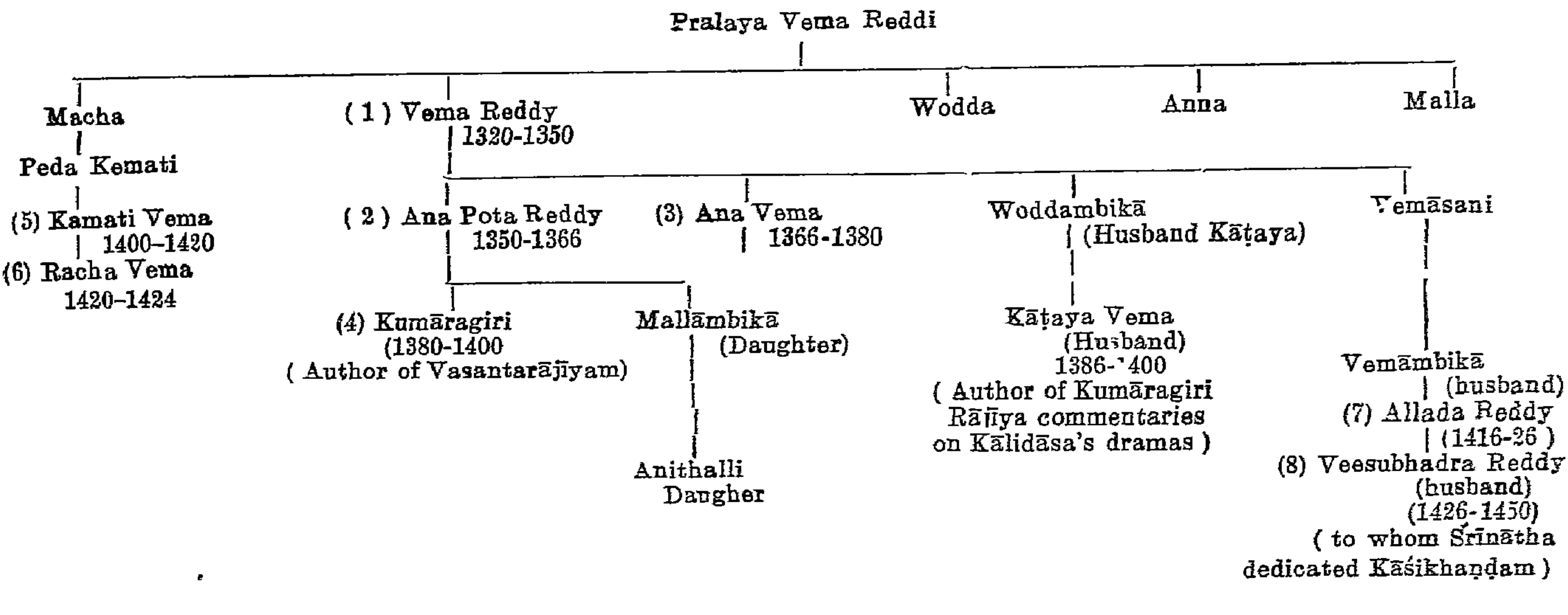
Nadindla Gopamanthri Candrikā, Commentary on Prabodhacandrodayam (Nirnaya Sāgar Edition).

तथोक्तं वसन्तराजीये—

सूचने पात्रभेदानां तत्स्वभावार्थसूचनी ।
या गीतिः सा ध्रुवा तुल्यसंविधानाविशेषणे ॥
प्रावेशिक्याक्षेपिकी च तथा प्रासादिकीति च ।
नैष्क्रामिक्यान्तरी चेति तासां लक्षणमुच्यते ॥
प्रवेशसूचकादौ तु ध्रुवा प्रावेशिकी मता ।
प्रसङ्गमध्येऽन्यार्थस्याक्षेपादाक्षेपिकी मता ॥
प्रासादिकी तु पात्राणां व्याकुलानां प्रसादनात् ।
निष्क्रामसूचिकायान्ते ध्रुवा नैष्क्रामिकी भवेत् ॥
विषादे विस्मृतौ क्रोधे प्रमादे संभ्रमे मदे ।
दोषप्रच्छादनादौ च गीयते यातु सान्तरी ॥ इति ॥

Nadindla Gopamanthri Candrikā, Commentary on Prabodhacandrodayam (Nirnaya Sāgar Edition).

Genealogy of Reddi Kings



Note—Nos 1 to 6 are Reddy Kings who ruled in direct succession; 7 and 8 are Reddy Kings who ruled the Rajahmundry Principality after the downfall of Reddi Kings.

DOUBLE TIME IN SANSKRIT PLAYS — By Principal P. V. Ramanujaswami, M.A., Maharajah's Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram.

While the Greeks insisted that the events described in a drama should not exceed in time the limits of a single day, the Indians laid down the same time limit with regard to a single act. The events described in an act must be those of one day while any length of time, but not exceeding a year, may intervene between the events described in one act and those described in another. But if a longer period is to have passed by, it must be reduced to a year or less by means of intermediate scenes, five species of which have been recognised by Indian writers on dramaturgy. This is the sort of Unity of Time or rather restriction with regard to the time of the action recognised or imposed on themselves by Sanskrit Dramatists; for I consider that the theory of dramaturgy is itself based on the practice of the best playwrights. We are not concerned here with the Unity of Time and how well or ill it was followed by dramatists, but with the manner in which they computed time or in other words their conception and expression of the time of the action or events described in their plays—whether they arranged the events in one strict temporal sequence.

Sanskrit Dramatists, from Bhāsa downwards, " count off days and hours as it were by two clocks " as Professor Wilson says with regard to Shakespeare, " on one of which the true Historic Time is recorded, and on the other, a false show of time whereby days, weeks and months may be to the utmost contracted " and I may add, protracted. The real or Historic Time is explicitly described or referred to in the course of the conversation while false or Dramatic Time can be gathered from the course of the action and cannot be so clearly enumerated. We are thus confronted with, and compelled to accept, two computations of time both of which are necessary for the effective development of the plot, and appear to be

designedly introduced by the author. I shall analyse as rapidly as posssible some of the plays of the famous Sanskrit Dramatists and quote some passages from them in order to bring out the duality of the conception of time embodied in their plots.

We shall begin with Bhāsa, the foremost dramatist before Kālidāsa and take up the *Avimāraka*, the most characteristic of his dramas. The king of the Sauvīras, on behalf of his son, Viṣṇusena, famous as Avimāraka, seeks the hand of Kuraṅgī, daughter of Kuntibhoja of Vairantya, who, however, refuses the offer on the pretext that his daughter is still too young to be married. Subsequently through the curse of sage Bhārgava, the king of Sauvīras and his queen and son come and live in Vairantya in the guise of *caṇḍālas* for a period of one year. Viṣṇusena (Avimāraka) accidentally sees Kuraṅgī and mutual love springs up between them. By the help of the *Dhātrī* of Kuraṅgī, he enters her palace and lives there for nearly a year enjoying amorous pleasures, at the end of which period he is discovered but escapes from the palace, and while about to put an end to his life through despair, meets a *Vidyādhara* who gives him a magic ring by the help of which he re-enters the palace of Kuraṅgī. Kuntibhoja, not hearing of Viṣṇusena or his father for a long time, offers his daughter to the son of the King of Kāśī and invites him. But before his arrival, Kuntibhoja comes to know that the king of the Sauvīras is living in disguise in his own city, seeks and discovers him. While the Kings were regretting the disappearance of Viṣṇusena, sage Nārada appears on the scene, reveals to them the secret marriage of Kuraṅgī with Avimāraka, reconciles the Queen of Kāśī by marrying the second daughter of Kuntibhoja to her son and disappears having blessed the newly married couple. The Historic time here is of course one year as will be evident from a number of clear statements in the play.

Nalinikā— *eso khu saṁvaccharo adikkando bhaṭṭidāriāe avicchiṇṇasuhasambhoeṇa radiṁ karia* (Act IV)

Sauvīrarājaḥ—

Yāvat pracchannarūpeṇa tāvat saṁvatsaraṁ vraje (*t* ? *ḥ*) ।
Tataḥ saṁvatsare pūrṇe muktaśāpo bhaviṣyati ॥
adyāsmi śāpān muktaḥ (Act VI)

The Dramatic Time is considerably shorter. Kuntibhoja sends his minister, Bhūtika, to fetch the King of Kāśī and his son promising to give his daughter in marriage to the latter, and the minister sets out on the day on which the incidents described in Acts II and III have taken place.

Dhātrī— *ajja eva pavisidavvaṁ kaṇṇāuraṁ amacco ayya Bhūdio kaṇṇāurarakkhao Kāsirāadūdeṇa saha ahmāaṁ Mahāraeṇa pūido patthido a* (Act II).

Māgadhikā— *Ajja ṇakkhattaṁ sobhaṇaṁ tti teṇa a dūdeṇa amacco ayya Bhudio patthido* (Act III).

He is reported to have returned to Vairantya along with the Queen of Kāśī and her son on the day on which the events described in Act VI have taken place.

Dhātrī— *aha a dāṇi Kāsirāaputto Jaavammā ṇāma bhaṭṭiṇīe Sudassaṇāe saha amacceṇa Bhūdieṇa āṇīdo sampadi rāaūlaṁ paviṭṭho.* (Act VI).

On the same day Sudarśanā complains to sage Nārada-*Bhaavaṁ, esu diasesu Kuraṅgī Jaavammaṇo bhuyyatti pucchadi ajjappahudi tassa vandaṇīa saṁvuttā.* (Act VI).

The above speeches as well as the action presuppose a short interval — at any rate not such a long one as that of a year. An interval of a year is not required by the exigencies of the action, not to say is detrimental to the development of it. It will then lose its realism.

We shall next consider the plot of the *Nāgānanda*, the *nāṭaka* of Śrīharṣa with an apparent Buddhistic colouring. The hero is Jīmūtavāhana who was predicted to be, and at the end of the play is actually crowned, King of the Vidyādharas. One day, while searching for an appropriate spot for the hermitage of his father who renounced his kingdom and became a forest hermit, Jīmūtavāhana falls in with Princess Malayavatī of the Siddhas in a temple dedicated to the Goddess Gaurī, and falls in love with her — not knowing who she is. She reciprocates his love, and her father approving of the match sends proposals of marriage to his father through the Prince, her brother. Shortly after marriage, the hero encounters Śaṅkhacūḍa, a *naga* sent as victim by the King of serpents to the King of birds, takes pity on him, offers himself in his stead and is

finally devoured by the vulture but is brought to life again by the Goddess Gaurī and advises Garuḍa to repent his cruel deed and not consume any more *nāgas*, when the latter, repentant, kneels at his feet and solicits means of expiation for his sin. In this drama, the Dramatic time is a protraction of the Historic time. The two Kings, the father of Malayavatī and the father of Jīmūtavāhana, live about the same place, at any rate very near each other. In Act I Prince Mitrāvasu leaves his father at the latter's bidding to offer the hand of the Princess to Jīmūtavāhana, and meets the latter in Act II, just before the hero and heroine meet each other for the second time. The events of the first two acts, therefore, naturally take place in the forenoon and afternoon of one and the same day; the marriage takes place in the following night and the events of the third act relate to the next day. But for the delineation of the development of love between the hero and heroine, the author requires some interval, and attains it by a false show of it. The hero has spent many a watchful nights in a wretched condition in recollecting the form and amourous sports of his love and he has also seen her in a dream.

Nāyakaḥ—*Nītāḥ kiṁ na niśāḥ śaśāṅkadhavala nāghrātam indīvaraṁ*
Kim nōnmīlitamālatīsurabhayaḥ soḍhāḥ pradoṣānilāḥ (Act ii)

and a little later he says—*Adya khalu svapne jānāmi saiva priyatamā atra candanalatāgṛhe candramaṇiśilāyāṁ upaviṣṭā praṇayakupitā kimapi mām upālabhamāneva mayā rudatī dṛṣṭa.* Another daring presentation of double time is found in the third act of the play. At the commencement of the act we are in the morning, as the following remark of *Viṭa* shows: *Tā kīsa sā dāṇiṁ pahādevi ṇa āacchadi.* By the end of the act we are, as it were by magic, transported to the evening; for the hero remarks at the end of the act:

Samprati hi pariṇataṁ ahaḥ, tathā hi—
Nidrāmudrāprabandhān madhukaraṁ aṁśaṁ padmakośādapāsyann
Āśāpūraikakarmapravaṇanijakaraprīṇitāśēṣaviśvaḥ ।
Dṛṣṭaḥ siddhaiḥ prayuktastutimukharamukhair astam apy eṣa yāsyann
Ekaḥ ślāghyo vivasvān parahitakaraṇāyaiva yasya prayāsuḥ ॥

The morning of the real or Historic Time is metamorphosed into

the evening of the false or Dramatic Time. We thus see that in the first three acts of the drama events of a day and a half are described as if distributed over nearly a week. Again although there is really no interval between Acts iii and iv we feel as if some days have elapsed between them.

We shall now turn to Bhavabhūti and take up his lengthy dramatic piece, the *Mālatīmādhava*. Mālatī and Mādhava are the issues of the Ministers Bhūrivasu and Devarāta of Magadha and Vidarbha respectively, who in their student days made a compact in the presence of their teacher, Kāmandakī, to marry their children to each other. The King of Magadha desired his Minister to bestow his daughter on Nandana, his boon companion. Bhūrivasu, therefore, put on an appearance of indifference towards Mādhava and secretly requested his old teacher and friend to bring about the marriage of the young couple. Kāmandakī, consequently, arranges meetings of the hero and heroine several times and they are enamoured of each other. Nandana's sister and Mālatī's friend, Madayantikā is rescued from a tiger by Makaranda, the friend of Mādhava and love springs up between them. Relying on the sincerity of Bhūrivasu, the King appoints the day for the marriage of Mālatī with Nandana and Mādhava in despair repairs to the cemetery to put an end to his life, but has unexpectedly the fortune of saving Mālatī from the hands of the priest of the Goddess Cāmuṇḍā, who with his disciple, Kapālakuṇḍalā, was about to offer her in sacrifice to the deity. Malatī and Mādhava flee, and Makaranda in Mālatī's attire weds Nandana, who is repulsed by his bride and vows never to look her in the face again. Madayantikā comes to rebuke her sister-in-law but finding in her, her lover, elopes with him to the retreat of their friends. They are pursued, but Mādhava saves them by routing their foes. In the meantime Mālatī is carried off by Kapālakuṇḍalā to avenge the death of her master but is rescued by Saudāminī, an old pupil of Kāmandakī, who restores her to Mādhava. The King, hearing of the bravery of Mādhava, forgives the fugitives and approves of the marriage of Mālatī with Mādhava.

The meeting of Mālatī and Mādhava in the temple of Śiva (Act iii) takes place on a *kṛṣṇacaturdaśī*.

Avalokitā — *Ajja kasuṇacauddasitti bhaavadīe samaṁ Māladī Saṅkaraghraṁ gamissadi* (Act iii).

The fourth act is a continuation of the preceding act and takes place on the same day. In the fifth act Mādhava rescues Mālatī from the hands of Aghoraghanta in the temple of Cāmuṇḍā in the cemetery. The following passage shows that the incident took place in the same night—

Lavaṅgikā—*Bhaav.di, kasaṇacauddasīraaṇīmasāṇasañcaraṇiwvallida-visamavvavasāaṇivvāpiacaṇḍapāsaṇḍapaṇḍadoddaṇḍasāhaso sāhasio kkhu eso* (Act vi).

The seventh and eighth acts are synchronous and take place in the evening on the fourth or fifth day of the dark fortnight, and the sixth act has probably taken place in the morning of the same day.

Buddharakṣitā—*Aaṁ cr ṇavavadhugharappavesaviraīdākālakomudī-mahusav ppauttipajjāulāsesapaiiaṇo padoso aṇuulaīssadi ajja ṇo vavasidaṁ* (Act vii).

Avalokitā—*Ede de ṇivvattidagimhadiahāvasāṇamajjaṇā dīhiāta-ḍasilādalaṁ alaṅkaranti MāladīMāhavā* (Act viii).

And further :

Buddharakṣitā —

Preyān manorathasahasravṛtaḥ sa eṣa
Suptapramattajanam etad amātyaveśma ।
Prauḍhaṁ tamaḥ—

(Act vii)

Mādhavaḥ—*(sānandam) Vartate hi manmathaprauḍhasuhṛdo niśīthasya yauvanaśrīḥ* ; *tathāhi,* (Act viii).

But a little later it is said that the King witnessed the rout in the moonlight from the top of his palace.

Lavaṅgikā—*Mahārāo vi kila mantidhīāṇaṁ vippalambhavuttantaṁ suṇia candādavena sohasiharatthido pekkhadi tti mantīadi* (Act viii).

It must therefore be a day early in the dark fortnight and the interval between Acts v and vi cannot consequently be less than twenty days. This long interval (according to the true or Historic Time) appears to vanish away according to the false or Dramatic time which suggests itself from some other passages in the play. It appears incredible that Kapālakuṇḍalā should seek to take revenge on Mādhava after the lapse of twenty days. The King is not likely to delay for twenty days the celebration of the marriage (Act. vi)

when once it is settled (Act iv). Further Madayantikā says in Act iv—*Sahi Buddharakkhide, dāṇiṁ vivāhamahūsavaṁ sambhāvehma*, as if the marriage will be celebrated that very night !

If the double time is not so conspicuous in Bhavabhūti's drama, it is most prominent in Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī* which is the earliest specimen of a drama written entirely in Prakrit. The play opens with a description of the spring in which the *Vidūṣaka* and a maiden vie with each other in poetical composition before King Caṇḍapāla and his Queen. A magician, Bhairavānanda by name, displays to them Princess Karpūramañjarī of Kuntala who tells her tale and is recongnised by the Queen as her cousin. At the request of the Queen, the magician allows her to keep the Princess with her for fifteen days. At first sight the King and the Princess fall in love and the latter manages to send the King a love letter through Vicakṣaṇā, a maid servant, who along with the *Vidūṣaka* helps the King to have a look of the Princess swinging and fulfilling the *dohada* of certain trees. The queen catching a scent of the love between them, imprisons her in a cell but she enjoys another meeting with the King in the garden by means of an underground passage made by the King and is again discovered by the Queen who blocks up the passage. But another subterranean passage is made leading from the cell to a temple of Cāmuṇḍā opening behind the image. Bhairavānanda demands the consent of the Queen to marry the King with Princess of Lāta whose husband is predicted to obtain imperial rank. She is no other than Karpūramañjarī herself and the Queen unwittingly gives her consent to an alliance which she was so jealously guarding against. As has been said already, the magician allows the Princess to remain with the Queen for fifteen days (Act I). The full-moon is described in the third act and the second and fourth acts take place on the fourth day of different fortnights. The interval between the second and fourth acts cannot thus be more than a fortnight and the first act must have taken place on the day previous to that of the second Act, to make up the fifteen days allowed by the magician. But other passages in the play protract the interval of fifteen days to more than two months. The play opens with spring and in the fourth act it is said that summer is raging with all its Indian virulence.

Rāja—*Devi dakkhinavadhanarindanandini, vaḍḍhāvīasi iminā Vasantārambhena; jado.*

A little further down we have in the same act :

Vaitalikaḥ—*Jaya suhāya de hodu surahisamārambho ; iha hi*

But :

Rājā—*Aho, gāḍhaaro gimho, pavaṇo a paaṇḍo tā kadhaṁ nu sahidavvo ; jado,* (Act IV)

The heroine sees the King for the first time in Act i and in Act ii she is described as having already become pale and emaciated.'

Aṅgāṇam pāṇḍubhāo diahas vikalākomalo kiṁ ca tīe
Niccam bāhappavāhā tuha suhaa kide honti kullāhi tullā | (Act II)

It is also described how she is spending the nights—

Hatthacchattaṇivāridenduhiraṇā bollei sā jāmmiṁ (Act II).

The description of the condition of the King in Act ii likewise presupposes an interval between this act and the first.

Owing to limitations of space - - I am afriad I have already exceeded the limit - I cannot enter into a discussion of the plots of other dramas, but the examples already adduced suffice, in my opinion, to show how the Sanskrit dramatists reckoned time in a double manner — a trick to make a short story make an effective impression on the audience. "It is as though the hour hand pointed to Historic Time while the mintue hand tells Dramatic Time. While the former has travelled from one figure to another the latter has travelled the whole twelve. We know that but an hour passed and yet we have lived through the whole twelve. " The short time maintains the tension of the sentiment while the long time is useful for other general needs. This fact alone, if nothing else, proves beyond doubt that the Sanskrit poets wrote their plays to be heard and not to be read. When represented on the stage, no notice is taken of this duality and no inconsistency is felt ; but when read from leaves, it may be detected in almost every scene.

SANSKRIT LYRIÇS OF BENGALI VAIṢṆAVISM—BY

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Jayadeva is the last of the great Sanskrit poets of India ; he is also the first of the great Vernacular (Vaiṣṇava) poets of Bengal. He did not perhaps write a single line in Bengali ; at least there is none that we know of. But his unique and unparalleled Gītagovinda is undoubtedly vernacular in at least form, metre and execution, and it has given inspiration to hundreds of mediaeval Bengali poets, some of whom were really very good poets. So with Jayadeva must begin the history of Bengali Vaiṣṇava literature. It should not be supposed that the influence of the Gītagovinda was brought in only by the high appreciations of Çaitanyadeva, which no doubt did much for its subsequent celebrity, especially among the masses with little or no education. Even before the days of Caitanyadeva Jayadeva had greatly influenced the poets of Mithilā and Bengal, who chose to write upon the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme. In the Śrī-Kṛṣṇa kīrttana which is very possibly the genuine work of Caṇḍi-dāsa (15th century) there are two poems which are literal translations of two songs in the Gītagovinda.

Almost all of the Vaiṣṇava poets who are indebted to Jayadeva in some form or other, wrote in Bengali only. Only a few wrote Sanskrit songs in his imitation. All these latter poets are either immediate or remote followers of Caitanyadeva. Lyric poems of these writers are by no means without merit of their own ; so it will not be uninteresting to introduce these little-known (sometimes almost unknown) poets to general public, which I propose to do in this paper.

Rāya Rāmānanda

Rāmānanda-Rāya was the Political officer or Local Governor at Vidyānagara of Pratāparudra the last of the Gajapati Kings of Orissa. When Caitanyadeva was on pilgrimage in peninsular India he met Rāmānanda at Vidyānagara, and was struck with the latter's

scholarship and personality. This meeting with the master decided his future career. Rāmānanda forthwith resigned his service and came to live at Puri by the side of the master.

Rāmānanda wrote a Sanskrit drama, entitled Jagannātha-vallabha-nātaka which was highly appreciated by Caitanyadeva. This drama in five acts deals with the *amours* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and it contains twenty one Sanskrit songs written in close imitation of the songs in the Gītagovinda. In these songs though we miss the earlier poet's mellifluousness and picturesqueness, we certainly come in with sincerity and better taste.

I now cite here two songs as specimens.

1

[*toḍī-varāḍī-rāgeṇa*]

vidalita-sarasija-dala-caya-śayane ।
vārita-sakala-sakhī-jana-nayane ॥
valati mano mama satvara-racane ।
pūraya kāmam imam śaśivadane ॥
abhinava-visa-kisalaya-caya-valaye ।
malayaja-rasa-pariṣevita-nilaye ॥ *dhruvam* ॥
sukhayatu rudra-gajādhipa-cittam ।
rāmānanda-rāya-kavi-bhaṇitam ॥ [Act ii]

Rādhā says to one of her friends :

"O (my friend) Śaśivadanā, my heart is yearning for a speedy making up of a bed of full-blown lotuses. But let no eyes of my (other) friends fall upon it. The place should be decorated with fresh lotus petals, and a soft southern breeze should blow in there. Do please fulfil this desire of mine." May (this) utterance of the poet Rāmānanda-Rāya delight the heart of the Gajapati king (Pratāpa-) rudra.

2

[*karṇāṭa-rāgeṇa*]

mañjutara-guñjad-ali kuñjam ati-bhīṣaṇam ।
manda-marud-antaraga-gandha-kṛtadūṣaṇam ॥

sakalam etad īritam ।
*kiṁ ca guru-pañcaśara-cañcalaṁ** *mama jīvitam* ॥ ***dhruvam*** ॥
matta-pika-datta-rujam uttamādhikaraṁ vanam ।
saṅgasukham aṅgam api tuṅga-bhaya-bhājanam ॥
rudranrpam āśu vidadhātu sukha-saṅkulam ।
rāma-pada-dhāma-kavi-rāya-kṛtam ujjvalam ॥ [**Act iii**].

Rādhā says to her friend :

" With the sweet humming of bees the arbour has taken a dreadful aspect and it has been polluted by the perfumes carried in by the soft breeze. Everything is said, (when I say that) my life is jeopardized by the cruel shafts of the god of love. The woodland, vocal with the voice of enamoured cuckoos, is sickening. Even (my) limbs (which are sorrowing for) the delight of touching (my lover) are a source of great terror. " May this brilliant (song) of the poet Rāya, whose epithet is Rāma, give pleasure to the king (Pratāpa-) rudra.

Rūpa Gosvāmin

Rūpa Gosvāmin, as well as his elder brother Sanātana Gosvāmin, was a minister of state to Husain Shah the Pathan king of Bengal. They met Caitanyadeva when he went to the outskirts of Gauṛ, and later on became Vaiṣṇava *saṁnyāsins*. Caitanyadeva bade them to live at Vṛndāvana and preach their faith there. Both these brothers were great Sanskrit scholars, and at Vṛndāvana they produced volumes after volumes of authoritative works on Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism. Rūpa's literary output was far greater than that of his brother. Among others Rūpa wrote two Sanskrit dramas of no mean merit—the Lalitamādhava and the Vidagdhamādhava. Besides many lyrical pieces and *stavas* he composed a number of Sanskrit songs after the manner of Jayadeva. These he incorporated in his Gītāvalī. These are also to be found in the Padakalpataru (the biggest anthology of Bengali Vaiṣṇava lyrics) and similar works.

These songs are by far the best of the whole lot of such songs as were composed in imitation of Jayadeva. There is a great variety of metres, some of which have been very cleverly adopted

* Should be read as *cañcalā*.

from vernacular literature. Diction is admirable, and there is always the unmistakable stamp of a talented poet. Rupa however does not employ his own name in the colophon ; he has always used the name of his elder brother Sanatana (in double entendre) to show his deep respect to the latter. This has led to a very common mistake : many people believe that these songs belonged to Sanātana Gosvāmin.

The following songs are quoted as typical ones.

1

anadhigatākasmika-gada-kāraṇam
arpita-mantrauṣadhi-nikurambam ।
avirata-rudita-vilohita-locanam
anuśocati tām akhila-kuṭumbam ॥
deva hare bhava karuṇāśālī
sā tava niśita-kaṭākṣa-śarāhata—
hṛdayā jīvatu kṛśatanur ālī ॥ *dhruvam* ॥
hṛdi valad-avirala-saṁjvara-paṭalī—
sphuṭad-ujjvala-mauktika-samudāyā ।
śītala-bhūtala-niścala-tanur iyam
avasīdati samprati nirupāyā ॥
goṣṭha-janābhaya-satra-mahāvrata—
dīkṣita bhavato mādhava bālā ।
katham arhati tāṁ hanta sanātana—
viṣama-daśāṁ guṇavṛnda-viśālā ॥

Rādhā has seen Kṛṣṇa for the first time, and she is terribly love-sick. So a friend of hers comes to Kṛṣṇa and thus speaks to him :

" Not knowing the cause of Rādhā's sudden sickness her entire kinsfolk have resorted to charms and incantations. (But they are of no effect, so) these people have their eyes crimson with shedding incessant tears and are now mourning her : O Lord Hari ! Be pitiful ; let that friend of ours live,—our friend who is a fragile creature, and yet has been wounded at heart with the keen shafts of your eyes. The burning anguish of her heart has caused to burst all the shiny pearls (of her necklace) ; she, a helpless creature, is now sinking, her body lying still on the cool floor. O Mādhava, you are one

who has taken upon himself the great sacrificial vow of protection to the whole cowherd settlement; how can she then deserve such eternally merciless treatment from you,- she who is endowed with all the virtues? (*Or* how can she deserve such a pitiful state as that of Sanātana [because he is separated from Lord Kṛṣṇa]) ? . "

Each line of this song is composed of four feet of 8 morae each—

anadhigatākas- । smikagadakārana- ।
marpitamantrau- । *ṣadhinikurambam* ।
aviratar.aditavi- । *lohitalocana-* ।
manuśocali tā- । *makhılakuṭumbam* ॥ etc.

2

tvaṁ kuca-valgita-mauktika-mālā ।
smita-sāndrīkṛta-śaśi-kara-jālā ॥
harim abhisara sundari sita-veśā ।
rākā-rajanir ajani gurur eṣā ॥ *dhruvam* ॥
parihita-māhiṣa-dadhi-ruci-sicayā ।
vapur-arpita-ghana-candana-nicayā ॥
karṇa-karambita-kairava-hāsā ।
kalita-sanātana-saṅga-vilāsā ॥

Rādhā is eager to meet Kṛṣṇa, and she has now put on proper dress. So a friend urges her to meet her lover and mentions that her spotlessly white dress is very suitable for an adventure in a moonlit night.

"The necklace of pearls is bouncing upon your breasts; your smiles are condensing the moonlight. O pretty one! you are dressed in white, you go and meet Kṛṣṇa; this fullmoon night is now your guide. You are clothed in a garment which is as white as curd of buffalo milk : your body is painted with thick sandal paste. While lilies at your ear are smiling : you have fully anticipated the desires of the Eternal One (i. e., Kṛṣṇa ; *or*, you are glad to be attended by Sanātana). "

3

kurvati kila kokilakula ujjvala-kala-nādam ।
jaiminir iti jaminir iti jalpati saviṣādam ॥

mādhava ghora-viyoga-tamasi nipapāta rādhā ।
vidhura-malina-mūrtir adhika-samadhirūḍha-vādhā ॥
dhruvam ॥
nīla-nalina-mālyam ahaha vīkṣya pulaka-vītā ।
garuḍa garuḍa garuḍetyabhirauti parama-bhītā ॥
lambhita-mṛganābhim aguru-kardamam anu dīnā ।
dhyāyati śitikaṇṭham api sanātanam anu līnā ॥

This song describes Rādhā's extreme lovesickness when Kṛṣṇa had left Vṛndāvana for good.

" When cuckoos set up a sweet note, (Rādhā takes it to be a thunderclap, and accordingly) she in distress cries for the saint Jaimini (as a protection from thunderstrike). O Mādhava ! Rādhā has fallen down deep in the deepest gloom of separation : she is terribly sick, and her body has become wan and gloomy. Alas! when she sees a garland of blue lotuses she shudders in terror, and thinking it to be a poisonous snake, she utters the name of Garuḍa ; (when she finds) a pot of *aguru* paste flavoured with musk, (she is reminded of the god of love, and as a protection from him she) prays to the Dark-throated God (Śiva), although she is immersed in the Eternal God (Kṛṣṇa) (*or*, although she is reclining against her friend Sanātana). "

Each line of this song contains four feet of 6, 6, 6 and 4 moræ respectively.

4

apaghana-ghaṭita-ghusṛṇa-ghanasāra ।
piñcha-khacita-kuñcita-kaca-bhāra ॥
jaya jaya vallava-rāja-kumāra ।
rādhā-vakṣasi hari-maṇi-hāra ॥ *dhruvam* ॥
rādhā-dhṛti-hara-muralī-tāra ।
nayanāñcala-kṛta-madana-vikāra ॥
rasa-rañjita-rādhā-parivāra ।
kalita-sanātana-citta-vihāra ॥

This song is but a string of vocatives addressed to Kṛṣṇa :

" All victory be to you, the prince of the cowherds and the emerald necklace on Rādhā's breast. Your body is decorated with scented yellow dust and camphor : your crisp locks are done up with peacock's feather. The notes of your flute destroy Rādhā's self-restraint : with the corners of your eyes you intoxicate (her) with love. You have enslaved Rādhā's followers with your loving treatments : you always sport in the heart of Sanātana. "

5

yadapi samādhiṣu vidhir api paśyati
na tava nakhāgra-marīcim ।
idam icchāmi niśamya tavācyuta
tad api kṛpādbhuta-vīcim ॥
deva bhavantaṁ vande ।
man-mānasa-madhukaram arpay nija-
pada-paṅkaja-makarande ॥ *dhruvam* ॥
bhaktir udañcati yady api mādhava
na tvayi mama tilamātrī ।
parameśvaratā tad api tavādhika-
durghaṭa-ghaṭana-vidhātrī ॥
ayam avilolatayādya sanātana
kalitādbhuta-rasa-bhāram ।
nivasatu nityam ihāmṛta-nindini
vindan madhurima-sāram ॥

This lyric is a prayer to Śrī Kṛṣṇa :

" Even though Brahman is not favoured with the sight of a ray of your toe-nails, even in his supreme contemplations, yet I aspire to covet for this, O Acyuta, only after hearing of your astounding, infinite mercifulness, Lord, I bow to you. Be merciful enough to let my mind, the bee, to suck the honey in the lotus of your feet. O Mādhava ! though not a jot of *bhakti* there is in me to offer you ; yet I know that your Godhead can achieve the impossible. O Eternal One ! may this my mind now be eternally fixed in this lotus of your feet which defies ambrosia, enjoying the essence of transcendental sweetness and love. "

Each line of this song is composed of four feet containing 8, 8, 8 and 4 more respectively.

Govindadasa

Govindadāsa, one of the greatest of the mediæval poets of Bengal, was born in the third decade of the sixteenth century. He was at first a Śākta, but in 1577 A. D. he was converted to Vaiṣṇavism by Śrīnivāsa-Ācārya. Jīva-Gosvāmin conferred on him the title of *Kavirāja* 'the king of poets' as an appreciation of his high poetic genius. * The extant Bengali lyrics of Govindadāsa number about five hundred. The following is the only Sanskrit lyric of this poet that is found in the Vaiṣṇava anthologies.

dhvaja-vajrāṅkuśa-paṅkaja-kalitam ।
vraja-vanitā-kuca-kuṅkuma-lalitam ॥
vande girivara-dhara-pada-kamalam ।
kamalā-kara-kamalāñcitam amalam ॥
mañjula-maṇi-nūpura-ramaṇīyam ।
acapala-kula-ramaṇī-kamanīyam ॥
ati-lohitam ati-rohita-bhāsam ।
madhu-madhupīkṛta-govindadāsam ॥

"I worship the precious lotus-feet of One who lifted up the hill (Govardhana), the feet which are bedecked with the (auspicious signs of the) banner, the thunderbolt, the elephant's bolt and the lotus, the feet that are smeared with the scented dust on the breasts of the girls of Vraja, the feet which are fondled by the hands of Kamalā, the feet which are beautified with jingling jewelled anklets, the feet which are desired by damsels of immaculate chastity, the feet which are very red and which emit a very ruddy glow, the feet which have turned Govindadāsa into a bee on account of honey (in them)."

Vis'vanātha Cakravarttin

Viśvanātha Cakravarttin who wrote his Bengali and Sanskrit lyrics under the pen-name of Harivallabha, or Harivallabha-dāsa, or Vallabha was born in Śaka 1586 (= 1664 A. D.). He was a great Sanskrit Scholar, and was the last of the great Bengali Vaiṣṇava philosophers. He was the author of more than a score of Sanskrit

* *Vide* Govindadāsa-kavirāja by Sukumar Sen in the Journal of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad (in Bengali), 1336 B. S.

works of which the Sārārthadarśinī, a commentary on the Śrīmad-bhāgavata is the most famous. Viśvanātha lived at Vṛndāvana as a *saṁnyāsin*.

Viśvanātha compiled the earliest anthology of Bengali Vaiṣṇava lyrics. This work is known as the Kṣaṇadāgītacintāmaṇi, and contains 314 songs in all. In it the poet has incorporated his own poems also. Of these poems only five are written in Sanskrit. The following is quoted as a specimen.

hari-bhuja-kalita-madhu-mṛdulāṅgā ।
ta l-amala-mukha-śaśi-vilasad-anaṅgā ॥
rādhā lalita-vilāsā ।
adhi-rati-śayanam ajani mṛdu-hāsā ॥
asakṛd udañcati dhṛtim ati-lajjā ।
prema-sudhā-jaladhi-kṛta-majjā ॥
sarabhasa-valita-radacchada-pānā ।
śrama-salilāpluta-vapur-apidhānā ॥
kaṅkaṇa-kiṅkiṇī-jhaṅkṛti-rucirā ।
parimala-milita-madhuvrata-nikarā ॥
mṛgamada rasa-carcita-nakhā (?) ।
kṛtādhara-ratimita-cikura-vata-vadanā (?) ॥
vallabha-rasika-kalārasa-sārā ।
saphalīkṛta-nija-madhurima-bhārā ॥

No translation of this song is attempted as some of its lines are corrupt. So also are his other poems. *

Rādhāmohana Thākura

Radhāmohana-Thākura was a descendant of the great Vaiṣṇava preacher, Śrinivasa-Ācāryya. Rādhamohana was born in Śaka 1620 (= 1698 A. D.) and died in Śaka 1700 (= 1778 A. D.). Rādhā-mohana was the *guru* of Mahārājā Nandakumāra. Rādhāmohana's scholarship was known throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. Rādhāmohana was also a poet of no mean order. His Bengali poems number about a century. Rādhāmohana was rather a slavish imitator of Govindadāsa. Rādhāmohana's anthology, Padāmṛta-samudra, contains four Sanskrit lyrics of his own. This anthology

* The book in my possession was printed in Calcutta in 1316 B. S. (= 1909 A D.), and it professes to be a third edition !

is commented upon by Rādhamohana himself in Sanskrit. The following poem will serve as a specimen.

madhukara-rañjita-mālatī-maṇḍita-
jita-ghana-kuñcita-keśam |
tilaka-vinindita-śaśadhara rūpaka-
yuvati-manohara-veśam ||
sakhi kalaya gauram udāram |
nindita-hāṭaka-kānti-kalevara-
garvita-māraka-māram || *dhruvam* ||
madhu-madhura-smita-lobhita-tanubhṛtam
anupama-bhāva-vilāsam |
nija-nava-rāga-vimohita-mānasa-
vikathita gadgada-bhāṣam ||
paramākiṁcana-kiṁcana-naragaṇa-
karuṇā-vitaraṇa-śīlam |
kṣobhita-durmati-rādhāmohana-
nāmaka-nirupama-līlam ||

This poem is an ode to Caitanyadeva before his renunciation: "O friend ! just have a look at the high-souled Gaura.* His locks are wooly and are decked with *mālatī* flowers ; bees are hovering round them and they defy the masses of dark clouds. Sandal paste decorations on his forehead beat down the beauty of the moon ; his dress carries away the hearts of young women. His complexion has beaten hollow the glow of gold and he himself has defeated the proud god of love (in beauty). His smiles, full of transcendental gracefulness and charms and sweeter than honey, have made people athirst. His heart is full of his own ever-fresh attractions and so it is out through his indistinct and passionate speech. He is habitually merciful towards the poorest of the poor as well as towards the rich. His unparalleled sweet life has disturbed (even the heart of) the sinner Rādhāmohana."

Though Vaiṣṇava poets of Bengal very seldom wrote in Sanskrit, yet it cannot be denied that Sanskrit influence in their writing was always very great. In later times it became so great that some of the poems of later poets can be best taken to be written in corrupt Sanskrit. This subject may be treated in a future paper.

* Caitanyadeva in his early life was generally known as Gaura or Gaurāṅga because of his very fair complexion.

TAMIL RHETORIC AND SANSKRIT LOVE-POETRY—BY R. VASUDEVA SARMA, M. A., B. L., Professor of Sanskrit, National College, Trichinopoly, member, Board of Studies in Sanskrit, University of Madras, and member, Comite Consultatif de Jurisprudence Indienne, Pondicherry.

After a scientific and dispassionate survey of the histories and civilizations of mankind extending from China to Peru, Mr. H. G. Wells comes to the solemn conclusion, that man's being is essentially moulded by his environments and that man everywhere is what he is because of his surroundings. That nature which surrounds one's habitat exerts on him a mysterious influence, which man is powerless to resist and that his whole life, his loves and his wars, his character, genius and temperament are subtly but surely modified by that all powerful, kind and generous Mother of nations seems to be his opinion. Astrology is based on the primary belief, which is as old as thinking humanity itself—and this good old faith is confirmed today by science—that there is a definite influence exerted by one sphere on another as among the celestial bodies coursing along in high heavens and that their movements, their proximity and distance, affect profoundly the lives of men on earth. Similiarly do the theorists in physical Geography affirm that a man's life, his occupations and ideals, are guided and shaped by the physical features of the country. Indeed geographical and topographical characteristics have their own effect in determining the character of a race or a township and the love-manners and the extra-amorous activities of a given society form no exception to this rule.

Vātsyāyana, the great writer on Erotics, who is so reverently quoted by such a great authority as Dr. Havelock Ellis, seems in a measure to have realized this principle when in his *Kāmasūtra*, he describes the characteristics of women of various countries, prefacing his account with the aphorism,

"*deśasātmyācca yoṣita upacaret*" (*Kāma* II. 5. 20.)

though he without stooping to consider the reasons therefor, contented himself with merely recording his observations. Kālidāsa,

who is praised by Humboldt as being "a masterly describer of the influence which Nature exercises upon the mind of lovers" and who, having been a close student of Vatsyayana's *Kamasutra*, could not resist the temptation of making all his characters conform to the dictates of *Kamasutra*, seems also vaguely to have appreciated this truth ; for, is not a genius a blind seer of eternal verities? The Sanskrit Rhetoricians did not analyse their love from this standpoint but left their *uddīpana vibhava* sufficiently vague and wide, leaving room for the development of such a study. But the credit of having really discovered the reality of this influence which Nature in the shape of the physical features of a country exerts on the love actions of a human being, belongs to the Tamils whose ancient grammatical work, the *Tolkāppiam*, written by a Brahman sage named *Tṛṇadhūmāgni* a disciple of the celebrated Agastya, deals with love and extra-amorous life of a man, as portrayed in literature, from this aspect.

Tolkāppiam in its third part entitled *Poruladhikāram* or the chapter on objectives, deals with Rhetoric. It consists of nine sections treating of the general principles of love, extra-amorous life, romantic love or courtship and stealthy wooing, wedded love or chastity, contents of songs, involuntary states, figures of speech, prosody and poetic conventions. And of these, the first, third and fourth sections wholly and the others excepting sections relating to prosody and figurative speech partially, deal with the love-songs and love-manners of the Tamils. I have been engaged for the past ten years, studying off and on, this wonderful book which might be deemed contemporaneous with some of the earlier of the *Gṛhya-sūtra* texts and I have found that the approach made in this text towards "Love" helpful in explaining away the various seemingly unmotived love-actions, modes and conventions in Sanskrit. Indeed so scientific and sure are its postulates that I have been tempted to remark elsewhere, that this text is of universal application and that with its aid, one can adjudge and rightly appreciate the worth of world's love-poetry generally.

I will try to give here a concise account of the Tamilian theory of love, resting my observations on the aphorisms contained in the "general" section of *Tolkāppiam*. The normal type of marriage

amongst the ancient Tamils was courtship and marriage, corresponding to the *Gāndharva* of the Sanskritic classification. This again, was analysed and dealt with in detail under five heads and came therefore to be called the *Aintinai* or the fivefold love. The other seven kinds of the Aryan marriage were also known and practised, the *Brāhma*, *Ārṣa*, *Daiva*, and the *Prajāpatya* by the Brahmans and the *Āsura*, *Rākṣasa* and the *Paiśāca* by the lowly. These were called the *Peruntiṇai*, the superior or the supranormal love and the *Kaikkilai*, the inferior or the infra-normal love. This is borne out by the very first aphorism of the section relating to general principle of love in Poruladhikāram which runs,

> " *Kaikkilai mutalā-p-peruntiṇai-y-iṟuvāy*
> *Muṉppaṭa-k-kilanta-v-eḻutiṇai-y-eṉpa.* "

(Tol. Porul. I. 1.)

(*Translation*)

> " Kaikkilai as first and Peruntiṇai last
> Primarily are reckoned seven tinais, they say. "

The five varieties of normal love are, wooing, parting, pining, married love and sulking. The sixteenth aphorism in the section affirms this.

> " *Puṇartal pirital iruttal irangal*
> *Utal avaṟṟi (ṉ) nimittam eṉṟivai*
> *Teruṉkalai-t-tiṇaik-k-uripporule.* "

(Tol. Porul. I. 16.)

(*Translation*)

> " Union, parting, patient stay, wailing
> And sulking and their incidents—these
> When analysed, are appropriate actions. "

Of these, union refers to the stage of actual courtship or secret or stealthy and illicit union through mutual consent of parties. Parting occurs, when the lover is forced to tear himself away from the embraces of his ladylove. Patient stay relates to chaste domestic love of the wedded pair. Wailing is the moan of the ladylove at the callous desertion of her mate. Sulking betokens the occasional love-quarrels occurring between the man and his wife, begotten of that jealousy in love, which brooks not the idea of infidelity on

the part of the husband, being based essentially on the desire for the complete possession of his love.

Of these five varieties of love, omitting parting which is assigned to the dreary dread waste called *Palai* corresponding to what is known as the desert, the other four of the love-actions are assigned to definite geographically determined regions by this ancient Tamil text, as being actions that are appropriate to those particular climes. Thus the aphorism states,

" *Avarrul*
Naṭuvaṇ aintiṇai naṭuvaṇa-t-oliya-p
Paṭutirai vaiyam pāttiya paṇpe

(Tol. Porul. I. 2.)

(*Translation*)

" Of them,

The middle five tinais, the middlemost one excepted
Of the roaring ocean-clad earth, form sundered nature."

Of the fivefold love, the middlemost one is parting, being the stage of suspension, occurring between wooing or pining and marriage or sulking, to which the Palai is assigned. The other four states are assigned to the quadruple-featured earth; the fourfold division of land being into mountains, forests, plains and the seacoast. This again is brought out by the subsection,

" *Māyon meya Kāṭurai-y-ulakamum*
Ceyon meya maivarai-y-ulakamum
Ventan meya tīmpunal-ulakamum
Varuṇan meya perumaṇal-ulakamum
Mullai, kuṛiñci marutam neytalena
Colliya muṛaiyāṛ collavum pāṭume. "

(Tol. Porul. I. 5.)

(*Translation*)

The forest abounding world where dark-hued Viṣṇu abides,
The dark mountain world where the ruddy Kumāra sports
The sweet-watered world where the lordly Indra stays
And the wide-sanded world which Varuṇa rules
Mullai, Kuṛiñci, marutam and *neytal* respectively.
As detailed here are also duly treated.

These two aphorisms along with the sixteenth quoted supra, prescribe the proper love-actions that pertain to, being in fact dictated by, particular geographical features of the four-featured earth. They postulate homely love and the chaste patient stay for the region of forests which they call *mullai* or jasmine, secret mating for the mountainland of *Kurinji*, love-quarrels and bickerings for the well-watered plains called *Marutam* and moaning by the deserted lady-love for *neytal* littoral land. The Tamil seer recognises that each of these regions does exert a certain subtle influence which tends to modify the love-modes obtaining in that clime.

Let us here stop awhile and enquire how regional characteristics affect a man's disposition. There is the forest-land first which disports an immense pasturage designed by a kind and generous Providence, for the rearing of cattle, an avocation from which was evolved the race of shepherds. The patron deity of these woods was Viṣṇu, the dark-hued Lord of Protection, who incarnated in their midst, was born a cowherd, protected his race from oppression, performed miracles and was worshipped by them. Their cattle after grazing the live long day in the rich forests, yielded potfuls of milk, which they converted into curds and butter and thus gained plenteous wealth. Thus this shepherd race was enabled to eke out an honest living by a very innocent calling, and their life knew not any harm to either man or beast. Is it any wonder then, that such a serene and peaceful life should profoundly affect their domestic lives also, raining on it peace, purity and innocence, three essential virtues comprehended under chastity? The perfume breathed by such chaste and contented households travels far, and wins admiration all round, like the Jasmine blossoming in the unespied corners of the forest, which yet arrests the attention of the passer by through its mild fragrance and so begat for this region and its lovemode the appellation of Mullai or the Jasmine.

Next comes the mountainland of which Kuriñci is the most prominent flower. The region favours not tillage. Nor could any cattle-breeding be attempted. Its riches lie in the mountain-forests, their timber and their wild animals. Man had to lead a hardy life there, felling the trees, hunting the animals and gathering honey, subsisting on fruits, honey, flesh of animals hunted down and the

straggling wild grains that grew there all untilled. This stern necessity which drove him to manual labour and hunting for his livelihood, rendered him fierce and bloodthirsty and so helped to breed a race of hunters and hillsmen, the bare bleak rocks and the frowning crags around imparting some of their own ferocity to their innate martial spirit. And their God was Kumāra the youthful lord of warring hosts, who chose his wife from among them and for their sake abode eternally on all mountainheights. The love-action accordingly was secret love and stealthy mating, the illicitness of their loves being an accordant mode to the general state of lawlessness all around.

Next in order come the fertile plains with their prosperous cities. Indra, the God of showers, who was their patron deity, in his bounty, kept the rivers and tanks flooded and full and rich tract blossomed with plenteous grains. The agriculturists who inhabited these regions had simply to prepare the soil and turn the sluices on to them, and thus thrived this race, free from care and trouble, and they lived like gods on earth, cultivating the land and the fine arts alongside of each other. The muses came down from their heights and abode with them. They lived an aesthetic life with a continued round of feasts and festivals and adored Indra. The love-action appropriate to this clime was sulking on the part of the housewife, for in the wake of such a highflown civilisation, there came in concubinage and polygamy, those inevitable products of material prosperity and a maddeningly luxurious city-life.

The last and the least prosperous of lands was the *Neytal* or the littoral land. The waste of sands along the seashore favoured not cultivation. Nor could you hunt or tend cattle. The only source of wealth for them was the sea and they pitted themselves, therefore against its raging waves, braving the squalls and the monsters in the sea. The fisherman was thus faced with a precarious existence and daily did he march ahead of the breakers to return with his barge laden with fish, which his wife bartered away for their necessities. With all this misery staring in their face, it is not unnatural to surmise that the young men of their community, were loath to burden themselves with wedded spouses and this along with the exigencies of their avocation which entailed frequent

journeyings, gave rise to their frequent partings and desertions leaving the betrayed maid to her unceasing moan, which is its prevalent love-mode.

The above short account should help us to understand clearly how the geographical features of any country determine the character of its intabitants, their manners and modes of life. The truth that underlies this proposition was clearly felt by the Ancient Seer, when he posited land and time as the essentials as he calls them, for the love-modes, as in his aphorism,

" mutal-enap-paṭuvatu nilam-polut-iranṭin
Iyalp-ena molipa-v-iyalp-uṇarntore. "

(Tol. Porul. I. 4.)

(*Translation*)

" The essential is of both land and the time
The inherent nature, say the discerning seers "

I would draw pertinent attention to the two expressions, " essential " and " the discerning seers. " These denote that the nature of the land was the prime determinant or the prescriber of these lovemodes and that it was only those people who had approached the topic with some amount of perseverence and discernment that were enabled to discover these laws.

Along with land, the time element or season and hour was also taken up as an essential. That the changing seasons causing variations in the weather and climate and so naturally affecting the temper and moods of man exposed to their inclemencies should in turn influence the activities of men, should need no explanation. The following are the aphorisms prescribing the appropriate season and hour.

" Kāru mālaiyu mullai "
" Kuṛiñci
kātiṛ yāmam enmanār pulavar "
" Pani-y-etir paruvamum uritlena molipa "
" Vaikaṛai viṭiyan marutam "
" Eṛpāṭu
neytal ātan meypeṛat tonrum "

(Tol. Porul. I, 6-10.)

(*Translation*)

"Early winter and dusk are for mullai"
"Kuriñci has
Late winter and midnight, say the learned"
"The season of early snows, also accords, they say"
"Daybreak and morning are for marutam"
"Evening hour
For neytal action, as most fitting, should also follow"

I will dismiss this part with but a brief explanation. The dusk is the hour of rest and cessation from toil for the shepherd who returns home at that hour with his flocks. Thereafter is his hour for love and winter is the season which most excites amatory propensities. Similiarly, stealthy love seeks the hour of midnight for its gratification, when everybody is laid up in slumber and it needs wintry showers to prevent people from stirring out of doors and disturbing their rendezvouz. It is the morning hour whatever might be the season, at which the gallant returns to his wife after a night's sojourn abroad and the patient wife who had been keeping a lonely vigil during the livelong night is naturally provoked. Then does sulking appear. In the Neytal land, the fisherman betakes himself to the sea at the evening hour leaving his women to their anxious moan.

It should not for a moment be imagined that the above aphorisms and observations are applicable only to the Tamil country and the Tamil races. Land is divisible into mountains and forests, plains and seacoast all over the world, and humanity is subject to the dominion of love everywhere. And if at all there is any truth in this doctrine, it stands then to reason to conclude that physiographical characteristics should tend to determine the nature of men's activities elsewhere also. So it was that I observed at the outset that Tolkāppiam was a text which is of universal application and that the world's literature as a whole could be adjudged and its worth ascertained by an application of its principle.

Nor is my conclusion belied by what we study from the literature of other climes. I will here adduce a few lines from the English poets to illustrate my point. The first I would present is from Robert Browning's *Prophyria's Lover*. Sings the poet with true insight.

"The rain set in early to-night,
The sullen wind was soon awake,
It tore the elm-tops down for spite,
And did its worst to vex the lake;
I listened with heart fit to break,
When glided in Porphyria; straight
She shut the cold out and the storm

+ + +

So, she was come through wind and rain
Be sure, I looked up at her eyes
Happy and proud; at last I knew
She worshipped me."

The master poet with true insight, fixes up here winter, rain, and the hour of midnight for his Kuriñci tryst. For the Neytal hour and the evening moan, we have a brilliant sketch in Ch. Kingsley's *"The Three Fishers"* where he introduces the full pathetic burden,

"Men must work and women must weep
Though the storms be sudden and waters deep
And the harbour bar be moaning"

with an occasional twist in each of his three verses therein. The reason for this ceaseless wail is brought out in the burden of another of his verses in the same song, where he observes,

"Men must work and women must weep
And there's little to earn and many to keep
Though the harbour bar be moaning."

Tennyson's *Mariana,* who seated on the lonely moated grange wept out,

"My life is dreary
He cometh not" she said;
She said "I am aweary, aweary
I would that I were dead"

would also be a good instance of the Neytal love-mode. There are not many good instances of Marutam love in English since concubinage and polygamy are discountenanced by the English, except if it be that Guenevere's passionate outburst against Lancelot, learning of his attentions to Elaine, be taken as such. But then,

Elaine is such a chaste and loving maid and Guenevere is so much a sinner, that we are afraid to offer it for comparison. But the vehemence of a slighted wife who has cause for and is truly offended is affected there. Pastoral lovesong, partaking of the mullai character is a feature in the literature of all nations and the amorous shepherd tending his flocks in the dales and wooing Amarryllis in the shade is a familiar theme.

But perhaps the most telling illustration would be the story in Wordsworth's "Ruth or the Influence of Nature" where the mountaineer youth from across the Atlantic, wooed the fair maid's heart with tales of his hunt and hillside pleasures and after eloping with her, deserts her on the beachside, where pining after her departed lover, she turns mad. I will let the poet himslf sing the tale.

"Sweet Ruth !" And could you go with me
My helpmate in the woods to be
Our shed at *night* to rear
Or run my own adopted bride
A sylvan *huntress* at my side
And drive the flying deer—
"Beloved Ruth !" — No more he said.
The wakeful Ruth at *midnight* shed
A solitary tear ;
She thought again — and did agree
with him to sail across the sea
And drive the flying deer.
\+ + +
Meanwhile, as thus with him it fared,
They for the voyage were prepared,
And went to the *sea-shore* ;
But when they thither came, the youth
Deserted his poor bride, and Ruth
Could never find him more.

In this song Wordsworth has been far truer than he knew or guessed when he styled the piece, "The Influence of Nature". The poet perhaps intended to say that the innate lawlessness of the mountain youth, made him abandon his ladylove on the strand.

But, I would venture to suggest here, and it should also be abundantly clear from my foregoing remarks, that it was not so much the blood as the characterstic of the land geographically determined, that was responsible for his desertion. For, is it not Neytal where he abandoned her and is not desertion on the part of the male and wailing on the part of the lady-love the essential love-action of that region?

But let me leave this substantiation here, and address myself to my appointed theme. My endeavour hereafter would be to show how far the foregoing rules have been observed in the practice of the Sanskrit poets and by Kālidāsa especially as being their foremost representative.

It is the Dramatic literature in Sanskrit, that gives us a good idea of the loves and marriages of their heroes. In *Śākuntalam* we have the Kuṟiñci and illicit union. The mountains and their wild animals, the elephant and the lion and tender-eyed gazelle figure conspicuously therein. The marriage effected is Gandharva and it is interesting to note that after all the repudiation and suffering, the reunion is effected only in the hermitages on the Himālayas. The same Kuriñci love begins the tale of *Vikramorvaśīya* also, though towards the end the king returns to the city or the Marutam land and therefore is the play rounded off with a formal marriage characteristic of the marutam region.

Unbridled passion or excessive love on the the part of the male, whether the same finds its outlet in legitimate polygamy or illicit intercourse with courtezans and the consequent sulking on the part of the senior legitimate wife, is the characteristic of marutam region and we have this element brought out in the song of Haṁsapadikā in *Śākuntalam* somewhat vaguely, in the city life of Pururavas and the attitude of his Queen in *Vikramorvaśīya* a little more prominently and in *Mālavikāgnimitra* fully. The monarch being in the mountain forests has recourse to Gandharva marriage or Kuṟiñci love ; but when once he returns to the city, the spell of the marutam is on him fully and he waits till the lady of his love is bestowed on him formally in marriage, marriage according to rites being the only form permissible in that region.

Graceless desertion and consequent lament of the ladylove is a thing unheard of in Kālidāsa. His male characters are so noble

and his heroines are so dowered with intelligence that they scarcely allow themselves to be betrayed into any false step. It is only in *Śākuntalam* that a repudiation occurs, but the hero is presented as a virtuous monarch labouring under a delusion and his character vindicated by the introduction of a curse in the play and the whole thing is but a ruse adopted by the monarch to assure the courtiers of his wife's virtue, in the original.

But the mullai love of the chaste wife, patiently waiting, finds its best depiction in a narrative poem of his viz. the *Meghadūta.* The Yakṣiṇī in Alakā drags along a dreary year of existence, parted from her mate, abandoning all her fineries and ornament, with but a single braid anxiously awaiting the expiration of the period of her lord's curse. At the time of early winter, that preeminently mullai season, the Yakṣa espies a cloud and then bethinking himself of the sad neglected state of his well-beloved wife, beseeches the cloud to convey his message to his lady who is placed in a truly mullai surrounding. The flowers around her are in a state of eternal bloom, but her eyes delight not even in the cool-rayed moon. She is lost in anxious thoughts of her husband reflecting how soon he should be restored to her. And to her at the mullai hour of nightfall, the cloud is advised to deliver his message. Sings the Yakṣa,

" *Savyāpāram ahani na tathā pīḍayed viprayogaḥ*
Śaṅke rātrau gurutaraśucaṁ nirvinodāṁ sakhīṁ te ।
Matsaṁdeśaiḥ sukhayitum alam paśya sādhvīṁ niśīthe
Tāṁ unnidrāṁ avaniśayanam saudhavātāyanasthaḥ ॥"

(Megha. II. 27)

(*Translation*)

" Her who is busy with household cares, my separation will
not so affect during day,
But I fear me much, excessive grief would assail of nights
your cheerless friend !
So should you see the virtuous one at the hour of dusk,
breathing my message of comfort
Standing nigh her chamber-window in my mansion, as she
rolls, sleepless on ground. "

We have in the same poem a picture of Kuriñci love in his description of the unbridled passions of Vidiśā's gallants who take their fill of pleasure in the Nīcais grottoes (Megha II. 25), and a fine picture of Marutam jealousy in his *abhijñāna* verse

" *bhūyaścāha tvamapi śayane* " etc. (Megha II. 50.)

Having adverted to his narrative poem, I may perhaps draw the attention of my readers to a very interesting fact in *Kumārasambhava*. There, the great Lord Śiva is depicted as a being engaged in austerities. But what place did he choose for his penance ? He chose unluckily for his penance and luckily for the Gods, the Kuriñci land of Himālayan groves, and being so stationed how could he resist the shafts of love ? If he had chosen *Pālai*, possibly he could have been steady in his penance and unassailable to Cupid. But having chosen the mountain land deliberately, he could not escape the lure of the mountains and he was easily ensnared by Pārvatī, even when the shafts of Cupid were unavailing against him. Students of Kālidāsa are sure to remember that it was on the Himālayan slopes that Lord Śiva declared his love to Pārvatī crying out,

" *Adyaprabhṛtyavanatāṅgi tavāsmi dāsaḥ*
Krītastapobhiḥ— " (Kumār V. 86.)

(Translation)

" Henceforth, O drooping-limbed one ! I am your slave
Purchased by your penance — "

though the marriage rites are performed later in the city of Auṣadhiprastha according to marutam fashion. In fact Kalidāsa shows such a wonderful insight into the workings of Nature and its influence on the mind of lovers, that every one of the directions given in the *Tolkāppiam* are found fulfilled by him, and I feel, I can easily edit the text of his *Śākuntalam* bringing every single sentence in it, within the purview of one or the other of the sections of this wonderful rhetorical text.

Leaving Kālidāsa here, it is time we turned to some of the other prominent dramas in Sanskrit Literature. Bhavabhūtī, the other great master in Sanskrit Literature, has attempted but a single love drama viz. *Mālatīmādhava*. There the scene is laid in the city or marutam land. We have accordingly a marriage with appropriate

rites, though we do not have the sulking. In *Mṛcchakaṭika* and its double the *Daridracārudatta* also, we have the scene laid in the city-a marutam tract-where the gallant heroes lavish their wealth and affection on a courtezan Vasantasenā, though the wedded Brāhmanī at home, possibly in emulation of the story of the great lady of chastity in the south, Kaṇṇaki, suffered uncomplainingly all the misdemeanours of her husband without rising to the full rage of a sulking wife. Harṣa's *Nāgānanda* begins with a Kuriñci love, though it ends with Jīmūtavāhana's deed of self-sacrifice on the bare bleak rocks becoming the region of arid Pālai. His other plays *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā* form plays involving the love intrigues of amorous, polygamous monarchs and thus affording scope for the full play of jealousies and sulking characteristic of marutam, and in every one of these plays, it might be observed, that the heroine is finally bestowed on the hero in due form and that wedding proper, to the accompaniment of solemn marriage rites, takes place. So is it also with *Karpūramañjarī* and *Svapna Vāsavadattā*. In the latter of these we have regular wedding and the introduction of the courtezan Viracikā in the dream-talk of Udayana. The *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* gives some scope for the introduction of the Pālai action of elopement or the abduction of Vāsavadattā.

Thus we are enabled to see that Sanskrit Literature also in its essentials conforms to the canons of literary criticism laid down by the ancient Tamil grammarian. Whence came this strange coincidence? The answer to me, at any rate, seems to be clear and simple. Any work of art, in whatever form expressed, whatever, might be its native clime and whatever its method, is bound to agree in its essentials, since there is the same common substratum of an aesthetic human agency behind it, and that all art is true, only in so far as it has a universal appeal ; or confining ourselves to India alone, could it be that Tolkappiar, as Tṛṇadhūmāgni is also called, founded his work on the basis of a culture which formed the ground-work for Sanskritic culture, also arguing thus for the essential unity of Indian culture? But that is a question which has wider bearings, demanding a separate treatment, and I shall content myself here with leaving it for my readers to ponder over.

A FEW PARALLELISMS OF THOUGHT IN SANSKRIT AND ENGLISH POETRY—BY LAKSHMAN SARUP, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon.), Officier d' Acadèmie (France), Head of the Sanskrit Department and University Professor of Sanskrit Literature at the University of the Panjab, Lahore

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I have jotted down a few parallelisms of thought in Sanskrit and English poetry. These notes were taken at random. They are not the result of a deliberate and systematic study. I have however reasons to believe that a methodical and comparative study is sure to bring out better results.

Shakespeare in his Sonnet XV has the following lines :—

When I perceive that men as plants increase......
Vaunt in their youthful sap, at height decrease.

These lines recall to one's mind the following *Śloka* form the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* :—

सस्यमिव मर्त्यः पच्यते सस्यमिवाजायते पुनः । I. 1. 6.

In Sonnet No. XLIII, we read the following lines :—

All days are nights to see till I see thee
And nights bright days ......

With these one may compare the well known *Śloka*

या निशा सर्वभूतानां तस्यां जागर्ति संयमी ।
यस्यां जाग्रति भूतानि सा निशा पश्यतो मुनेः ॥

In stanza No. 1353 on p. 226 in Peterson's edition of the *Subhāṣitāvali*, attributed to Bhāsa, the poet has painted a picture of an ideal wife. The stanza is the following :—

दुःखार्ते मयि दुःखिता भवति या हृष्टे प्रहृष्टा तथा
दीने दैन्यमुपैति रोषपरुषे पथ्यं वचो भाषते ।
काले वेत्ति कथाः करोति निपुणा मत्संस्तवे रज्यति
भार्या मन्त्रिवरः सखा परिजनः सैका बहुत्वं गता ॥

" She grieves when I am distressed, rejoices when I am happy. She is sad when I am depressed, speaks gentle words when I am

harsh with rage. She knows her time, relates charming tales, and is pleased when I praise her. She is one yet she is many: she is my wife, my best guide, my friend and my most charming maid."

Wordsworth wrote a poem in honour of his wife. The poem is entitled *She was a phantom of delight.* I quote a few lines :—

'A perfect woman nobly planned
To warn, to comfort and command'

The lines are almost a paraphrase of the fourth pāda, with which may also be compared Pope's lines of admiration of Bolingbroke :

'Thou wert my guide, philosopher and friend.'[1]
Even the words are identical.

In the first canto of the *Kumārasambhava*, Kālidāsa has painted a brilliant picture of the Himālayas. In one of the stanza, he has described a high hill. It is so lofty that there is always sunshine on its summit although clouds are always hovering around its middle part. This fact is known to the divine saints who enjoy the sunshine whenever they get fed up with rain at the foot of the mountain. However, we are not immediately concerned with the divine saints. It is the picture of a high mountain with its waist surrounded by clouds and its summit always bright with glorious sunshine, which we want to take into consideration. The stanza is the following :—

आमेखलं संचरतां घनानां छायामधः सानुगतां निषेव्य ।
उद्वेजिता वृष्टिभिराश्रयन्ते शृङ्गाणि यस्यातपवन्ति सिद्धाः ॥ ५ ॥

Goldsmith has also painted a picture of a high hill in his *Deserted Village.* It is almost identical with Kālidāsa's description. I quote the following lines from the *Deserted Village*

"Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head."

1. *Essay on Man, Fourth Epistle, line 390.*

Compare आमेखलं with 'round its breast', संचरतां घनानां with 'rolling clouds' and आतपवन्ति शृङ्गाणि with the second line.

Shakespeare in his *Sonnet* No. XX has the following lines :—

'A woman's face with Nature's own hand painted ....
And for a woman wert thou first created.'

These will readily recall to one's mind similar lines from Kālidāsa and other Sanskrit poets.

In a remarkable stanza, Bhartrhari has described the supreme power of time. The stanza is the following :—

सा रम्या नगरी महान्स नृपतिः सामन्तचक्रं च तत्
पार्श्वे तस्य च सा विदग्धपरिषत्ताश्चन्द्रबिम्बाननाः ।
उद्वृत्तः स च राजपुत्रनिवहस्ते बन्दिनस्ताः कथाः
सर्वं यस्य वशादगात्स्मृतिपथं कालाय तस्मै नमः ॥

Shakespeare has similarly extolled the greatness of time in the following *Sonnets*.

Sonnet LX

And Time that gave doth now his gift confound.
Time doth transfix the flourish set on youth,
And delves the parallels in beauty's brow;
Feeds on the rarities of nature's truth,
And nothing stands but for his scythe to mow :

XII

And nothing 'gainst Time's scythe can make defence

In a beautiful poem, Browning has expressed the idea that the happiness of a man depends on his capacity and not merely on his association with the great. He has given a simile, i. e. the volume of water spouted by a fountain depends on the size of the tube and not on the depth of the sea with which it is connected. This finds expression in the following lines from 'Cleon'.

They praise a fountain in my garden here
Wherein a Naiad sends the water-bow
Thin from her tube, she smiles to see it rise.
What if I told her, it is just a thread
From that great river which the hills shut up,
And mock her with my leave to take the same ?
The artificer has given her one small tube
Past power to widen or exchange. What boots
To know she might spout oceans if she could ?
She cannot lift beyond her first thin thread :
And so a man can use but a man's joy
While he sees God's.

A similar idea is expressed in the form of *anyokti* by Bhartṛhari in the following *pāda* :—

कूपे पश्य पयोनिधावपि घटो गृह्णाति तुल्यं जलम् ।

Shakespeare has divided human life in seven stages. The following lines are taken from *As You Like It* :—

Jaq. All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players :
They have their exits and their entrances;
And one man in his time plays many parts,
His acts being seven ages. At first the infant,
Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms.
And then the whining schoolboy, with his satchel
And shining morning face, creeping like snail
Unwillingly to school. And then the lover,
Sighing like furnace, with a woeful ballad
Made to his mistress' eyebrow. Then a soldier,
Full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard,
Jealous in honour, sudden and quick in quarrel,
Seeking the bubble reputation
Even in the cannon's mouth. And then the justice,

In fair round belly with good capon lin'd,
With eyes severe and beard of formal cut,
Full of wise saws and modern instances;
And so he plays his part. The sixth age shifts,
Into the lean and slipper'd pantaloon,
With spectacles on nose and pouch on side,
His youthful hose, well sav'd, a world too wide
For his shrunk shank; and his big manly voice,
Turning again toward childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound. Last scene of all,
That ends this strange eventful history,
Is second childishness and mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything.

As You Like It : Act I-I Scene 7; ll. 139 to 166

Bhartrhari has also divided human life in five different stages. The stanza is the following :—

क्षणं बालो भूत्वा क्षणमपि युवा कामरसिकः
क्षणं वित्तैर्हीनः क्षणमपि च संपूर्णविभवः ।
जराजीर्णैरङ्गैर्नट इव वलीमण्डिततनु-
र्नरः संसारान्ते विशति यमधानीयवनिकाम् ॥

Bhartrhari's five stages find their correspondence in the seven of Shakespeare. The *Bāla* stage corresponds to 'the whining school-boy' etc. *Yuvā kāma-rasikaḥ* corresponds to 'the lover sighing like furnace'... *Vittair hīnaḥ* corresponds to the 'soldier.... seeking the bubble reputation' and riches, and *Sampūrṇa-vibhavaḥ* to the 'justice in fair round belly with good capon lin'd'. *Jarā-jīrṇair angair* corresponds to 'the lean and slipper'd pantaloon...for his shrunk shank......'

It may be remarked *en passant* that Bhartrhari's description has a greater universality. Every one more or less passes in life through vicissitudes of good and bad circumstances, of wealth and poverty. Every one need not necessarily be a 'soldier' and a 'justice'. But there is a remarkable similarity in the description.

Of all the Sanskrit poets, Bhavabhūti will probably be described as a poet of romantic love. His ideal of love is eternal, unchangable,

and indescribable something. This ideal finds expression in the following stanza in the *Uttararāma-caritam* Act. I.

अद्वैतं सुखदुःखयोरनुगुणं सर्वास्ववस्थासु यद्
विश्रामो हृदयस्य यत्र जरसा यस्मिन्नहार्यो रसः ।
कालेनावरणात्ययात् परिणते यत् स्नेहसारे स्थितं
भद्रं प्रेम सुमानुषस्य कथमप्येकं हि तत्प्राप्यते ॥ ३९ ॥

With this may be compared the following *Sonnet* of Shakespeare :—

Sonnet CXVI

Let me not to the marriage of true minds
Admit impediments. Love is not love
Which alters when it alteration finds,
Or bends with the remover to remove.
O, no ! it is an ever-fixed mark
That looks on tempests and is never shaken;
It is the Star to every wandering bark,
Whose worth's unknown, although his height be taken.
Love's not Time's fool, though rosy lips and cheeks
Within his bending sickle's compass come;
Love alters not with his brief hours and weeks,
But bears it out even to the edge of doom.

The *Sonnet* is almost a paraphrase of the stanza of Bhavabhūti.

VIII : Technical Sciences

THE SIX GUṆAS IN THE KAUṬILĪYA—By Dr. Narendra Nath Law, M. A B. L., Ph. D., Editor, Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

By Dr. Narendra Nath Law, M. A B. L., Ph. D., Editor, Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

The later portion of the *Kauṭilīya* contains a treatment of the steps to be taken by the ruler of a State pursuant to his relations with the neighbouring States. For convenience of treatment, the neighbouring States together with the said ruler, with reference to whom the consideration of a particular situation is made, were confined to twelve. These twelve rulers constituted a maṇḍala (circle of States) and the aforesaid ruler was called the vijigīṣu (*lit.* bent on conquest) who, to avoid misunderstanding, may be called the central ruler and whose State may be called the central State. In the present paper, I propose to deal with the six ' courses of actions ' (*ṣaḍguṇas*) and their various combinations which a ruler should adopt in particular circumstances. The six ' courses of action ' are : (i) Saṁdhi, (ii) Vigraha, (iii) Yāna, (iv) Āsana, (v) Saṃśraya, and (vi) Dvaidhībhāva.

Saṁdhi

Saṁdhi is a treaty of peace made by the belligerent parties to bring about a cessation of hostilities. It may also be a form of compact or alliance between two or more rulers to carry out works in which they have a common interest.[1]

Vigraha

The term ' vigraha ' has two senses : (1) The mere declaration of war without the actual waging of war for the time being. This meaning becomes patent in the *combination of the ' courses of action '* called vigṛhyāsana, i. e. resorting to āsana (outwardly calm attitude towards the enemy) after the declaration of hostility. (2) According to the second sense, vigraha is the actual waging of war. In coming to a decision as to which ' course of action ' is to be adopted, this latter signification is kept in view.

1. For details about Saṁdhi, see my *Inter-State Relations in Ancient India* (called *I. S.* later on), pt. 1, pp. 39 ff.

Asana consists in the assumption of an outwardly calm and inactive attitude towards the enemy after the formal declaration of hostility. The object with which this course is adopted is three-fold, viz. (a) the enhancement of one's own strength by various means during the time this line of action lasts, (b) the reduction of the strength of the enemy by intercepting supplies from outside, alienating, if possible, the allies of the enemy and such other measures, and (c) ignoring for the time being the actions of the enemy probably with a view to have a suitable opportunity to strike a blow. [1] That āsana is a course of action after the declaration of war and not merely an inactive anticipation of the opening of hostilities by the enemy is clear from the *Kāmandakīya* (XI, 35), which explains that āsana is a form of vigraha (war) like yāna (march to meet the enemy) [yānāsane vigrahasya rūpam].

Āsana

Yāna is marching to face the enemy while saṁśraya is consigning onself to the protection of a power or powers competent to help him in his difficulty in the face of the enemy. Its essence, according to Kauṭilya, is *parārpaṇa*. The protection afforded to the sovereign brings to the protector some material gain sooner or later as his remuneration or compensation for the loss and risk undertaken by him. The amount of this gain used no doubt to be large, because in a comparison between saṁśraya and the next 'course of action' called dvaidhībhāva, the latter is preferred by Kauṭilya, as it leaves freedom of action in a large measure, and conduces to one's own interest, while the former does not. Saṁśraya attains its most unfavourable form in the circumstances in which the weak adversary has to sue for the same from the enemy himself. Two cases are distinguished within this form, one more distressful than the other : When the protection of a neighbouring sovereign as strong as the enemy is not forthcoming, the one attacked by the enemy has no other alternative than to appease the latter by offering him presents of treasure, army, or

Yāna (attack) and saṁśraya (resignation to the protection of a powerful State) ;

1. The weak king is advised to carry on the negotiation with the powerful adversary from a distance, as it is extremely dangerous for the former to have a personal interview with the latter in such a situation.

land calculated as sufficient to meet with his approval; but when even this fails to bring about the cessation of hostility, a complete surrender of him and his kingdom has to be made. [1]

When a sovereign happens to be attacked by two powerful sovereigns, he is advised to have recourse to saṃśraya with the nearer one, or to have kapāla-saṃśraya with both, telling each of them that unless he is shown mercy, he will be ruined by the other.[2] In the case of failure to protect himself and his own by these two means, he can approach the ruler of the Medium, the Super State, or any other kingdom within the maṇḍala for saṃśraya. Besides this 'course of action' there are other alternatives open to him, but as we are now concerned only with saṃśraya, these means of deliverance have been left out of consideration.[3]

Dvaidhībhāva (dual courses of action)

The meaning of dvaidhībhāva can be gathered from two or three passages in the *Kauṭilīya*.[4] It is composed of the elements of both saṁdhi and vigraha, and consists in the continuance of one's own undertakings through saṁdhi with one party, and the destruction of the same of the other party by carrying on vigraha with him. The pursuit of this line of action should, of course, be based on a consideration of the circumstances then prevailing with a probability of the ultimate success or the comparative gain of the sovereign taking to dvaidhībhāva. In the *Kāmandakīya*,[5] dvaidhībhāva has been represented as a kind of double-dealing. When the danger of invasion is apprehended by a sovereign from two powerful States, the former may adopt dvaidhībhāva by

1. I have called him self-submitter (daṇḍopanata) and the stronger sovereign 'dominator' (daṇḍopanāyin). The obligations of both and the means of deliverance of the former have been detailed in the *I. S.*, pt. I, pp. 61-68.
2. It is not clear whether this saṃśraya is extended to the sovereign in difficulty in exchange for some material consideration. In Kapāla treaty, which is a form of hīna-saṁdhi i. e. treaty of peace (vide *I. S.*, p. 47), a very large indemnity is paid, but saṃśraya may stand on a quite different footing from this form of treaty of peace.
3. For the details about saṃśraya given above, see *Kauṭilīya* (*K*) VII, ch. 2.
4. *K.*, VII, ch. I, pp. 263, 266; ch. 3, p. 270.
5. *Kāman.*, XI, 23-26.

outwardly resigning himself to the mercy of each of them but actually trying to do them harm by pitting the one against the other or by other means. Precautions are taken that each of the two powerful sovereigns remains ignorant of the lip-deep surrender of the king to the other. This form of dvaidhībhāva is quite different from the one of which I have spoken above as found in the *Kauṭilīya*. Śaṁkarārya, the commentator of the *Kāmandakīya*,[1] however states that Kauṭilya also speaks of the second form of dvaidhībhāva. The passage[2] upon which he relies does not, however, clearly show that Kauṭilya means this form of dvaidhībhāva, and not the first form. There is no mention of this form in the *Kāmandakīya* which Śaṁkarāya explains as an intentional omission, because, implied in saṁdhi and vigraha, it requires according to him no express mention.[3] The explanation is not however satisfactory, because though all the 'courses of action' are ultimately reducible to two viz., saṁdhi and vigraha, yet all the six are treated in detail in view of the changed circumstances in which each is adopted and the peculiarities attaching to each. Kāmandaka in fact dwells on five of the 'courses of action' at length, and there is no reason why an exception should be made in the case of the sixth. To my mind, dvaidhībhāva in its character as saṁdhi with one enemy and vigraha with another lost its importance, and gained prominence in its second form as a clever stroke of diplomatic action. This, I think, accounts for Kamandaka's silence about the first form.

The passages relating to dvaidhībhāva in Manu's Law Code are ślokas 167 and 173 of the VII Book. They state that when the enemy is stronger than the king attacked, the latter remains behind with a portion of his army and sends the remaining portion to face the enemy. The *Agni-Purāṇa*[4] advises 'balārdhena prayāṇaṃ' i. e. invasion with half the army.

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1. Com. on *Kāman.*, XI, 23.
2. *K.*, VII, ch. 2, 267f. Pārśvastho vā balasthayor āsannabhayāt pratikurvīta. Durgāpāśrayo vā dvaidhībhūtastiṣṭhet. Saṁdhivigrahahetubhir vā ceṣṭeta.
3. Com. on the *Kāman.*, XI, 23.
4. *Agni-Purāṇa*, ch. 224, ślk. 19.

The essential of dvaidhībhava is that it should have in it the elements of saṁdhi and vigraha.[1] The descriptions of this course of action given above from Manu's Code and the *Agni-Purāṇa* should be interpreted in the light of the said definition of the same. Hence, the implications are that the king attacked sends a portion of his army to face the enemy and remains behind with the other portion of his army for guarding his rear and for watching the movements of the king with whom a saṁdhi has been recently made. The two requisites of dvaidhībhāva, viz. saṁdhi and vigraha, may be found in this course of action if the passages be interpreted in the light of the definition as given by Kauṭilya and Medhātithi.

The Combinations of the 'Courses of Action'

The combinations of the 'courses of action' are four, viz., vigṛhyāsana, saṁdhāyāsana, vigṛhyayāna, and saṁdhāyayāna. The meanings of the terms and the circumstances in which each of the courses is adopted, will now be dealt with.

The literal meaning of the compound vigṛhyāsana is 'āsana after vigraha', and that of saṁdhāyāsana is 'āsana after saṁdhi'. Āsana may be resorted to after the declaration of war with a view to cut off the supplies of stores, etc. from outside and cause an economic strangulation with the besiegement of a garrison defending itself by taking its position in a fortress.[2] Kāmandaka interprets saṁdhāyāsana as taking to āsana after making a truce or armistice; but as a truce or armistice cannot last long, while one of the objects of āsana is to increase the power of one who adopts it by lapse of time, during which he can take various remedial measures for the augmentation of his own resources and reduction of those of the enemy, the meaning of truce or armistice does not represent āsana in its most important form. This form, I think, consists in making saṁdhi (alliance) with another power, and taking to āsana at the same time. While āsana may augment his strength, in which lies its proper function, the alliance mentioned above will also serve the same purpose. On a scrutiny of the circumstances delineated

1. Cf. Medhātithi on Manu, VII, 160.
2. Vide *Kāman.*, sarga 11, ślk. 14.

in the *Kauṭilya* as those in which vigṛhyāsana and saṁdhayāsana are to be followed, it is found that the former is meant for a king with comparatively better resources than one who is to adopt the latter course of action, because in the former are combined not only a defensive but also an aggressive attitude to a king better circumstanced, while in the latter is found only a defensive one. The *analogy of the meaning of vigṛhyayāna also bears me out in* this interpretation of the term. In connection with vigṛhyayāna it is expressly stated regarding one set of circumstances that the yāna against the enemy is resorted to after causing vigraha between his mitra (friend) and pārṣṇigrāhāsāra (rear-enemy's friend), or between his ākranda (rear-friend) and pārṣṇigrāha (rear-enemy).[1] The object of pitting one against another in the rear is obvious. This leaves him free to meet the enemy in front with a larger force and a lesser risk to his kingdom from attacks at a time when his attention has been diverted to another direction. In the *Kamandakīya*,[2] this meaning of vigṛhyayāna is found explicit:

Arimitrāṇi sarvaṇi svamitraiḥ sarvato balat ।
Vigṛhya vā'rigamanaṁ vigṛhyagamanaṁ smṛtam ॥

(Vigṛhyayana consists in attacking the enemy with all force after bringing about a vigraha between the allies of the enemy and his own allies).

Another meaning of the term is also given by Kamandaka, viz., having recourse to yāna against the enemy while taking away or destroying his material resources.[3] The use of the term vigṛhyayāna in a sense similar to, or identical with, this signification of the word in the *Kāmandakīya* is, I think, found in the *Kauṭilīya* in its first two examples of this 'course of action.' In this variety, the efforts are directed against the enemy himself as no allies are involved. The *Kauṭilīya* mentions a third variety of vigṛhyayāna, in which a king considers himself so strong that he ventures, even after a declaration of war against his rear-enemy (pārṣṇigrāha) and

1. *K.*, VII, ch. 4, pp. 273, 284.
2. *Kāman.*, XI, 4 The commentator Śaṁkarārya interprets the śloka as 'bringing under control by dint of force the allies of the enemy through his own allies, and then marching against the enemy'.
3. *Kāman.*, XI, 3.

the friend of the rear-enemy (pārṣṇigrāhāsāra), to march against his frontal enemy (ari) with the expectation that he will be able to finish his operations against the frontal enemy unaided and within a very short time, and to return in time to cope with the preparations of the aforesaid enemies in the rear. The distinguishing feature of this form of vigṛhyayāna is that the king takes no outside help and himself faces the frontal enemy as also his enemies in the rear. Thus three forms of vigṛhyayāna have been distinguished :

(i) Vigraha is caused among kings in the rear while yāna is made in front. The name Vigṛhyayāna (with the causative form of vigraha) would have made the meaning more explicit.

(ii) All the efforts are directed against the enemy only, as no other parties are involved.

(iii) The king has to face the risks on two sides unaided, i. e. after finishing vigraha against the frontal enemy, he comes back to put down the enemies in the rear against whom a war had already been declared.

The *Kauṭilīya* recommends the application of saṁdhāyayāna in circumstances reverse to those in which vigṛhyayāna is adopted. This, however, leaves the point somewhat obscure as no examples have been cited. However, on the analogy of vigṛhyayāna, saṁdhāya in saṁdhāyayāna may be taken in its ordinary sense of making saṃdhi with an enemy in the rear and then taking to yāna against the frontal enemy. It also admits of the causative sense of saṁdhāpya, just as vigṛhya in vigṛhyayāna has been used in the sense of vigrāhya; and with this causative meaning, the ' course of action ' saṁdhāyayāna would signify that the king causes a saṁdhi to be concluded between an ally and an enemy of his in the rear to reduce his troubles, and then proceeds to face the frontal enemy. Though this meaning appears to be quite acceptable, no examples are found in any of the texts to confirm the opinion that the name of the ' course of action ' was actually used in this sense, and the course adopted in suitable circumstances. The first meaning of saṁdhāyayāna, however, is found in use in the *Kāmandakīya* where an example has been cited to explain it.[1] In regard to vigṛhyāsana

1. *Kaman.*, XI, 5.

and saṁdhāyāsana, the causative sense of the first component of each of the names can yield acceptable meanings, specially in view of the fact that in the case of saṁdhāyāsana, if only one enemy has to be dealt with, āsana against him cannot be adopted after the conclusion of an alliance or a treaty of peace with him (saṁdhi). Hence, the meaning of saṁdhāyāsana with the causative implication of the first component of the word is better, and would then signify that when, in addition to the frontal enemy, one or more enemies are in the field, he causes an alliance to be concluded between the latter and his own ally or allies, and then takes to āsana as against the frontal enemy. Further, this interpretation with the causative sense keeps clear the difference between saṁdhāyāsana (as also saṁdhāyayāna) and dvaidhībhāva. When the ordinary meaning of saṁdhāya is retained, the ' course of action ' then signifies an alliance with one or more rear enemies followed by an āsana against the enemy in front. Thus saṁdhāyāsana has three significations including the one of recourse to āsana after a truce or armistice already referred to. Similarly, in connection with vigṛhyāsana, the causative meaning of vigṛhya can yield an opposite meaning. Some of the situations in which vigṛhyāsana is recommended to be followed are :—

Circumstances suitable for vigṛhyāsana

1 When a king finds it practicable for him to cause karśana of the enemy of equal or superior power with the help of his own army, that of his ally, and also that composed of forest tribes, he can adopt vigṛhyāsana after taking measures for conciliating the treasonous elements within his own kingdom, and turning to his support similar elements in the enemy's.

2 When again it is apparent to the sovereign that his own subjects are courageous, united, and prosperous and will be able to carry on unhampered their own avocations or destroy the enemy's undertakings, then vigṛhyāsana may be adopted.

3 Vigṛhyāsana may also be resorted to with a view to check the increase of power of the enemy and assert his own, when a king finds that,

(a) the subjects of his enemy are greedy by reason of impoverishment, and oppressed by the soldiers of their own king, and

molested by thieves and forest tribes, and will, of themselves or through persuasions, come over to his side;

(b) the vārttā (agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade) of his own kingdom is flourishing, while that of the dominion of his enemy is in a bad condition, and in consequence, the subjects of the enemy being stricken by famine will approach him for help ;

(c) the vārttā of his own kingdom is ill off while that of the territory of the enemy is flourishing, but still his own subjects will not turn over to the side of the enemy, and by entering into hostility with him, he can carry off paddy, cattle and gold from the enemy's domain ;

(d) he can prevent the import of merchandise from the enemy's dominion, subversive of the sale of merchandise produced in his own territory ;

(e) valuable merchandise would be diverted for sale into his own kingdom leaving that of the enemy ;

(f) the enemy will be unable to hold in check the seditious and inimical people as also the forest tribes in his kingdom, once the war is declared ; or will be involved in a fight with them ;

(g) his enemy, by invading the territory of a faithful ally of his, will, within a short time, acquire much wealth unless war be declared against him ; or

(h) the enemy is about to march with all his forces to take away from another enemy a fertile region easily acquirable, showing slight regard to the existence of the king in our contemplation as a neighbouring power.

It may be objected that the enemy may turn back and crush the king last mentioned, but according to Kauṭilya, there is a greater danger in allowing the enemy to grow stronger by acquiring wealth from his enemy (i. e. enemy's enemy) for then the enemy can cause ucchedana (ruin) to the State of the king whom he was going to attack. On the other hand, the adoption of āsana may be well commensurate with the power of the king, as what is meant to be achieved by it is only karśana (i. e. reduction of the strength of the enemy). Moreover, he can have accession of strength not only by the application of various ways and means as is usually

expected during the period of āsana, but also from the sovereign, whom the aforesiad enemy was about to attack.

Circumstances suitable for saṁdhāyāsana

The *Kauṭilya* is very brief in regard to the delineation of circumstances, in which saṁdhayasana is to be adopted. It only states that when the application of vigṛhyasana has led to unfavourable results, saṁdhayāsana should be applied.

Circumstances suitable for vigṛhyayāna

I Vigṛhyayāna should be adopted by a sovereign grown stronger through vigṛhyāsana but not against a powerful king who is ready to meet an enemy with all his force.

II It should also be adopted when—

(1) the enemy is passing through vyasanas (calamities);

(2) the vyasanas of the enemy are such that they cannot be remedied by the dravya-prakṛtis (resource-elements of the State) still unaffected by the vyasanas ;

(3) the subjects of the enemy are oppressed by the soldiers of their king, disaffected, reduced in circumstances, disappointed, disunited, and prone to yield to persuasions and temptations to stand against their ruler ;

(4) the enemy's dominion has been devastated by fire, flood, diseases, epidemics, and famine rendering it poor in regard to its defence and its resources in draught animals and artisans.

III When a king finds that his mitra (friend) and ākranda (rear-friend) have loyal, courageous and prosperous subjects while those of the enemy as also of the pārṣṇigrāha (rear-enemy) and pārṣṇigrāhāsāra (rear-enemy's friend) are of the reverse sort, and that he can take to vigṛhyayāna against the enemy after causing vigraha between mitra and pārṣṇigrāhāsāra, or if needed, between ākranda and pārṣṇigrāha, he should do so.

IV When it is possible for a sovereign to win a victory single-handed and within a short time by marching against his enemy after delcaring war against the rear-enemy and his friend whom he

can face after the achievement of the victory against the frontal enemy, then vigṛhyayāna should be adopted.[1]

Saṁdhāyayāna In the reverse circumstances, he should take to Saṁdhāyayāna.

When a sovereign finds that it is not possible to wage war with

The march of combined powers (sambhūyayāna) *an enemy single-handed, and there is no escape* from the war, he has to fall back upon the alternative of facing him in combination with one or more powers. These powers may be of equal, superior, or inferior strength as compared with that of the one that invites them for assistance. The consideration for which the former agree to enter into the war in favour of the latter is either --

(i) a fixed share in the expected spoils and acquisitions, when the expectation has every chance of realization;

(ii) a share not fixed at the outset in the spoils and acquisitions for which the expectation is not certain; or

(iii) a promise to help the power or powers joining the combination in response to their call in times of need.

When a power declines to join the combination, he may be requested to accept the offer of a share in the gains in exchange for a contingent of troops lent by him.

In the aforesaid cases, the shares in the gains to be allotted to the powers invited to join the combination may be proportionate to the contingent of troops supplied by each, to the exertion put in, or to the amount of losses and expenses incurred. These shares may also be made up by allowing each of the powers to appropriate the spoils acquired by itself.[2]

The combination of a king with two of strength equal to himself rather than with one of superior strength is recommended, because

1. For the points discussed above, see *K.*, VII, ch. 4. Kāmandaka names the following other combinations of the courses of action, viz., (a) prasaṅgāsana, (b) upekṣāsana, (c) prasaṅgayāna, (d) upekṣāyāna, (e) sambhūyāsana, and (f) sambhūyayāna.
These courses as also their variations are unimportant and need not be dealt with at length. (See *Kāman.*, XI, 6-10; 18-22).
2. *K*, VII, ch. 4, p. 274.

in the former case, a comparatively lesser amount of freedom of action is left. Moreover, if any cause or dispute arises at the end regarding the allotment of shares in the gains from the war, by which the assisting power or powers feel aggrieved, it may not be difficult for the king to prevent them from making of it a common cause. Should any one of the two powers prove faithless, it may also be easy to curb him with the help of the other, or by throwing him into difficulties by a manipulation of the recalcitrant elements in the population of his kingdom. If the choice lies between a combination with a sovereign of equal strength, and the same with two of inferior power, the latter is preferable, because the latter two will be tractable and can be engaged in two works simultaneously.

Considerations about the nature of the Combination

In all cases, attempts should be made to unite with helpful and honest kings.[1] When the king himself is invited to join a combination formed by another, and does respond to the call, he should be careful in regard to these points at the time of the division of the spoils and acquisitions after a successful completion of the operations : If the king, who has called him, be of superior strength, and shows symptoms of an inclination to deal unfairly with him at this stage, the latter should come away on some pretext or other, instead of waiting to have his share of the gains finally made over to him. Should the former be just in his dealings, waiting with the latter up to the last to have his share in the gains allotted to him is not harmful. Success in military operations serves to make a victor arrogant and overbearing. A sovereign after the attainment of success is often found to behave unjustly even towards one of equal strength, because he becomes haughty by the recent accession of power. Hence, a king of inferior strength should come away from one superior to him with an expression of contentment even if he be inwardly discontented at the way in which he is treated in regard to his share in the gains i. e. if he gets less than what was agreed upon or even if he gets nothing at all. An opportunity may however come later on,

Suggestions meant for a king who responds to a call for combination

1. *K.* VII, ch. 5, pp. 277, 278.

when he may have double his share by way of compensation for the non-payment of his dues on the present occasion.[1] Should he feel very much aggrieved by reason of the vikrama (i. e. the other party gaining at his cost), then he may have, at a suitable time when the circumstances permit, recourse to one or more of Prakāśayuddha (open war at a fixed time and place), kūṭayuddha (threatful ruses, storming of forts, attacks at unguarded moments and in times of calamities, and delusive manuœvres), and Tūṣnīṃyuddha (harmful activities carried on through secret means and secret agents)[2].

Whatever particular kings may do in the situations mentioned above, Kauṭilya advises a king who forms a combination with other kings to behave towards the latter with civility and fairness, giving them their dues after the completion of the work, and even forego-ing a portion of his share of the gains if necessary, because it is in this way that he can enlist the sympathy and draw towards himself the respect of the members of the maṇḍala.[3]

1. *Ibid.* VII, ch. 5, p. 278.

2. *K.* VII, ch. 6, pp. 280, 283.

3. *Ibid.* VII, ch. 5, p. 278. The text relied on is defective in the Mysore edition. I have followed the text of the Trivandrum edition which appears to be correct.

THE DECCAN MONEY MARKET DURING c.750—c.1000 A. D.

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Economic history of Ancient India still affords ample field for investigation. In the present article, it is proposed to ascertain the prevailing rates of interest in the Deccan during the last quarter of the first millennium of the Christian era, and find out how far they tally with those mentioned in the Smṛti literature.

Inscriptions of this period throw ample light on the topic. Several records, describing in detail the provisions made for the clothing and feeding of *Bhikṣus* and *Brāhmaṇas*, or for the burning of perpetual lamps in temples, enable us to find out the condition of the money market during this period. That there were occasional fluctuations in the money-market due to famines, wars and allied causes would become clear from an inscription at Kanheri,[1] belonging to the last quarter of the 9th century. After mentioning an investment in a local bank, the record states that the rate of interest was to be determined by experts from time to time. A similar saving clause does rarely figure in the numerous inscriptions, which precisely state the agreed rate of interest on perpetual deposits. It is, however, not unlikely that the guild and village community banks, which had undertaken to pay interest at a certain agreed rate for all times to come, may have been allowed in practice some latitude, if the conditions of the money market were severely adverse to them.

Another Kanheri inscription[2] of the same period enables us to determine the precise rate of interest on perpetual deposits. The premier of the local Śilāhāra dynasty had to invest 160 *drammas* in order to provide annually 20 *drammas* for the Buddha-worship, three for building-repairs, five for the robes of the monks, and one for the purchase of books. 160 *drammas* could thus fetch, by way of interest, 29 *drammas* annually. The rate of interest, which prevailed

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1. *I. A.* XIII p. 133.
2. *I.A.* XIII p. 136.

at Kanheri towards the end of the 9th century, is thus found to be about 18 per cent per annum.

An inscription from Tiruvorrur in Chingleput district,[1] dated *c.* 962 A. D., mentions an investment on which the village assembly of Kurattur had agreed to pay in perpetuity an interest of 15%. Several records from Tanjore,[2] belonging to the beginning of the 11th century, disclose 12½% as the normal rate of interest on perpetual deposits.

In some localities, however, much higher rates of interest prevailed. A Bāṇa inscription,[3] dated 915 A. D., states that the interest on a perpetual deposit of 20 *Kalañjus* was 5 *Kalañjus* per annum. The interest rate in this case is seen to be 25% per cent p. a. A still higher rate of interest is disclosed by a Cola record, belonging to the first half of the 10th century A. D.[4] A temple at Annamalai owned some lands on which it had to pay an annual tax of 18 *ilakkāsus* to the village assembly. The inscription shows that the temple authorities could arrange for the payment of one-third the amount of this tax by making a perpetual deposit of 15 *ilakkāsus* in the bank of the village assembly. The rate of interest thus works out to be as high as 40 per cent per annum. This rate of interest on a perpetual deposit is quite an abnormal one for our period. It may be perhaps due to the village council being in urgent need of funds for meeting some pressing needs of the community; it is also possible that the assembly may have decided to show a special favour to the village deity by an indirect concession in the land tax, by allowing an abnormal rate of interest on the capital deposited by the temple authorities for meeting a part of the land tax demand.

Interest on perpetual deposits at high rates like 25% or 40% p. a is exceptional during our period; in the vast majority of cases, the rate of interest on the capital in cash is found to vary between 12% and 18%. It is interesting to note that the rate of interest, approved by Kauṭilya,[5] Manu[6] and Yājñavalkya,[7] is 15% p. a.

1. *Inscriptions from Madras Presidency* : Chingleput No. 1048.
2. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 95, 97, 89–99, 101–3.
3. *E. I.* Vol. VII. pp. 188ff.
4. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 241.
5. III, 15.
6. VIII, 41.
7. II, 37.

If the capital advanced was in kind the rate of interest was much higher. The Ukkala Inscription No. 5,[1] belonging to the time of Kampanavarman, records an agreement of the villagers to pay an interest of 100 *kadis* of paddy per annum on a capital of 400 *kāḍis*. Another record from the same locality discloses an interest of 500 *kāḍis* on the capital of 1000 *kaḍis*. The rate of interest in these two cases works out to be 25% and 50% respectively. Here again, it will be seen, that epigraphy confirms the testimony of the Smrtis. *Kauṭilya* permits[2] 50% insterest on the capital in grain, and Manu,[3] Vasiṣṭha,[4] and Yājñavalkaya,[5] who do not permit the capital in cash to be exceeded by the interest, declare that in the case of the capital in corn, it may amount to even more than two times the original capital, showing that the normal rate of interest in the case of the capital in corn was at least about twice as high as that allowed on the capital in cash.

It must be noted that the normal rate of interest of 15% on the capital in cash was the one which guild and village community banks of unquestionable security were allowing on perpetual deposits. Ordinary debtors could obtain loans from these banks at much higher rates. It is very probable that these banks may have charged interest at least at about 20% to the debtors, who could offer good security, and that private money lenders may have charged interest at about 25% to 30%. This inference is supported by the statement of Manu that a person, charging interest at 24% per annum, is not guilty of sin.[6] If the security offered by the debtor were of doubtful value, the rate of interest charged must have been still higher, say 35% or 40%. The statements of Manu[7] and Yājñavalkya[8] that Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras should be charged interest at 24%, 36%, 48% and 60% respectively, would seem to show that the poorer classes of society, like the artisans and

1. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 13.
2. III, 11.
3. VIII, 151.
4. II, 48.
5. II, 39.
6. VIII, 141.
7. VIII, 141.
8. II, 37.

farmers, who were generally unable to offer quite a satisfactory security for their debts, were charged interest varying between 30% to 50%. Here again, epigraphy is seen confirming the testimony of the Smṛtis.

The price of camphor, which was an imported commodity, was about Rs. 2 as. 4 tola [1] during our period. The price of this article was thus about 36 times dearer than the present price. This high price would show that the danger and cost of the sea transport must have been very great, and therefore, the sea-merchants could have obtained capital at prohibitive rates of interest. Yājñavalkya permits an interest of 120% per annum when the capital was lent out to sea-traders. [2]

The rates of interest, above ascertained, are further corroborated by the price of land, stated in the terms of its annual produce. A Melpadi Inscription, dated 959 A. D.,[3] shows that land purchased for 15 *Kaḷañjus* was sufficient for burning perpetually one ghee lamp, consuming 180 *Nāṛis* i. e. about 67 seers of ghee per year. This quantity of ghee used to cost about four *Kaḷañjus* in our period. [4] The price of this piece of land is thus seen to be about four times the value of its annual produce. We have seen already, how the banks of our period were allowing an interest of about 15% on permanent deposits, how Manu states that a person, who charges an interest of 24%, is not guilty of sin, and how ordinary debtors had to pay an interest varying between 30% to 50%. If the rate of interest was thus so high, it is but natural that cultivable land should cost only about four times its net produce and yield an interest of about 25% on the capital invested.

The rates of interest, prevailing in the money-market of our period, would appear to be very high to the present age. It may be, however, pointed out that equally high rates of interest prevailed in Europe down to the 13th and 14th centuries.

1. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 75 and p. 132.
2. II, 37.
3. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 19.
4. The price of ghee, given above, can be deduced from the data supplied by the following inscriptions; *E. I.* Vol. XI. p. 224; *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 94 and 149, and Vol. III, pp. 282 and 357.

GAJA-ŚASTRA OR THE SCIENCE OF ELEPHANTS from the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Mahāraja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahāl Palace Library, Tanjore By Vidyasagara Prof. P. P. S. SASTRI, B. A. (OXON), M. A. (MADRAS) Presidency College, Madras and Editor, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Tanjore Palace Library.

The Sanskrit Manuscripts on the Gajaśastra available in this library are very interesting and fall into four main groups. The author of the science is generally referred to as Palakāpya, the offspring of a ṛṣi and a pious female elephant. His standard work called *Gajavaidya* is represented by a dozen manuscripts in paper and palm leaf, with Telugu word-for-word translation, commentary and notes in some of them. This forms the first group of manuscripts on the Gajaśāstra.

The second group is represented by the work known as *Gajalakṣaṇa-cikitsa* by Sage Vedavyāsa. This work is represented by two manuscripts, one being a copy of the other. The work deals more with the veterinary aspect of the life of an elephant.

The third group is represented by a single manuscript known as *Gajalakṣaṇa* which is a portion of a bigger work called *Abhilāṣa-cintāmaṇi*, of unknown authorship. This work deals with the various classes of elephants, what should be done with various parts of a dead elephant and such other details.

The fourth group is represented by the work called *Gajalakṣaṇa-śastra*. This work is represented by two manuscripts. From the colophon it is found that the authorship is attributable to the Sage Pālakāpya. Both the manuscripts are clearly written and well preserved. This same work is also available in two separate pictorially illuminated volumes, of which one seems to be a copy of the author. The earlier copy appears to be about 200 years old. It contains extracts from the text represented by the fourth group, on the upper portions of each page, with pictorial representations of the subject matter below. The paintings have been executed in various colours, care being bestowed to suit the colour to the description in the text. This volume is complete in itself. The second and later volume was evidently undertaken under the orders of Mahārāja Serfoji II (1803-1832 A. D.) of Tanjore, one of the greatest patrons of art and learning in South India. The text and illustrations are generally identical with the earlier volume. There are, besides, a few intro-

ductory verses, laudatory of King Serfoji. This work, though certainly superior to the earlier volume in point of delicacy of workmanship and general execution, suffers from two great defects, in that it breaks off in the middle with reference to the Sanskritic extracts though the pictorial paintings continue for some more pages and also in that these paintings too break off towards the end as compared with the earlier volume.

Both these volumes of paintings have been achieved with such signal success that it would really be an irreparable loss to this branch of literature if these paintings are allowed to fade away by the ravages of time. It would be too difficult and too costly a task to order a recopying of the paintings, true to the originals. It therefore seems to be necessary that some steps should be taken to preserve these treasures of art by taking color photographs as early as possible to make these paintings well known and easily available to the world of scholars and the public at large.

The general feature of all the groups of manuscripts is that all of them are partly mythological in character. On the origin of elephants and on their transformation from winged to wingless elephants, all the manuscripts have the same tale to tell. Besides, the following general items of interest are also noticeable. The age of the elephant is given as 120 years which is divided into twelve periods of ten years each, each period is being called a *daśa*. The condition in each *daśa* is described in detail. Elephants again are classified according to their place of origin from each of the old divisions of India, as Kāmbhoja, Pulinda etc. Five modes of capturing elephants are also described. Varibandha, Vaśabandha and anugatabandha are the three modes of capture which are approved, whilst āpathabandha in both its varieties is condemned. Elephants are also classified according to their colour. A number of colours and the combinations are illustrated. The smell of elephants, their cries, their marks and stature etc. are also described.

The object of this short note is to interest scholars and learned institutions in and outside India in the preservation and maintenance of some of the richest art treasures still available in the famous library at Tanjore.*

* Since writing the above, Dr. Franklin Edgerton has published a valuable monograph on 'The Elephant-lore of the Hindus' (Yale University Press).

A MANUSCRIPT OF RASASINDHU: A RARE WORK ON ALCHEMY AND ITS PROBABLE DATE — BY P. K. GODE, M. A.

Curator, Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona 4

Aufrecht mentions only one manuscript of *Rasasindhu* a work on alchemy by *Viṣṇu*, son of Mahādeva viz. "Radh 32." [1] This is from the collection of the late Pandit Rama Krishna of Lahore. Detailed description of this Ms. as also its present whereabouts are not available. In the same place Aufrecht states that *Rasasindhu* has been quoted in *Ṭodarānanda*, [2] an encyclopaedia of law, astronomy, and medicine, by Ṭodarmalla, the minister of Akbar (A. D. 1542-1605).

In view of the above information the work appears to be very rare. The Government Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute has luckily enough preserved a copy of the work under a different title [3] viz. *Vaidyakasāra-Samuccaya*—No. 634 of 1895-1902. This Ms. is incomplete and consists of about 152 folios. The name of the author as found in the colophon on folio 53 and entered in the catalogue is *Viṭṭhala*. On closer examination I find that the work is not *Vaidyakasāra-Samuccaya*. The following colophons will bear out the truth of my statement :—

(1) Colophon on folio 5 —

" इति पंडितमहादेवविराचिते
तनयविठ्ठलविरचिते रससिंधु etc. "

(2) Colophon on folio 19 —

" इतिगलगंडपदांकितमहादेव-
पंडितविरचिते रससिंधौ etc. "

(3) Colophon on folio 29 —

" इतिगलगंडपदांकितमहादेव-
तनयविठ्ठलविरचिते रससिंधौ etc. "

1. Catalogus Catalogorum, Part I, p. 496 (b).
2. Weber's Catalogue of Berlin Mss. (1853), p. 289.
3. List of Mss. published by the B. O. R. Institute, 1925, p. 23.

(4) Colophon on folio 53 —

" इति श्रीपंडितविट्ठलविरचिते
वैद्यकसारसमुच्चये रससिंधौ etc."

It is clear from these colophons that the correct title of the work is "रससिन्धु" and not "वैद्यकसारसमुच्चय" which appears to be only an adjectival epithet of रससिन्धु in the colophon on folio 53 quoted above.

Now as regards the name of the author, colophons 1, 3 and 4 tell us that it was composed by विट्ठल, while it is clear from colophonos 1 and 3 that he was the son of महादेव. With the exception of the colophon on folio 29 all others quoted above appear to be incorrect in some respect or another.

That the name of the work is रससिन्धु is further borne out by the author's own statement contained in the following verses on folio 2:—

" तत्तद्ग्रंथात्समालोक्य सर्वतन्त्रानुसारतः ।
गलंडपदभूषार्थं महादेवस्य सूनुना ।
विष्णुना शैवसद्विद्यां नलिनी बोधभास्वता ।
संभाव्य सूच्यते शुद्धिर्नातिसंक्षेपविस्तरा ।
अतिसंक्षेपतः कार्यसिद्धिर्नस्यात्सुविस्तरात् ।
अनादरत्वं वैद्यानां अनैश्चित्यादवैभवात् ।
श्रीगुरोरूपरसादिशोधनं ।
धातुवज्रनभसां च मारणं ।
स्वेदनादि विधि जारणादिकं ।
पारदस्य न च वेत्ति सो भिषक् ।
नाना ग्रंथसरिल्लोलरसकल्लोलशालिनं ।
भजेयुर्भिषजः सर्वे रससिंधुं ममाश्रिये ।
भवतात् भिषजां ग्रंथभारसंभारसंहरः ।
रीत्या चतुरया चारु ग्रंथोयं विष्णुनिर्मितः ।"

The above verses, which occur in the body of the text, may be regarded as reliable. They tell us that the work was composed by विष्णु son of महादेव to bring honour to the title "गलंड" (गलंडपदभूषार्थं). The title mentioned in the colophons on folios 19 and 29 is "गलगंड" which is rather high-sounding.

The only contradiction between the colophons quoted above and statement made by the author in the foregoing verses is in respect of

the name of the author. While the colophons proclaim विठ्ठल as the author of the work, the verses explicitly mention विष्णु as the author. This apparent contradiction can be explained away only on the supposition that विष्णु is a Sanskritised substitute for विठ्ठल, which may have been the popular name of the author.

The present work draws largely from other works on alchemy as will be seen from a cursory perusal of the manuscript. I note below some of the authors and works referred to in this work :—

नीलकण्ठ (17)*
रसरत्नावली (17, 19, 40, 93)
रसचन्द्रिका (18, 72, 79, 83)
रसार्णव of परेश (2)
यामलत्रय of केशव (2)
व्याडि (2)
सिद्धनागार्जुन (2)
आनंदानुभाव (2)
दामोदर (2)
वैद्यनाथ (2)
रत्नावली (30, 85,)
रसरहस्य (33, 35, 69)
रसार्णव (34, 83, 86)
रसरत्नाकर (35, 74, 79, 86)
रसमहोदधि (38, 15)
रसदीपिका (56, 69, 85, 95)
रसमुक्तावली (56, 114)
सूतमहोदधि (57, 89, 97, 107, 129, 165)
रसपटल (58)
रसामृत (68, 87)
स्वच्छंदशक्त्यागम (75, 89)
'श्रीमतात्' (78, 79, 84, 89, 120)
रसेन्द्रचूडामणि (81)
रसराजलक्ष्मी (83, 84, 101, 105, 132)
रसदर्पण (86)
लोकनाथ (86, 87)
'रसराजस्वसंवेद्यात्' (124)
compare 'स्वसंवेद्यात्' on folios: (87, 88, 99, 100, 106)
भवानीमत (88, 99, 104)
काकचण्डेश्वरीमत (93, 102, 119, 120)
नक्षत्रमाला (99)
'कामदेवभवानीमतात्' (104)
'श्रीमदौमात्' (106, 124)
कामराजरसदीपिका (106)
मुक्तावली (107)
रसेन्द्रमंगल (110, 147, 150)
राजमृगांक (120)
रसप्रबोध (121)
वृद्धपाराशर (121)
'वासुदेवानुभावात्' (128, 140)
सूतार्णव (140, 150)
'औमात्' (135)
compare 'श्रीमदौमात्' mentioned above.
कुलागम (2)

* The bracketed numbers in this list indicate the numbers of folios of the Manuscript where the references occur.

The above list is not quite complete. Some of the works in the above list will be found in Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum and in the "History of Hindu Chemistry" by P. C. Ray (1909). Sir P. C. Ray does not appear to have come across this work in the course of his solicitous search for old works on Hindu alchemy.

Date of the Work—The Manuscript of Rasasindhu analysed above appears to be about 300 to 350 years old from the condition in which it is at present preserved in the Govt. Mss. Library. The age of the Ms. cannot be determined as it is incomplete. From the fact that *Rasasindhu* has been quoted in *Ṭoḍarānanda*, a work by Raja Ṭoḍaramalla, the celebrated minister of Akbar we can infer that during Akbar's time (A. D. 1542-1605) the work had attained a respectable position as a work on Hindu alchemy. This would push the date of composition of the work as far back as the middle of the 15th century A. D. According to Sir P. C. Ray [1] *Rasārṇava* is "one of the earliest works of the kind, which throws a flood of light on the chemical knowledge of the Hindus about 12th century A.D." We have seen above that Rasārṇava has been quoted many times in the present work. The present work must therefore, have been composed between 12th century and the middle of the 15th century A. D. The probable dates of other works quoted in Rasasindhu which are determined by Sir P. C. Ray [2] are the following :—

रसेन्द्रचूडामणि—between 12th and 13th centuries (quoted by नित्यनाथ in रसरत्नाकर—c. 1350 A. D.)

रसामृत—before 1350 A. D.

रसरत्नाकर—c. 1350 A. D. (This work is presumably one by सिद्धनित्यनाथ as the रसरत्नाकर ascribed to नागार्जुन belongs to 8th cent. A. D.[3] नित्यनाथ quotes from रसेन्द्रचूडामणि).

नक्षत्रमाला—Probably रसनक्षत्रमालिका is meant. The work is older than Saṁvat 1557 i. e. A. D. 1500 which is the date of a Ms. of the work referred to by Sir P. C. Ray.[4]

1. *P. C. Ray* — Bibliotheca Indica Edition of Rasārṇava, 1900 — Introduction p. lxxix.
2. —Do— History of Hindu Chemistry Vol. II.
3. —Do— —Do— Introd. p. xli.
4. History of Hindu Chemistry, Vol. II, p. LXI.

काकचण्डीश्वर [1]
सूतमहोदधि [2] } mentioned in रसराजलक्ष्मी.
स्वच्छन्दशक्त्यागम [1]

रसराजलक्ष्मी —latter part of the 14th century[1] (about 1375 A. D.) In the foregoing chronological conspectus the date of रसराजलक्ष्मी viz. the latter part of the 14th century is very important as it brings down the date of रससिन्धु to a period between the *latter part of the 14 th century and the middle of the 15th century i. e. between A. D. 1375 and 1450.*

Another argument in favour of the above date, though a negative one, is furnished by the circumstance that modern works such as रसदीप, रसकौमुदी, भावप्रकाश, अर्कप्रकाश do not appear to have been quoted or mentioned in the रससिन्धु so far as my cursory perusal of of the Ms. shows. The modern period according to Sir P. C. Ray is 1500 to 1600 A. D.

In view of the data collected above we shall not be wrong if we state that the present work *Rasasindhu* was composed *towards the close of the fourteenth century.*

1. **History of Hindu Chemistry, Vol. II, p. LIX, LX.**
2. **According to Aufrecht's Cat. Catalogorum.**

ASTRONOMICAL IMPLICATIONS IN THE VEDĀṄGA JYOTIṢA—BY RAMCHANDRA VINAYAK PATAVARDHAN, B. A., LL. B., POONA.

The Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, small though it is, bespeaks an advanced knowledge of practical Astronomy, and is replete with facts and calculations which disclose a great capacity for astronomical investigation. For a number of years the small tract of the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa was virtually a sealed book; for, the version was in many places very obscure or corrupt. But thanks to the labours of Dr. Thibaut, Sj. Modak, Dixit, Dvivedi, Bārhaspatya and Lok. Tilak, almost all the verses have now been fully elucidated and explained. The strenuous endeavours of all these scholars have made it plain that the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa is a wonderful productoin, and contains astronomical information compressed in a nutshell.

When after a thoughtful perusal of the book we lay it aside, and come to realize that correct rules of practical astronomy can be formulated only by a thorough grasp and an accurate knowledge of the celestial mechanics, we begin to concede that the rules laid down in the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa postulate astronomical study of no mean order. Such a course of study was evidently labouriously worked out long before the Greeks had entertained any idea as to the motions of the heavenly bodies. The Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa marks several stages of astronomical progress, and implies a close acquaintance, among others, with many facts of astronomical importance such as

(1) A cycle of 620 lunations,

(2) The computation of the (lunar) synodical month,

(3) The determination of the sun's greatest and least motion and

(4) The determination of the length of the tropical year.

The Vedic Calendar

In the days of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā which followed the Ṛg-Veda period, the months of the year were synodical, and were

named after the Nakṣatra or constellation near which the full Moon happened to be noticed very frequently. The year was nevertheless solar and was adjusted with twelve luni-solar months by the introduction of an intercalary lunation. The beginning of the year, however, was ushered in by the full-moon or new-moon night which happened to be nearest to the vernal equinox or winter solstice.

When the Taittirīya Saṁhitā was compiled the position of the solstitial points had already been marked among the fixed stars. The Atharva Saṁhitā speaks of the summer solstice in Maghā [1] but the Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad is more explicit.[2]

It refers the summer solstice to the beginning of divisional Maghā. This indicates that not only was the position of the solstice stated in relation to the divisional Nakṣatra, but that the Zodiac of the Nakṣatras was divided into 27 equal divisions. The statement in the Maitrāyaṇī-Upaniṣad describes an observation of the position of the solstices, and such observation must have been made about 1700 years before the Christian Era. According to नक्षत्रकल्प an appendix of the Atharva Veda—the number of stars in the constellation of Maghā was six; as none of them could reasonably be left out of the division named after Maghā, the commencement of the division must be placed near the star Leonis 80" to the east of the principal star of the Kṛttikās.

The Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa

At the time of the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa the winter solstice had receded through 62 *lavas* or $6\frac{2}{3}$ degrees, and was situated at the beginning of divisional Śraviṣṭhā. Three different kinds of months, the solar, the synodical and the sidereal, are mentioned, but the month in actual use was synodical consisting of 30 mean *tithis*, of which one *tithi* was omitted at a stated interval so that the civil month contained 29 or 30 days. A yuga or lustrum of five years was declared to accommodate the lunar with the solar year which as a matter of convenience ordinarily contained 366 days.

1. अयनं मघा पे (अथर्व० 19-7).
2. मघाद्य...श्रविष्ठार्धम्-मैत्रा० vi-14,

Instruments for Measuring Time

Mr. S. B. Dixit readily acknowledged that the Vedic people were conversant with the periodical motions of the sun and the moon, and had made considerable progress in mathematics. He observes[1] "Without an accurate knowledge of the periodical motions of the sun and the moon, and in the absence of some instrument for measuring time with precision, it would be very difficult to ascertain the exact moment of the syzygies, or the beginning of a season." But such a difficult task had already been accomplished. We find in the Ṛg-Veda (IX. 85, 45) a clear allusion to the sun-dial or the जलनाडि, which is called विमानो अह्नाम् or "the measurer of the length of days."

A Cycle of 620 Lunations

In each yuga of five years two intercalary months were introduced, the first after an interval of 30 lunations, and the second at the end of the *yuga*. To Mr. Dixit this appeared to be a clumsy arrangement. He points out that, as the number of days in a yuga of 62 lunations contained 1830 days, each lunation would comprise 29·516129 only, and would thus cause a deficiency of *one whole day* in five years.

To get over this difficulty Mr. Pillay of Madras suggested a Mahāyuga of 30 years at the end of which the last intercalary month was to be omitted ! ! But the suggestion is on the face of it, utterly untenable and impracticable. There is not the slightest evidence to support it. It is unthinkable that the shrewd Vedic people would allow such a serious error as amounted to *one day* in five years to go uncorrected for a whole generation. Of course a cycle of 30 years might fulfil another purpose.

Error not Allowed to Accumulate

Mr. Dixit himself believed that Vedāṅga *yuga* consisted of 1831 days instead of 1830. But he could cite no authority for his conjecture. Such an authority is now forthcoming. The Vedaṅga contains a verse which, as amended by Lok. Tilak, reads as follows.

> शुहेयं पर्व चेत् पादे पादस्त्रिंशत् तु सैकिका ।
> भागात्मनाऽवपृज्यांशान् निर्दिशेद् अधिकं यदि ॥

1. भारतीय ज्यो॰ इति, p. 32.

This verse authorises that when *Pañcāṁśas* reach the number of 31, one day should be regarded as intercalary, so far as the synodical period was concerned. Such an event occurred only once in five years, and that too at the end of the 93rd *Pakṣa* or about the full moon day of Kārttika in the fourth year of a *yuga*. So by the express authority of the text the total number of days in a yuga amounted to 1831.

The error, however, could not be thoroughly rectified. For if before the addition of one intercalary day the synodical month was short by about 20 minutes, it became after the addition longer by about 2½ minutes which must have necessitated another correction. Such a correction was made by the introduction of a cycle of 620 lunations at the end of which the synodical months were co-ordinated with the positions of the sun and moon.

If one would demand authority for such a correction, it is furnished by verse 5 of the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa which runs as follows :—

स्वराक्रमेते सोमार्कौ यदा साकं स-वासवौ ।
स्यात् तद् आदियुगं माघः तपः शुक्लो दिनंत्यजम् ॥

In this verse the omission of the intercalary day is enjoined by the expression दिनंत्यजम्. Some copies read दिनंत्यजः which has to be construed with माघः, but as the intercalary day was added in the month of Kārttika the necessary omission must have taken place in the same month, and we must therefore reject the reading दिनंत्यजः and adopt दिनंत्यजम् which is in apposition to आदियुगम्. The sense of the second line would then corroborate the existence of an आदियुग or a cycle of 620 lunations or 10 yugas, in the first yuga of which the intercalary day in the Anuvatsara or fourth year was discarded. Hence the total number of days in a cycle of 620 lunations was reduced to 1830·9. The synodical month was thereby corrected and as such consisted of $29^{d}\ 12^{h}\ 44^{m}\ 7^{s}$ which differs from the true period only by four seconds, and must therefore be said to be fairly accurate for all practical purposes.

Sun's Equation of the Centre

We have already shown that in the Vedāṅga Calendar one day was added in the Kārttika of the fourth year to make up the period

of 1831 days. But this day was so added as to make the full moon day of Kārttika coincide with autumnal equinox as nearly as possible. Although such coincidence was not always to be expected, it was so important an event that it was bound to be closely watched for a number of years. Upon an important event such as this, rested the knowledge of the ancient Indian astronomers regarding the motions of the sun. For, by actual observation they could realize that the period from the autumnal equinox to the next vernal equinox was equal to 181 days, and this period they had determined with great exactitude.

Between the autumnal equinox in an Anuvatsara year to the winter solstice of the next year there intervene 75 *tithis* ; and from the winter solstice to the next vernal equinox the number of *tithis* amount to 110, making the total of 185 *tithis*—from which 4 (four) क्षयतिथिs have to be deducted leaving *181* as the number of civil days reckoned from the autumnal to the vernal-equinox. Evidently, therefore, the other half of the year would be equal to (366-181 =) 185 days. Thus at the time of the Vedāṅga a half of the year contained 185 days and the other half consisted of 181 days.[1]

There would thus seem to be a clear difference of 2 days over and below the mean half-yearly period of 183 days, and there would be no difficulty in recognising that the greatest increase and decrease in the sun's motion was nearly equal to his mean motion in two days, which in modern parlance is called the equation of the sun's centre.

The Tropical Year

The determination of the period of the Tropical Year must also have been a matter of prolonged observation. Such observations have to be made very accurately and extended over a long period. But when once they are made with a fair amount of exactness, the computation of the tropical year would follow as a matter of course.

It is well known that in the annual sattras such as उत्सर्गिणाम् अयनम् and गवाम् अयनम्, a certain number of days—presumably about

1 This accords with the result arrived at by Mr. S. B. Dixit ; but while Mr. Dixit has deduced his figures from modern calculations, I have arrived at the same conclusion from the text of the Vedāṅga which is still more significant.

four in one yuga—were omitted to adjust the number of days in the year to the actual position of the sun and the equinoctial points.

This cycle of adjustment was probably of fifty years and if the number of admitted (or श्लष्ट) days was 38 instead of 40 in the whole cycle, fifty solar years would consist of (18300–38=) 18262 days. This would make the Vedic tropical year comprise 365 days 5^h and 46 minutes—a period admirably agreeing with the modern tropical year of 365^d 5^h 41^m 49 .

Impartial and sympathetic inquirers will not, it is hoped now hesitate to admit that the foregoing discourse is nothing more than a statement of a few legitimate inferences deduced from astronomical facts recorded in the Vedāṅga, and that these facts imply a knowledge of the fundamentals of practical astronomy, which ought to reflect great credit on the Hindu astronomes of ancient India for their ceaseless labours and intelligent research.

KĀLIDASA-HIS SCIENTIFIC INTERPRETATION OF CERTAIN PHYSICAL PHENOMENA — By PARAMESHWAR PRASAD SARMA, M. A. (G. M.) B. L., Senior Professor of Sanskrit, St. Columa's College, Hazaribagh (B & O).

The study of Kālidāsa's works reveals a very nice fact that he has attempted almost scientifically to explain some of the common phenomena of dame Nature. I venture to say 'almost scientifically' because in one or two places his explanation seems to be nothing more than the mere mention of the popular view regarding them.[1] But in most of the cases, his interpretations are as scientific as the modern science could prove them to be, and as accurate as any high-class poetry of any civilized literature can permit. First of all, let us see how he explains the formation of a cloud.

Formation of a Cloud

With the introduction of the western system of education in India, it has become a very easy task even for a student of a primary class to know something about 'the cloud, the rain-bow, the lightning and such other things, but the people of the ancient world, specially of India, used to look upon them with great awe and wonder. Cloud was popularly regarded by our ancient fathers as the army of the rain-god Indra. But to Kālidāsa it was not so. We learn from physics that the water on earth evaporates when heated by the rays of the sun and rises high up in air till it reaches that layer of air whose temperature is equal to that of the vapour itself. Being unable to rise higher up, this vapour is transformed into rain which, on account of its greater heaviness, being unable to be sustained by the atmospheric pressure, falls down on earth. This scientific formation of the cloud was not unknown to our poet. Like other poets of that age, he was not satisfied by merely describing cloud as 'the benign benefactor of mankind' and 'the army of rain-god Indra.' He had thoroughly understood the nature of a cloud. He has

1 See the closing portion of this article.

referred to the formation of cloud in some four or five places of his works.[1] In the very first canto of Raghu, he enunciates his theory about its formation. Says he :--

प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं स ताभ्यो बलिमग्रहीत् ।
सहस्रगुणमुत्स्रष्टुमादत्ते हि रसं रविः ॥ I. 18 (Raghu)

"It was for the welfare of the people themselves that he (Dilīpa) used to realise taxes from them ; verily the sun draws water to shower thousands of blessings (upon earth)."

This idea is further developed in later cantos. In the śloka 4th of the XIII, we read that rays of the sun receive their gestation from the ocean (गर्भं दधत्यर्कमरीचयोऽस्मात्), which, shorn of figurative garb, comes to mean "that the rays of the sun draw water from the ocean for the formation of cloud." The above quotation has been very graphically explained by the poet himself in X. 58 of the same book :—

ताभिर्गर्भः प्रजाभूत्यै दध्रे देवांशसंभवः ।
सौरीभिरिव नाडीभिरमृताख्याभिरम्मयः ॥ X. 58 (Raghu)

" For the welfare of the people, divine pregnancy was conceived by Kausalyā and other queens, just as the watery gestation is conceived by the rays of the sun called Amṛtāḥ (rain-showering)." Comparing all these, we are led to believe that the poet is very anxious to support, step by step, his theory about cloud. In the end, he describes poetically the various stages through which this formation has to pass. Says he:—

धूमज्योतिःसलिलमरुतां संनिपातः क्व मेघः
संदेशार्थाः क्व पटुकरणैः प्राणिभिः प्रापणीयाः etc. Megha I. 5.

" Where is a cloud, the conglomeration of vapoury smoke, light (heat), water, and air, and where are the messages to be conveyed by men of competent organs ! ". Here we find all the steps requisite for the formation of a cloud. The heat of the sun, falling on water, turns it into vapour. This vapour rises in air where it is condensed into cloud (on account of cold temperature of the air of that region.)

1. Raghu : I. 18 ; IV. 86 ; 10. 58 ; 13. 4 ; and Megh. I. 5.

Such is the view of our poet of about the 5th century A. D. and we are glad to see that this theory of Kālidāsa is so scientific that even the researches of modern science could find little scope of improvement thereon, the main processes remaining the same throughout as yet.

The Rain-bow

Pauranic tradition says that rain-bow is the bow of Lord Indra which manifests itself upon the cloud when that august lord is about to hurl down his bolt on his enemy 'Bali', the king of the nether region. But to Kālidāsa, this belief was of no importance. He dismissed this popular belief in jest and came forth with a scientific explanation about the appearance of this charming freak of Nature. It is what he says :—

रत्नच्छायाव्यतिकर इव प्रेक्ष्यमेतत्पुरस्ताद्
वल्मीकाग्रात्प्रभवति धनुःखण्डमाखण्डलस्य । Megha I. 15.

'Yonder appears the rain-bow of Indra from the rays of the sun, very charming to look at, like a mixture of brilliances of gems of various colours.'

Many of the commentators have explained this line as 'the rain-bow originates from the yonder ant-hill' taking the word वल्मीक to mean 'ant-hill'. Of course, this meaning gets a support from a fanciful belief of the people to that purpose. But this is altogether unscientific and unconvincing, and particularly so, when we know that our poet knew well about the real cause of appearance of a rain-bow as found in Kumār. VIII. 31. Most probably the commentators did not trouble themselves to find out a better meaning of the word 'वल्मीक'. Vallabha of the 12th A. D. was the first man to point out that the word वल्मीक here meant 'the sun'.[1] Hence my present explanation. In the support of this explanation, the following was quoted by Bharata from Sanskrit astronomy.[2]

1. 'वामलूरे गिरेः शृङ्गे वल्मीकपदमिष्यते । वल्मीकः सातपो मेघो वल्मीकः सूर्य इत्यपि ' इति कोषान्तरम् । शब्दार्णव cited by Bharata, Vallabha, Sanātana, Rāmanātha, etc.

2. बृहत्संहिता of वराहमिहिर

" सूर्यस्य विविधा वर्णाः पवनेन विघट्टिताः, विहायसि धनुःसंस्था दृश्यन्ते जलदागमे "

Various colours of the rays (literally, the sun) of the sun, being analysed by the force of the wind, appear in the form of a rain-bow on the water-laden cloud in the sky.

Now let us try to see if this is the only instance or there is any *more where our poet has referred to rain-bow. It has been already* said that Śloka 31 of the 8th canto of Kumarsambhavam reveals the acquaintance of our poet with the cause of the appearance of rain-bow. Thus reads the Śloka :—

शीकरव्यतिकरं मरीचिभिर्दूरयत्यवनते विवस्वति
इन्द्रचापपरिवेषशून्यतां निर्झरास्तव पितुर्व्रजन्त्यमी Kumār. VIII. 31.

" My love " says Śiva to Pārvatī " the sun hanging low, with its rays withdrawn from the jetting sprays of water, the yonder springs of your father (the Himālaya) have become devoid of the halo (arch) of the bow of Indra. "

Kālidāsa means to say here that the appearance of rain-bow is due to the falling of the rays of the sun on the particles of water in the cloud. When this connection of the rays with the sprays is cut off, then there is no rain-bow at all. In the afternoon there were arches of rain-bow visible in the sky, but as the sun had set down, withdrawing its rays, the sprouting springs of the Himalaya had become altogether devoid of the charms of that physical phenomenon. Of course, we do not find here detailed information about rain-bow, but the main principles are there though couched in poetry. Mallinātha, the prince among the commentators, makes it clearer still. Says he :—

निर्झरकणपातितसायंतनाकिरणैः उद्भासमानेन्द्रचापपरिधिता
सूर्यस्यास्तंगतत्वाद्विलीना इति भावः ।

'The arches of rain-bow, manifesting because of the rays of the evening sun falling upon the particles of water of the jetting springs, have become now invisible as the sun has set down.' Malli. has placed before us all the ideas contained in Kālidāsa's verse. One thing more is to be noticed in this connection and that is whether our poet knew that there are seven colours in the rays of the sun or not. The answer seems to be in the affirmative. He

has used the word 'सप्तसप्ति'[1] for the sun which is explained as 'seven-rayed'. The word सप्ति means a 'horse' in classical Sanskrit, but etymologically it means 'सर्पणशील' and hence 'crawling rays.'[2] If so, the seven colours of the ray of the sun must have been known to him.

Electricity in Cloud

The 21st verse of the XIII canto of Raghu is still more startling. It contains a good deal more than the mere statement that clouds have, not only lightning but also electricity in them. Thus goes the verse:—

करेण वातायनलम्बितेन स्पृष्टस्त्वया चण्डि कुतूहलिन्या
आमुञ्चतीवाभरणं द्वितीयमुद्भिन्नविद्युद्वलयो घनस्ते ॥ Raghu XIII. 21.

"O Fury, the cloud touched by you, curious as you are, with your hand, hanging out of the window of the aerial car, appears to be presenting to you, with a bright display of lightning, a second gold bangle, as it were."

Sītā had touched the cloud suddenly with her hand. There was friction between her hand and the cloud, as a result of it, lightning began to flash round her hand. She was very much startled at this. But the poet makes Rāmacandra explain the true cause of the lightning-flash. This idea is again repeated by our poet in the drama Śākuntala in unmistakable words :— In the 7th Act of that drama, when king दुष्यन्त is returning in his aerial car from helping Indra in his war with the demons, he says to his charioteer :—

अयमरविवरेभ्यश्चातकैर्निष्पतद्भिर्हरिभिरचिरभासां तेजसा चानुलिप्तैः ।
गतमुपरि घनानां वारिगर्भोदराणां पिशुनयति रथस्ते शीकरक्लिन्ननेमिः ॥

"This chariot of yours, with the rims of its wheels wet with sprays, with sky-larks rushing out through the interstices of its spokes and *with its horses tinged with the glow of the lightning*, betrays that we are now passing over the clouds laden with water." Here the running horses are said to be enveloped in the bright glow of the lightning of the clouds.

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1. उच्छेत्तुं प्रभवति यन्न सप्तसप्तिस्तन्नैशं तिमिरमपाकरोति चन्द्रः. Śāk. VI. 30.
2. M. M. Rāmāvatāra Sarmā in his unpublished dictionary.

From all these, it is clear that our poet knew that cloud is charged with electricity and that it can be transferred from the cloud to any suitable receiver, with a show of spark when parting with that charge and the separation of electricity from the cloud can be effected artificially by engendering friction of anything with the cloud itself.

Kālidāsa here seems to have given either his own actual experience or a fresh theory about electricity. In either case it reflects great credit on his part.

How creditable his performance is, will be realised from the fact that Europe did not know much about electricity in clouds before her savants were set athinking by the celebrated instance of Benjamin's kite-flying in the 18th century A. D.

Many of the learned readers must be knowing that in the 18th century after Christ, Benjamin Franklin, an American scientist proved, for the first time, to the Western world that electricity can be separated from cloud by artificial means, and that it is quite different from lightning. In 1746, he began to study physical science with a view to differentiate between electricity and lightning. For this purpose, one day, he flew a kite in the sky, tied a lock to th end of the string of the kite, fastened a silken chord to this lock tied it to a post and himself stood near by, with a view to wa what was to take place. After a short time, the loose string of th kite began to be lightned. At this, he applied his finger to the hole of the lock and was extremely delighted to find the glow of light flashing on his finger. Thus he extracted electricity from cloud without the help of any scientific apparatus. Afterwards he invented the " lightning conductor ", a special kind of magnatic iron which can gather surrounding electricity in the atmosphere and discharge it into the earth. So it has proved to be a boon to big buildings, as it saves them from being destroyed by lightning-fall.

True it is that our poet did not invent any such iron but this much is certain that he knew perfectly well about electricity in the cloud. He might have acquired his knowledge of differentiation between electricity and lightning either by seeing the artificial manufacture of electricity in any physical laboratory or from his own vast experience. The first alternative is too presumptive, becau

as yet, we have not come across any such thing, even among the vast finds of the modern researches, which may prove the existence of any mechanical work-shop in ancient India. So we are driven to the extremity of accepting the second alternative only. It is very probable that our poet, highly associated as he was with the most powerful monarch of his time, I mean Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty, must have enjoyed air-flight at least in balloon, if not in aeroplane, with the king. Otherwise, how was it possible for him to give such graphic description of the world below when viewed from above? If we compare the description of the things on the earth when viewed from above, given by our poet, with that of the modern aeronauts, we can clearly see how closely these two descriptions tally together. The description of our poet is in no way inferior to that of the modern air-flyers. See what a glowing account he gives, of the fastly receding ocean and of swiftly emerging land out of that in succession in Raghu XIII. 18. The aerial car of Rāma was passing over the Palk-strait of the Indian Ocean while the party was returning to Ayodhyā from Ceylon.

"कुरुष्व तावत्करभोरु पश्चान्मार्गे मृगप्रेक्षिणि दृष्टिपातम्
एषा विदूरीभवतः समुद्रात्सकानना निष्पततीव भूमिः ॥" Raghu XIII. 18.

Says Rāma to his wife :— O gazelle-eyed lady, oh, cast your ce behind and see how the earth, along with the forest, appears be emerging out of the ocean which seems to be running away from us." In this illustration, three geometrical planes are concerned. Two of them are fixed (i) the plane of the ocean-surface and (ii) that of the land. The third one, namely the plane of the aerial car is moving. The poet here describes that the planes below though actually stationary, appear to be moving. One seems to run away in the opposite direction of the other, and an observer, on the third moving plane, will think that the plain in the opposite direction is really running away from him and that in his own direction is getting out from the receding one. So our poet seems to be acquainted with the laws of motion of statics as well, in his own poetic way. [1] He has repeated his experience [2] of the air-flight again

1. Mr. S Roy in his edition of Raghu XIII.
2. "In this last act of Śākuntala we have a graceful picture of the appearance of the earth viewed in perspective from the celestial car of Mātali." Mr. Keith in History of Sanskrit Drama page 159.

in the "Lost Ring." The king exclaims in surprise, "See, O Mātali, what a wonderful spectacle the world below presents! As our car is alighting, the peaks of the mountains (as yet invisible) seem to have suddenly sprung up in our view, land seems to be coming out in succession one after another from the mountains. The branches and the trunks of the trees have become manifest, and the rivers, which appeared like a meagre whitish lining, have at once become vast. Ah, what a wonderful scene!" [1]

All these may seem to be a very ordinary thing to us, the people of the 20th century, the age of seience, but to a man of Kālidāsa's time, it must have been an uncommon and extra-ordinary phenomenon.

Now, learned readers, let me clear myself of the blame of being partial to India for singing songs of her past but unauthentic, so to say, glory, by proving to you from internal as well as external evidences, the existence of machinery moving both on earth and in air.

The Puṣpaka Vimāna of the Rāmāyaṇa is well known. Ravaṇa, the King of Ceylon, had one very nice aeroplane which he had snatched away from his half-brother Kubera[2] the Lord of Tibet. After that, we find mention of a wooden elephant propelled from inside like the wooden horse of Troy, in the work of Bhasa of the 2nd century A. D. used in duping away King Udayana from out of his kingdom. Near about that century, Bṛhatkathā mentioned the Ionians यवन i. e. Greeks as very famous artists. This is what Mr. A. B. Keith says about it (in his History of Sanskrit Literature page 85, H. S.) "Moreover it was pointed out that Yavanas appear in the बृहत्कथा as artists, as excellent makers of *couches and even of aerial machines*, an idea reminding us of the fame of the treatise on Mechanics of Heron of Alexandria."

After this, we find the glowing picture of the world below given by our poet, viewed in perspective from the flying cars (Raghu XIII. 8 and Śākuntala VII. 8). More convincing and conclusive is the information supplied to us by Bāṇa, the court poet of Srīharṣa

1. English-rendering of śloka 8th of VII Act of Śākuntala, Roy's Edition.
2. Rāmāyaṇa, Sundarakāṇḍa, 7, 8, 9, chapters, and रघु XIV, 20.
3. प्रतिज्ञायौगन्धरायणम् I Act.

of Kanauj of the 7th century A. D. He is the most reliable man, as the majority of the information, given by him of the Emperor of Kanauj, is borne out by the accounts of Hiuen Tsang, a Chinese traveller who lived for seven years in the court of that king. He says in his book the "Life of Śrīharṣa."[1] There was a king Caṇḍīpati by name. He had imprisioned one यवन, a Greek who was a good mechanic. He constructed a flying machine "The King was very curious to enjoy air flight. He ascended that machine and was taken away, no one knew where, by his prisoner enemy."

From all these, it is clear that in the time of Kālidāsa some sort of flying machines were known to Indians though, later on, they were given up, as Bāṇa very nicely insinuates that the people were horror-stricken at the sudden disappearance of their king from their midst.

Ether Propagates Sound

Kālidāsa seems to be familiar with the theory of sound. That it is ether in air which carries sound from place to place seems to be well-known to him. In Raghu XIII. 1, he describes आकाशम् as शब्दगुणम्[2] i. e. the property of ether is to conduct sound. Further in he very first verse of Śākuntala the poet seems to support his right onviction by referring to it again.[3] Mallinātha notes down in his comment on Raghu XIII. 1[4] that the poet has followed here the theory of the logicians. Modern physics also has not as yet made any improvement upon this theory of our poet about sound.

But there are certain phenomena, about which our poet has merely given the popular belief and nothing else. As for example, the spots on the moon are described by him as the shadow of earth,[5] which is not a scientific fact. The modern scientists say that the black spots on the lunar surface are the marks of hollows,

1. आश्चर्यकुतूहली च चण्डीपतिः दण्डोपनतयवननिर्मितेन नभस्तलयायिना यन्त्रयानेन अनीयत क्वापि" ह. च. १९९ पृ. (N. S. P.)

2. अथात्मनः शब्दगुणं गुणज्ञः पदं विमानेन विगाहमानः, Raghu XIII. 1

3. श्रुतिविषयगुणं या स्थिता व्याप्य विश्वम् । Nāndi verse of Śākuntala.

4. शब्दगुणकमाकाशमिति तार्किकाः, Mallinātha.

5. छाया हि भूमेः शशिनो मलत्वेनारोपिता शुद्धिमतः प्रजाभिः Raghu XIV. 40.

mountains, lakes etc. on the moon. But in Kalidāsa's times and even as late as the 12th cent. A. D. in Govardhanācarya's time [1], these spots were popularly regared as 'the shadow of earth cast on the moon:' There is one more instance where Kalidāsa could not rise high above the popular belief. "The ocean" says his Rāma "seems very much to be churned once more with the moun Mandāra, on account of the spinning cloud, caught in the force of the whirl-pool, as soon as it (cloud) had begun to drink water from this ocean." [2] Here we find both the legendary, and the scientific truths mixed together. That cloud hangs upon the surfaces of water to drink it, is all legendary, but being caught by the force of the whirl-pool, it spins round and round in the sky, can be nothing but a scientific truth. In the autumn season, we see a very nice phenomenon. When a whirl-wind passes upon a vast sheet of water, it causes columns of water to rise up in air, just as it causes colum of dust in summer to rise when it is passing upon the earth. Sometimes, the force of this whirl-wind is very great, and it rises very high, so high that it reaches the lowest cloud and forces it to whirl round and round in the sky. The ascending column of water is believed by the people to be the trunk of Airāvata, hanging down to drink water. But Kālidāsa notes that it is the cloud which hangs to draw water.

Before coming to close, I appeal to the learned scholars of the Sanskritic world to judge how far our poet was right in giving scientific interpretations of some of the physical phenomena.

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1 अस्तु म्लानिर्लोके लाञ्छनमपदिशतु हरिणमोजः । तदपि न मुञ्चति स त्वां वसुधाच्छायामिव सुधांशुः ॥ आर्या-सप्तशती, अकारव्रज्या, पञ्चमश्लोकः,

2. Raghu XIII. 14.

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